THE GOOD AND THE BAD SIDES OF THE PROTEST: FRAMING ABORTION RIGHTS PROTESTS IN PHOTOJOURNALISM

Greta Díaz González Vázquez

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APPROVED:

Newly Paul, Committee Chair
Tracy Everbach, Committee Member
Thorne Anderson, Committee Member
Koji Fuse, Director of Graduate Studies in the Frank W. Mayborn Graduate Institute of Journalism
Andrea Miller, Director of the Frank W. Mayborn Graduate Institute of Journalism and Dean of the Frank W. and Sue Mayborn School of Journalism
Albert Bimper, Executive Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences
Victor Prybutok, Dean of the Toulouse Graduate School

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In both Mexico and the U.S., abortion rights protests have been taking place in recent years, but while Mexico is moving forward with the legalization of abortion, the U.S. is going in the opposite direction with the overturning of *Roe v. Wade.* Through framing, journalists select salient information, shaping audiences' understandings of social movements. The protest paradigm suggests that due to journalistic norms and routines, journalists tend to focus on disruptive acts, which can stigmatize the protest. Additionally, scholars have stated that men and women photojournalists have different approaches to covering certain topics. This cross-national research combined a content analysis of photographs in U.S. and Mexican media with in-depth interviews with photojournalists to determine if photojournalists in each country are reproducing the protest paradigm and if there are gendered differences in how they photograph abortion rights protests. The results revealed that women and men photograph differently, with women capturing more intimate photos; however, photojournalists' gendered experiences are also influenced by how protesters perceive them. Furthermore, the study suggests that photojournalists from both countries are questioning objectivity and are attempting to move away from the protest paradigm. This research provides valuable insights into visual framing theory, protest news coverage, and gendered norms in photojournalism.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, Latin America has seen a rise in pro-abortion protests. From Argentina to México, women have been taking to the streets to demand abortion rights and the decriminalization of abortion. In the last four years, the pro-abortion movement in México has inspired a Supreme Court ruling to decriminalize abortion and the legalize abortion in nine states. On the other hand, since 2021, with the passing of SB8 in Texas, and through the summer of 2022, when Roe v. Wade was overturned, the U.S. has also seen a rise in pro-choice protests. However, while in México the pro-abortion movement is gaining abortion rights, in the U.S. is moving the opposite way, with people taking to the streets to protest the regression on abortion rights.

It is easy to find photographs of these protests in the news media from both countries: people taking to the streets wearing green bandanas and holding signs demanding abortion rights, people dancing but also crying and yelling with frustration, women holding green or purple smoke bombs, and women marching with their children. However, in both countries, there are also images of protesters having encounters with police or with anti-abortion groups, getting arrested, using red paint, and graffitiing walls.

Research suggests that photographs play a crucial role in the struggles over the discursive power of social movements and help define the credibility of those movements (Luhtakallio, 2013). Visuals shape the audience's understanding of social movements; in this case the demand of abortion rights, by creating and shaping perceptions as well as historical imagination (Bowe et al., 2019; Fahmy et al., 2007). Furthermore, studies around the protest paradigm (Chan & Lee, 1984) have continuously demonstrated that journalistic coverage on social movements tends to

focus on the disruptive acts of a protest, depicting it as a criminal activity and differing from the intended goals of the protesters (McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Boyle & McLeod, 2018; Brown & Mourão, 2021). Tuchman (1978b) stated that the protest paradigm is particularly held in coverage of the women's movement since the news media tends to oversee the main issues discussed by women and focuses on sensationalizing the event.

Various scholars have mentioned a gap in the research on visual framing compared to textual framing (Coleman, 2009; Fahmy, 2004; Bowe, et al., 2019). That gap is even wider when looking at visual frames of protest news coverage. Exploring the framing used consciously or unconsciously by photojournalists helps us understand stereotypes and hidden assumptions reproduced by media and helps academics look beyond traditional assumptions of bias (Bowe et al., 2019).

Photographs of abortion rights protests in the U.S. and México could shape the social understanding of the demands of protesters. Furthermore, since visual framing happens as the result of journalistic practices inside media institutions (Fahmy & Kim, 2008), it is also important to question and understand if photojournalists are aware of the frames that they may be reproducing with social issues such as abortion rights protests.

Scholars suggest that gender also shapes the experience and routines of photojournalists, influencing the outcome of news stories (Darian-Smith, 2016; Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018; Hadland & Barnett, 2018a; Somerstein, 2021). Research shows that female photojournalists tend to have access to different spaces than their male counterparts and have different narratives, with more intimate and emotional images (Darian-Smith 2016). With the news media having more male photojournalists, women's issues such as abortion rights protests "may be more subject to the male gaze, with consequences for the portrayal of women and their

interests" (Hadland & Barnett, 2018a, p.2017). Despite some academic work being done on the subject, there is little empirical research on the differences in frames based on gender (Lough & Mortensen, 2022).

The purpose of this research is to analyze the frames used by U.S. and Mexican media when covering pro-abortion protests to determine if they are reproducing the protest paradigm. Furthermore, it aims to gain a better understanding of photojournalists' experiences and thought processes when covering these protests, as well as the journalism norms and routines that influence their decisions. Finally, the purpose of this research is also to provide insights into how gender determines the way photojournalists move around the protest and, thus, the different frames they might achieve.

This study has four research questions that aim to answer how photographs of pro-abortion protests differ according to gender; how photojournalists frame photographic coverage of pro-abortion protests in each country; how they perceive objectivity when covering these protests; and how news norms and routines influence their coverage of the pro-abortion protests.

The research questions were answered through a mixed-methods approach. The first stage of the study is a content analysis of photographs from four media outlets from the U.S., and four media from México, finding the frames used by media in each country. For the U.S. media, this study considered The New York Times, The Washington Post, The 19th, and Dallas Morning News. For Mexican media, the analyzed media outlets were Milenio, Universal, Pie de Página, and AD Noticias.

The second stage of this study is qualitative, conducting in-depth interviews with 13 photojournalists, seven from México and six from the U.S. In-depth interviews were used to

allow a better understanding of their journalistic practices and experiences, as well as their awareness of how they frame pro-abortion protests.

The current cross-national study contributes to various areas of academic research. It aims to fill in gaps in the literature on the visual framing of protests, gendered differences between photojournalists, and newsroom norms that help reproduce the protest paradigm in photojournalism. This study adds to the research on the visual framing of protests by exploring the differences between visual framing of pro-choice and pro-abortion protests in the U.S. and México. It also analyzes the differences in the frames of male and female photojournalists and explores the gendered experiences and decisions of photojournalists while covering these protests. Lastly, knowing that each country has a different context and a different media system, the current research also aims to build on the literature on newsroom norms and practices that may influence the production and selection of photographs in each country.

Finally, there are two important points to make before continuing with the research. The first is that various debates have been held on whether the correct term is “pro-choice” or “pro-abortion” (Tarico, 2016; “Pro-choice does not mean”, 2008). However, to consider the different cultural contexts between countries, this research will use both terms, since U.S. media use “pro-choice” as the terminology and Mexican media use “pro-abortion.” Furthermore, even though the term “pro-choice” is widely used in English, for Mexican activists it is considered a euphemism that reproduces the taboo around abortion. The second point is related to full disclosure about the researcher’s positionality. The researcher has participated in pro-abortion protests in México as a (photo)journalist, but also as part of the feminist and pro-abortion movement.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT

Despite being neighboring countries, México and the U.S. have very different contexts when it comes to abortion access. Protests around the topic are tied to each country's history and culture. Furthermore, the discussions around the coverage of the protests are also different in each country, although at times they have been intertwined. To provide a better understanding of the research and its findings, this section will address the cultural and historical contexts as well as the photographic coverage of protests in each country.

United States

Abortion Rights and Pro-Abortion Protests in the U.S.

Abortion access in the U.S. has had a long and complicated history. Termination of pregnancy wasn't always illegal or controversial as it is today. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, abortions before "quickening," that's when the fetus's movement can be detected, were not illegal (Schuessler, 2022; Reagan, 1996). During that time, Leslie Reagan (1996) argues, abortion was seen as the restoration of menstruation, and as a domestic practice.

For the first 185 years of the U.S. Constitution, each state could make its own laws regarding abortion ("The Dobbs v. Jackson decision", 2022). The first statutes governing abortion in the United States took place in the 1820s and 1830s. They were medication control measures that aimed to protect pregnant women from poison (Reagan, 1996), but they did not seek to punish women for having an abortion. In fact, in the 1840s, the abortion business boomed, with specialized practitioners providing abortifacients and performing instrumental abortions (Reagan, 1996).

The first abortion law to make it to the books was codified in Connecticut in 1821 and

punished any person who took any substance with the intent of causing a miscarriage (Blakemore, 2022). By the late 1850s, the Physicians Campaign Against Abortion was created and their members campaigned against abortion in every state of pregnancy, arguing that abortion interfered with nature, and, thus, justifying the criminalization of abortion (Reagan, 1996).

During 1860 and 1880, new laws were passed across the United States prohibiting abortion, and some included punishment for women who had abortions (Reagan, 1996). By 1910, every state had anti-abortion laws, except Kentucky (Lewis & Shimabukuro, 2001). In 1967, abortion was considered a felony in 49 states and the District of Columbia. Few provisions were made for the health of the mother.

With the pressure of the Women's Movement, during the 1970s things began to change, with states reconsidering laws and loosening restrictions on abortion. In 1973, the Roe v. Wade decision took place, changing abortion access in the U.S. The landmark Supreme Court decision established a nationwide right to abortion. The ruling declared that state laws could not ban abortion procedures before the point at which a fetus can survive outside the womb, which is between 23 and 24 weeks of pregnancy (Taylor, 2022). At that time, 30 states still prohibited abortion at any stage of pregnancy ("Thousands protest end of", 2022). The law was revised in 1992, but the Supreme Court ruled that the State could not constitutionally protect fetal life before viability.

On May 3, 2022, Politico published a leaked draft opinion written by Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito Jr. The draft opinion showed that a majority of Supreme Court justices had voted to overturn Roe v. Wade. Although the draft was not the final decision, more than a thousand pro-abortion demonstrators protested outside the Supreme Court, with at least one

violent incident of confrontation between pro-choice and pro-life protestors (Silverman et al., 2022). Similar protests took place in several cities across the country. For days, pro-choice and abortion-rights advocates protested outside the Supreme Court's building (McCleary & Yan, 2022).

On June 24, 2022, the Supreme Court overruled Roe v. Wade, eliminating the constitutional right to abortion that had been in place for nearly 50 years. The overturning of Roe left it to state legislatures to decide on abortion laws, and in many states, clinics stopped offering the procedure right after the ruling (Hubler, 2022).

In May 2022, polls showed, more than 80 percent of people in the U.S. supported abortion rights to some degree and the majority didn't want Roe v. Wade to be overturned (Saad, 2022). On the Friday of the Supreme Court's decision, people across the country protested in several city centers, plazas, and parks. During the next few days, protests continued, with one in Los Angeles ending with a confrontation with police, in another one in New York 20 people were taken into custody, and in South Carolina and Washington people were arrested for various reasons (McCleary & Yan, 2022).

Discussions around Protest Photo Coverage in the U.S.

During the summer of 2020 the movement Black Lives Matter erupted in protests. Polls suggest that about 15 million to 26 million people in the U.S. participated in the demonstrations all around the country after the killing of George Floyd, making it the largest movement in U.S. history (Buchanan, et al., 2020). Police tear-gassed protesters and assaulted protesters (Taylor, 2020), but news reports often overlooked these actions and used a passive voice to cover the protest (Jackson, 2020).

Some news media outlets covered the police brutality during protests (Dessem, 2020),

breaking the stigmatizing narrative towards the protests. However, since there were very few outlets with this approach, journalists were criticized by protesters about the editorial decisions when covering these protests. Media institutions and media outlets themselves asked and critically thought about what they had learned not only in the last six years since the national outrage after the killing of Michael Brown, but also overall, in centuries of Black American resistance (Jackson, 2020). It must be noted that after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., more than 50 years prior, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders stated that the news media were partially responsible for the neglect of Black communities by maintaining stereotypes (Delaney, 2018).

During 2020, journalists started working to change the way media reports on protests, even discussing the protest paradigm, sourcing, and the use of euphemisms and passive voice when addressing police brutality (Coddington & Lewis, 2020; Pierre-Louis, 2020). Some researchers and media outlets proposed solutions, among them talking directly to protesters, focusing on a historical analysis of the protest and its demands, and operating with the assumption that protest is healthy for democracy (Eastman, 2020). Journalists of color also continued to speak out about how racial bias remains prevalent in the newsrooms and how it puts them in danger (Hazard Owen, 2020).

This same year, in part as an outcome of the conversations after the Black Lives Matter movement and in part because of the COVID-19 pandemic a group of lens-based workers (photographers, cinematographers, video and broadcast journalists, visual editors, assistants, and producers) from grassroots organizations got together to build a "safer, healthier, more inclusive, and transparent industry" (Photo Bill of Rights, n.d.) by dismantling harmful practices in the visual journalism industry. To do so, independent photographers and institutions such as the

National Press Photographers Association, Diversify Photo, and Women Photograph, drafted the Photo Bill of Rights, a document that outlines the inequalities that marginalized communities such as Black, Indigenous, people of color, women, people with disabilities and LGBTQ people face in the industry.

Under the assertion that "media institutions cannot claim to educate and progress public understanding of injustices while upholding practices that marginalize workers" (Photo Bill of Rights, n.d.), the Photo Bill of Rights made a call to action to recognize the problems and inequalities in the industry and solve them. The document offers resources on health and safety, finance and security, abuse and sexual misconduct, and parity, inclusion, and bias. Furthermore, it also provides toolkits for lens-based workers and visual editors.

Co-authors of the document have mentioned that the response to the Photo Bill of Rights was positive, however, there were certain terms that created some discomfort, such as "white supremacy" (Edwards, 2020). Furthermore, there was some pushback against the Photo Bill of Rights, such as old-timer photojournalist David Burnett (2020), who criticized the document by stating that there was nothing that the Code of Ethics didn't cover and that it erased the changes that had been held in the photojournalism industry in the last 75 years. Despite any negative reception the Photo Bill of Rights might have had, it sparked discussions about inclusivity and diversity in the visual media.

México

Abortion Rights and Pro-Abortion Protests in México

In México, abortion became a crime in the Mexican Penal Code of 1871 (Islas de González Mariscal, 2008). Legal efforts to decriminalize abortion go as far back as 1931, when it was added to the Penal Code that abortion was not to be punished when pregnancies were the

result of rape (Islas de González Mariscal, 2008). The first effort to legalize it was made in 1976 with feminists proposing a law to Congress, which was ignored by representatives (Lamas, 2014).

Currently, all Mexican states are obligated to grant access to abortion in public hospitals under NOM-046, which is a federal law passed in 2005, that guarantees women and pregnant people the access to abortion after sexual violence. Nevertheless, due to the stigma around abortion, health workers actively deny this service (Marea Verde Tabasco, 2022).

México City was the first state to legalize abortion up to 12 weeks of pregnancy in 2007, a ruling that remains to this day. In 2019, Oaxaca was the second state to legalize abortion, with seven other states following suit in the last three years (Reuters, 2022). On September 7th, 2021, the Mexican Supreme Court decriminalized abortion in the state of Coahuila, setting a precedent for many other states to not dictate a criminal sentence to anyone who aids someone to get an abortion or to anyone who gets an abortion, regardless of the weeks of pregnancy (Marea Verde Tabasco, 2022). Nevertheless, this ruling did not legalize abortion in Coahuila, or any other state.

The negative stigma that remains in México has been reproduced, especially in the social sphere and by religious dogma (Marea Verde Tabasco, 2022). In some parts of México, even where abortion is legal, pregnant people are still unable to obtain abortions due to doctors objecting to perform it (Taladrid, 2021). Until September 2022, only nine Mexican states had legal and free abortion access. Local activists have worked to change states' laws to grant legal abortion access in the remaining states. As part of the activism and fight for abortion access, Mexican women have taken to the streets in protests.

In the last few years, especially since 2019, México has seen an increase in feminist protests compared to the previous federal administration (Abi-Habib & Lopez, 2021; Álvarez

Enriquez, 2021). Women take to the streets demanding federal and local governments to take action to prevent gender violence in México, a country where more than 70% of women older than 15 years of age have experienced some kind of violence during their lifetime (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2022). With ten killings of women per day (Agren, 2021), Mexico ranks as the country with the eight most intentional female homicides, with a rate of 6 femicides per 100,000 women in 2020, in contrast with the U.S. that had a rate of 2.6 (World Bank, 2020). The feminist movement cannot be approached without acknowledging that protests have mainly been centered on questioning the lack of response by authorities and institutional violence, which has also been reproduced by the news media (Cerva-Cerna, 2020a).

Nevertheless, feminist protests merge with a bigger international movement called "Marea Verde" (Green Tide). This pro-abortion movement started in Argentina and has made its way up through the continent (Álvarez Enríquez, 2021; Taladrid, 2021). The Marea Verde has "helped deliver groundbreaking reforms and progress on reproductive health and rights in Latin America" (Casas, 2021, parr. 1).

The Marea Verde has achieved victories with media campaigns and mass popular protests that center their demands on women's autonomy and rights. One of their main victories was the legalization of abortion in Argentina in 2020. In México, they have achieved the legalization of abortion in multiple states, setting México City as an example.

The pro-abortion movement in Latin America takes its name after the green handkerchiefs used by Argentinians to support the legalization of abortion. The handkerchiefs have become a key symbol for pro-abortion protests and are inspired by the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, who wore white handkerchiefs in the search for their missing children (Casas, 2021; Sutton & Vacarezza, 2020). Today feminist and pro-choice protests

happen simultaneously, with protesters always carrying green handkerchiefs during marches. According to the communication that Sutton and Vacarezza (2020) had with Argentinian activists, the color green did not contain any particular connotations, but it was a color that had not been used by any other social movement in the region.

The feminist and pro-choice protests that have taken place in México since 2019 are different from what was previously known as the feminist movement (Álvarez Enríquez, 2021). According to Álvarez Enríquez (2021), the current Mexican feminist movement has its own language, very particular demands, and strategies. Furthermore, she states that due to a lack of understanding and positive responses from authorities and institutions, the movement has turned to disruptive protests to gain attention.

The first protest that used disruption was known as "la marcha de la diamantina" (glitter protest) (Álvarez Enríquez, 2021; Azahua, 2020). The protest took place in México City on August 16th, 2019, where feminists threw glitter at México's city security chief, and the act itself was condemned by authorities as a violent act (Phillips, 2019). The protest, which was supposed to be a peaceful one, turned into one where a Metrobus station was set on fire. Azahua states that "the overflowing rage would continue to be present in all future demonstrations that were detonated with each new violence" (2020, p.27).

Since the pro-abortion and feminist Mexican movements lack visibility in the media, protesters have used disruptive methods to gain the news media and public's attention. After that protest in the capital of the country in 2019, feminist and pro-choice protests in various cities of México have gained visibility by doing art interventions on public property, painting and destroying monuments, and graffitiing walls (Abi-Habib & Lopez, 2021). With the disruption also came the use of repressive police forces (Amnesty International, 2021; Cerva-Cerna, 2022).

Feminists and pro-choice protests in México have been continuously stigmatized by society and authorities. Cerva-Cerna (2022) explains that due to their privileged public position, political actors, such as the president, have a higher chance to cancel or delegitimize feminist protests, and they do so by using media. The president of México, Andres Manuel López Obrador, has publicly spoken against the iconoclastic actions by feminists across the country (Federico, 2021). Mexican authorities and media have embraced the idea that feminism is a public enemy of the state by framing and representing protests in a negative light (Cerva-Cerna, 2022).

Newscasts have portrayed the movement mainly with images of "violent actions," leading to the stigmatization and criminalization of the protests (Azahua, 2020; Cerva-Cerna, 2020a, 202b). This framing "minimizes the content of demands and maximizes the disruption of public order, the damage to monuments, walls, and facades, as well as the destruction of public buildings" (Cerva-Cerna, 2022, parr. 9). Furthermore, the criminalization of protests is a discursive element that justifies a high presence of security forces during feminist demonstrations (Article 19, 2021), which on many occasions has led to human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2021).

Feminists in México have taken a stand toward media coverage, asking to stop portraying protests in a way that criminalizes the participants and delegitimizes their demands. During a protest in February 2020, protesters set fire to media vehicles, demanding that certain media not sensationalize violence towards women and delegitimize protests (Barragán, 2020). Feminists believe the media are biased toward the protest and help amplify hostile reactions by the general public (Cerva-Cerna, 2020).

Photo Coverage of Feminist and Pro-Abortion Protests in México

Photojournalists themselves have questioned mainstream media. Photographers, such as Andrea Murcia, María Ruiz, and Victoria Razo, have spoken out about the need to care for subjects when covering the feminist and pro-abortion protests (Estrada, 2020). Their work has also taken different approaches. In the 2019 protest where the Metrobus station was set on fire, while most news media showed images of the disruptive acts, photojournalist María Ruiz photographed two women hugging and crying. In 2020, in the march for International Women's Day, the federal government placed metal fences around buildings. Activists painted the names of victims of femicides on the fences, and later there was a confrontation with authorities, with police throwing tear gas at protesters from the other side of the fence. While the media focused on the confrontation, Andrea Murcia photographed a girl flying a kite with the fence in the background.

Photojournalists have shown different sides of the protests, with photographs of girls, dancing performances, and women in wheelchairs. Nevertheless, photographs of confrontation are still common in mainstream media, creating a delegitimizing depiction of pro-abortion protests.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media Systems

Hallin and Mancini (2004) established three models of media systems that have become the starting point for many comparative studies on media and journalism. “Comparative analysis can protect us from false generalizations (…) but can also encourage us to move from overly particular explanations to more general ones where this is appropriate” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.3).

Media systems literature is a useful framework to understand the factors that impact and influence how media produce news and entertainment around the world (Wirz et al., 2021). The systems are created by looking at patterns in media in different countries; these typologies can serve as simplified models that explain the different contexts of media (Brüggemann, et al., 2014).

Hallin and Mancini (2004) introduced four main dimensions to determine media systems, as well as different indicators for each dimension. The dimensions proposed by them are political parallelism, journalistic professionalism, media market, and role of the state.

Development of the press market refers to the mass circulation of the press and if it reaches only a small elite or also the mass public (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). It takes into account how wide is the reach of the press and how inclusive it is with its audience, considering if it reaches men and women. Brüggemann et al. (2004) suggested relabeling this dimension to “inclusiveness of press market.”

Political parallelism refers to the degree to which journalism involves political values. This concept is extended to party press parallelism which describes how close the media works

with political parties. This dimension may also be determined by the extent to which media coverage is influenced by the general political context but also by the journalists' political affiliations, political news bias, and the degree to which audiences consume news according to their political inclinations (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Brüggemann et al., 2014).

Journalistic professionalism: Even though Hallin and Mancini (2004) initially refer to it as professionalization, they argue that it has nothing to do with formal training. They establish three different dimensions. The first one is autonomy, referring to how much control journalists have over their work process as a group, not necessarily at an individual level. Autonomy may be limited by external forces such as political actors or internal ones, such as news organizations or media owners. The second one is distinct professional norms, which are norms that are developed inside the journalism field to maintain common ethical principles. The third dimension is public service orientation, which is the extent that journalists are oriented toward serving the public interests and gaining public trust. Brüggemann, et al. state that "the absence of journalistic professionalism manifests itself in the instrumentalization of journalists by economic or political interests, which in turn contribute to diminishing their credibility" (2014, p.1040).

Role of the state: Hallin & Mancini (2004) mention that the state plays an important role in shaping media, but there are differences in the kind of state intervention that might take place in each country. They consider public broadcasting the most important kind of state intervention, which is present in most Western media; however, this is also a multidimensional category. Another category is the support that private media receive from the state either directly or indirectly. And the third category is the way the media market is regulated by the state through either laws, such as hate speech laws, or constraining media content.

Hallin and Mancini's (2004) analysis of these four dimensions results in three different

media system models that are “ideal types” but are “far from capturing the full complexity either of the media systems of particular countries, or of the patterns of relationships among the major variables” (2004, p.69) previously identified. They also state that it is important to take into account that the media systems of individual countries are not homogenous.

North Atlantic or Liberal Model: is determined by a high reach of the media market, low political parallelism, high professionalized journalism, and a weak role of the state. Countries like Canada, Great Britain, and the U.S. have this model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

The Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model: is determined by a “high reach of the press market, relatively high degree of political parallelism, strong professionalization, and strong state intervention, in the form of strong public service broadcasters and subsidies for the press” (Brüggemann, et al, 2014, p.1042). Nordic countries, Belgium and the Netherlands are considered to have this model.

Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Market: determined by a low reach of the media market with an elite-oriented press, high political parallelism, low professionalization, and strong state intervention, with the state playing a big role as an owner, regulator, and founder of the media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Brüggemann, et al, 2014). Countries like France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain have this kind of system.

Even though these models may be limited, especially since Hallin and Mancini (2004) only looked at countries from the Global North, their identifications of patterns among systems may help carry out research, making Hallin and Mancini’s models of media systems the point of reference for many comparative studies in journalism (Brüggemann et al., 2014).

It has been established that the U.S. has a liberal model. Nevertheless, digitalization and technology have opened new possibilities for audiences to interact and give feedback to media,

making media systems mutate (Gómez, 2020).

The interest in media system research in Latin America has been growing in the last decade (Echeverría et al., 2021). Gómez explains that even though México fits in the context of Latin America, its proximity to the U.S. influences its model, which makes it a complex model. México's proximity with the U.S., Gómez says, is fundamental to understanding how México's model lines up with the logic of the free market and liberal democracy. However, political parallelism in México's media system is consistent since the press system has strong ideological roots that at some point served the political party in power (Echeverría et al., 2021).

México's system also has strong patron-client relationships between the government and media companies (Echeverría et al., 2021), where the government may create pressure on mainstream media through advertisement contracts, but at the same time, mainstream media push back by blackmailing the government through negative or positive framings of their actions as a way to obtain more public resources (Gómez, 2020).

It is also important to consider that México has been going through internal political changes, that have also come with a media reform in 2014 and with the current president Andres Manuel López Obrador openly attacking media (The Editorial Board, 2022). Even though México has become the second most dangerous country to be a journalist with 11 journalists killed during 2022, just behind Ukraine where there were 12 killings of journalists in the same year (International Federation of Journalists, 2023), investigative journalism has shed light on political corruption in the last decade, making the Mexican system even more complex (Gómez, 2020).

Protest Paradigm

Most citizens know about protests mainly through the news media (Boyle & McLeod,

2018). Social movements and protests depend on big media companies to gain visibility (Rovira-Sancho, 2013). For social movements, media exposure often comes with an increase in public awareness and increased opportunities to achieve their goals (Brown & Mourão, 2021). Nevertheless, protesters don't have control over how the media will portray them or how the movement will be framed, which leads them to face two different challenges. The first one is to get media attention and the second one is to get coverage reflects their intended goals (Boyle & McLeod, 2018).

To gain the attention of the media, protesters tend to engage in disruptive actions that often involve conflict and sensationalism. Due to journalism norms, news coverage tends to focus on disruptive actions, "minimizing substance and marginalizing the movement by suppressing, stifling, and criminalizing the voices of protesters" (Brown & Mourão, 2021, p. 578).

This phenomenon, known as the protest paradigm, was identified by Chan and Lee (1984). The authors suggested that it should not be assumed that the news media, no matter their political inclination, would see and explain civil protests objectively. They also stated that there was a consistent frame for most coverage of social protests, one that makes violence and disruptive acts more salient than other aspects of the protest.

The protest paradigm states that news stories about protests tend to focus on the protesters' appearances and their violent actions rather than their issues and social criticism. It is also common for journalists to use the narrative of a "battle between protesters and police, rather than as an intellectual debate between protesters and their chosen target" (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p. 5).

Research suggests that journalistic conventions and routines are the ones that lead to the

protest paradigm. News framing of protests begins with the actions that journalists observe directly and report, nevertheless, that observation is somewhat conditioned. “The protest paradigm focuses on newsroom routines and journalistic conventions along with other factors such as economic interest and socio-political ideologies, which shape how journalists cover protests” (Boyle & McLeod, 2018, p. 296).

Arpan and colleagues (2006) list three different characteristics of journalistic practices that contribute to the protest paradigm. The first one is that journalists are trained to seek action-oriented stories that involve conflict, making violent and disruptive acts newsworthy. Second, journalists are also trained to look for stories about people or events that stand out or don’t fit the norm, this makes different appearances or descriptions to be framed as the main characteristics of a protest. Finally, journalists are trained to use data to show objectivity, leading to journalists reporting on reports about the number of arrests, amount of property damage, or people affected by the protest; these statistics mostly frame the protest in a negative light.

Under the idea that protest news coverage does not happen in a vacuum, Boyle and McLeod (2018) created a model that represents the characteristics and factors of the social paradigm. The premise of their model is that news coverage doesn’t always match the intended message of the protesters. They consider three sets of factors: *the movement,* which includes goals, tactics, skills, and experience from the members; *journalistic factors* are the resources of the news organization, and the personal ideological orientation of the journalist, as well as their training. The *contextual factors* are the support or lack of it from public opinion, support from elites, and location.

Other scholars (Detenber, et al., 2007) have explained that under the protest paradigm, stories adopt multiplet subthemes, which include crime, where the frames emphasize legal

violations and arrests; riot scenes, a subtheme that emphasizes chaos; confrontation, which shows conflict with police but also with protesters from the other side of the issue that is being debated if there are such.

Overall, the protest paradigm “illustrates how varying institutional and systematic forces contribute to the repression of movement efforts through media representation” (Brown & Mourão, 2021, p. 578) by overrepresenting violence in different social movements, especially if the protest groups challenge the status quo; McLeod and Detenber (1999) state that the more a group challenges the status quo, the closer the media will use the frames that lead to the protest paradigm.

Protests are not only framed in a violent way but in deviance from the status quo (Arpan et al., 2006), sometimes depicting them as an isolated minority (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). It is important to note that media effects are not limited to audiences that are conformed by citizens, “but also impact powerful representatives of institutions connected to the protest, including government agencies, corporations, and law enforcement agencies” (Boyle & McLeod, 2018, p. 297). Furthermore, when deviance is exaggerated by the overrepresentation of violence or disruptive acts, state repression tends to escalate (Brown & Mourão, 2021).

In the context of news coverage of social protests, studies show that the frames used to cover a protest can result in multiple effects on audiences (Detenber, et al., 2007). “Research on the impact of news photographs has found that perceptions of issues can be influenced by the selection of photographs alone” (Arpan et al., 2006, p. 7).

McLeod and Detenber (1999) also consider the possibility that protest paradigm coverage may have a cumulative effect. Furthermore, negative visual framing could make it more difficult for audiences to change their perception of the protest over time (Arpan et al, 2006). As time

passes by, audiences might only remember vivid events like arrests, depictions of blood or burning of police cars, which "remain firmly engrained in memory, while less dramatic, nonviolent aspects of the protest fade" (Boyle & McLeod, 2018, p.296), having an impact on the perception and historic memory of the protest.

Despite decades of research on the protest paradigm, scholars still debate its applicability under different conditions. Reul and collogues (2016) challenged the idea that the protest paradigm comes from journalistic norms and routines; they state that the protest paradigm is a product of professional culture, but also of social-institutional and ideological influences. Additionally, Mourão (2018) states that the protest paradigm has to do less with the protests themselves and more with how they fit into a larger political narrative; furthermore, Mourão's research explains that journalists make distinctions between violence started by police and violence started by protesters.

On a similar note, Jiménez-Martínez (2021) states that the mediated visibility of violence during protests may be used differently depending on institutional, commercial, or political conditions. Most recently, Harlow and Brown (2023) also took a critical view of the protest paradigm, stating that understanding power imbalances between protesters and police, as well as between journalists and protesters, gives a broader perspective of how violence may be perceived depending on the actors as well as on time and space.

Furthermore, other research has found that the protest paradigm may not hold for different groups. When looking at abortion protests, Boyle and Armstrong (2009) found that pro-life supporters were treated less critically by the media when they supported the status quo (before Roe v. Wade, 1973) than when they were against the status quo (after Roe v. Wade, 1973). Nonetheless, for abortion rights protests the coverage did not change with the passing of

the ruling.

On a separate matter, when addressing women's movements, previous research upholds the protest paradigm. Tuchman (1978a) stated that news media are more accessible to some social movements than others, and when covering the women's movement, professional ideologies tend to contribute to a male vision. Furthermore, people who plan disruptive events tend to distrust news media, as they believe that journalists help the status quo, which leads to them not letting journalists get closer or access details of the event. In turn, journalists turn to more institutional sources that tend to stigmatize the movement (Tuchman, 1978b). However, the relationship between gender and (photo)journalism will be addressed in the next section.

Gender and (Photo)Journalism

Newsrooms have traditionally been male-dominated organizations (Beam and Di Cicco, 2010) and the consequences of this power imbalance have not gone unnoticed by scholars. Despite the increase of women in newsrooms, women journalists are still considered outsiders (Elmore, 2007; Lobo, et al., 2017). Furthermore, salary gaps between men and women, as well as newsroom norms and demands, make it difficult for women to advance in their careers and for the media to retain women journalists (Delano, 2003; Everbach and Flournoy, 2007; Byerly, 2018).

Researchers have studied the gendered differences in the newsrooms and their consequences in news media production, although most of the research has been centered on reporting and editorial positions. Studies show that men and women have different perspectives of what is considered newsworthy, marginalizing women's interests (Everbach & Flournoy, 2007); men-led newsrooms are more prone to using sensational news and women-led newsrooms tend to produce more feature pieces (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010). Journalists' news sourcing

practices are also influenced by gendered notions. Scholars have stated that there's an underrepresentation of women in quotes (Artwick, 2013). On a separate matter, female bylines tend to use more female sources (Armstrong, 2004). Women journalists also perceive gendered differences in the way reporters relate to their sources and carry out interviews, such as being less aggressive and creating more empathy than their men peers (Elmore, 2007).

Despite the differences found by some researchers, other studies also suggest that traditional news values are so tightly embedded in journalistic routines, that differences between men and women are not that significant (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010). This idea is supported by Turcotte and Paul (2015), who also suggest that journalists' gender only influences presidential debate questions on certain issues. Other scholars assert that journalists may overlook gender imbalances (Lobo, et al., 2017) and that women in the news industry internalize patriarchal newsroom norms to fit in and get ahead (Elmore, 2007).

With journalism being historically a male-dominated field, scholars state that the intertwining of gender and journalism is institutional (Ruoho & Torkkola, 2018). The differences between male and female journalists have been explained through various theories (Steiner, 2012); socialization is one of them (Rogers & Thorson, 2003). Men and women are taught different values since childhood, which leads them to have different perspectives and values as journalists (Steiner, 2012). Furthermore, scholars state that the differences between male and female journalists may come from women journalists feeling a sense of solidarity with other women since they have had a similar socialization process and similar life experiences (Dolan, 2004). However, academics have stated that the masculine culture stays as the journalistic norm because women journalists suffer burnout and leave the industry (Hanitzsch et al., 2019).

Despite research being done on gender and journalism practices, gender differences

among photojournalists are still considered an under-studied topic in academia (Hadland, et al., 2016; Hadland & Barnett, 2018a; Somerstein, 2021). Nonetheless, in the last couple of years, scholars have paid more attention to this topic.

Women in Photojournalism

Photography has never been exclusively for men. Women were involved in the medium with their own portrait studios and in assisting men (Somerstein, 2020). However, the field has been historically dominated by men, especially for news photography. Photojournalism has long been considered a dangerous and inappropriate occupation for women (Hadland & Barnett, 2018a). The implication of long hours, traumatic assignments, and heavy equipment has helped construct the idea that photojournalism is physically demanding, and due to gender roles, an unsuitable occupation for women (Darian-Smith, 2016).

Although women have been involved in photojournalism since the early 20th century (TrailBlazers of Light, n.d.), it was after World War II that women's opportunities in journalism and photojournalism broadened. As technology advanced between the 1960s and 1990s, so did the role of women in photojournalism (Thomas, 2007). During the 1970s there was a big push for newspapers and newswire agencies to hire women as photojournalists (TrailBlazers of Light, n.d.). By the '90s women photographers had firmly established themselves as part of the news industry (TrailBlazers of Light, n.d.), however, research suggests that they are still underrepresented. In 2015 women represented 15% of entries in the World Press Photo contest (Hadland et al., 2015), by 2021 the percentage had only increased by 4 points, with women being 19% of participants (World Press Photo, 2021). This gap is more visible in the hard news and sports photography categories, having consequences on the portrayal of women (Hadland & Barnett, 2018a).

Furthermore, differences between men and women photojournalists are evident. A report based on an online survey of professional photographers who entered the World Press Photo Contest in 2015 (Hadland et al., 2015) determined that more women photographers tend to have a university education than men; however, more women tend to be self-employed, the survey done by Hadland and colleagues (2015) on the World Press Photo Contest was consistent with this, showing that only 7% of women are employed by large media companies in comparison to 22% of their male counterparts (22%). Moreover, the same study (Hadland et al., 2015) suggests that gender disparity is common in most countries. The same survey was done in 2018 (Hadland & Barnett, 2018b), where 61% of the women respondents confirmed having faced gender-based discrimination in their work as photojournalists.

Nevertheless, gender gaps are not only a matter of numerical representation; it is important to analyze the practices and routines to have a better understanding of the gender differences in the field (Lough, 2020). Due to the lack of scholarly research on the topic, magazines, and news media have played a significant role in enabling women photojournalists to shed light on their experiences and the gender disparities in the field. Through media publications, women photographers have publicly spoken about gender disparities in the media such as hiring inequalities (Zalcman, 2019), imbalances on international assignments (Estrin, 2017), and having to develop more skills than their male counterparts (Billups, 2017). Women photojournalists have also stated that gender stereotypes of what it means to be a photographer have left them out of the industry, with practices such as questioning women's belonging in conflict zones (Capture Magazine, 2018) or people assuming they are the photographer's assistant (Somerstein, 2021).

Academic research done in recent years has also found differences in female

photojournalists' experiences. Studies have stated that photojournalists' assignments are based on gender. Briscoe (2021) gives the example of women not being assigned to photograph protests because of their shorter height but says that they may be assigned stories that require capturing emotional complexities. Furthermore, women are often assigned lifestyle-related stories, doing more portraits and personal projects (Hadland & Barnett, 2018), while men are more likely to be given assignments that are perceived as risky or dangerous (Darian-Smith, 2016; Lough & Mortensen, 2022; Somerstein, 2020). Studies also show that women photojournalists and racial minorities have fewer bylines on front pages and fewer lead photos compared to white men (Lough & Mortensen, 2022).

Researchers have also stated that women photojournalists face more challenging and demanding circumstances than men (Hadland & Barnett, 2018a). In a competitive industry, women are forced to be multitaskers and develop more skills (Billups, 2017), they also experience pay inequities and receive less career support (Lough & Mortensen, 2022).

Gender relations are not only present in newsrooms (Lough, 2020); when in the field, women are more likely than men to encounter bureaucratic interferences (Somerstein, 2020); however, men are more prone to having their credentials questioned or denied, to be detained by authorities and to experience physical attacks (Somerstein, 2020). Women photojournalists have also mentioned sexual harassment from sources and co-workers as an obstruction in their work (Capture Magazine, 2018; Estrin, 2017; Somerstein, 2020).

A common theme in this academic research is sourcing. Researchers and media publications have stated that women photojournalists have better access to certain sources, such as women in patriarchal societies (Estrin, 2017; Hadland & Barnet, 2018a), and are more likely to build intimacy with subjects, which opens new photographic opportunities (Westcott

Campbell & Critcher, 2018). Research also suggests that some photojournalists consider their gender an asset for photojournalistic work (Somerstein, 2020).

Academics have suggested that all differences and gaps explained previously might influence the photographs that are being created and published (Hadland & Barnet, 2018a; Lough & Mortensen, 2022; Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018). According to studies, unlike women photojournalists, their male counterparts tend to sexualize female political leaders (Darian-Smith, 2016) and tend to photograph more men (Lough & Mortensen, 2022). Scholarly research on visual culture and visual representation of women has focused on two key themes (Darian-Smith, 2016): the marginalization of women as image creators, which has been previously addressed, and the objectification and sexualization of the female body through the "male gaze."

Male Gaze

Based on a psychoanalytic analysis of Hollywood films, Mulvey (1975) argued that the film industry prioritized the heterosexual male perspective, reproducing an unconscious perspective of a patriarchal society where women stand as a signifier of the male other. Her theory known as the "male gaze" stated that in a world with sexual imbalances, narratives reproduce those same imbalances by dividing between active/male and passive/female (Mulvey, 1975).

In other words, the male or masculine is the subject (active) and the female or feminine is the object or spectacle (passive) (Mulvey, 1975; Ritland, 2018). Even though Mulvey's "male gaze" theory was developed in the film industry, it has been widely used in visual culture. Scholars have stated that the visual convention positions heterosexual men as the ideal spectators (Sultze, 2003).

The male gaze theory has been widely criticized for its use of psychoanalysis and essentializing men and women (Hadland & Barnet, 2018a; Ritland, 2018; Sassatelli, 2011); however, it is still widely used to demonstrate that visual content still reproduces the objectification of women and stereotypes of women as passive subjects. Furthermore, the theory of the male gaze is not limited to the sexual and erotic objectification of women, it can also be seen as a political tool for establishing and perpetuating hierarchies of power (Caviness, 2001). Most importantly, Mulvey's theory (1975) and the scholarly work conducted around it have shed light on the effects of gender imbalance in visual communication, particularly on women (Hadland & Barnet, 2018a).

Some research on photography suggests that the male gaze has become the prevailing perspective in Western culture, which can lead both male and female photographers and videographers to reproduce the same visual structure. Similarly to how some scholars believe that masculine journalism norms have been embedded into women's journalism norms, scholars such as Sultze (2003) state that since the male gaze has historical roots, both men are women are socialized into reinforcing it. Research on news media suggests that women continue to be depicted in "helpless, hopeless victim poses in contrast to photos, usually profile shots of stoic, strong authoritative male figures" (Macharia et al., 2015, p. 45).

Nevertheless, other scholars acknowledge that even though the heterosexual male perspective is still dominant in media, individuals have the freedom to break and alter that gaze (Ritland, 2018). Other researchers back up this idea, stating that women's photojournalistic perspectives break the dominant male gaze (Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018). Moreover, Ritland (2018) notes that technological progress has allowed men and women to be creators, to be both the gaze and the gazer, thus pushing against the visual unbalances and challenging the

implicit impact of the male gaze.

Scholars state that compared to the male gaze which has been extensively researched, there have been few attempts to investigate the female gaze (Jansen, 2018), in photojournalism those attempts are even more scarce (Hadland & Barnett, 2018a). One of the most prominent studies on the topic was done by Westcott Campbell and Critcher (2018), who mention that "photographers encode meaning in their image according to their own perspectives and views" (p.1544), taking gender into account. They also state that the increase of women doing war coverage and the increase of women photojournalists in the industry overall has led to the "emotionalisation" (sic) and "behind the scenes" visual narratives.

The male gaze may also be seen in who is depicted. Lough and Mortensen (2022) determined that men depict more men more frequently than women do. Research suggests that women have different photojournalistic practices, having a different selection of subjects and different narratives than their male counterparts (Darian-Smith, 2016).

As stated previously, women photojournalists may have better access to certain sources, especially to other women in patriarchal societies, where they may be perceived as less threatening than men photojournalists (Darian-Smith, 2016; Hadland & Barnett, 2018a).

Scholarly work suggests that having more women photojournalists "may allow marginalized subjects in conflict zones to be represented in a way that does not see them 'objectified' and 'depoliticized'" (Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018, p. 15). Furthermore, Westcott Campbell and Critcher (2018) also mention that men and women have found new ways of photographing, with men also adapting to the "feminist" narratives, improving the depth of visual reporting.

However, Hadland and Barnett (2018a) state that the small portion of women

photojournalists implies a decline in the female gaze, which will affect the scope of photojournalism, the diversity of narratives, and the representation of marginalized groups as well as the access to vulnerable communities. “Without the access of women to certain stories, those stories remain on the periphery” (Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018, p. 1556).

If previous research is considered (Darian-Smith, 2016; Hadland & Barnett, 2018a; Hadland & Barnett, 2018a; Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018; Somerstein, 2020, 2021), then it is safe to say that having more women photographers doing coverage of abortion rights protests may lead to having diverse narratives, more emotional frames and empathizing with subjects. Furthermore, it would be expected that women photojournalists would have different access than their male counterparts since abortion rights is an issue tightly related to women.

Theoretical Framework, Framing Theory

Goffman (1974) introduced the concept of framing, which proposed that the context and organization of messages could affect the way audiences perceived such messages and the way they acted on them. Goffman’s theory, which was later used by multiple academic fields (Benford & Snow, 2000), stated that frames help audiences identify, classify, and label their life experiences to make sense of the world at large.

It was in 1991 that Entman proposed that news frames exist at two levels: “as mentally stored principles for information processing and as characteristics of news text” (p. 7). On the first level frames help audiences make sense of information; on the second level, frames exist within the news narratives, encouraging a particular understanding of events (Entman, 1991).

Entman (1991) introduced the idea that frames make some ideas more salient and obscure others, even making some entirely invisible. Furthermore, frames may be reinforced through repetition, making opposing information more difficult to discern and influencing human

consciousness (Entman, 1993). Entman (1993) also explained that by selecting and making some aspects more salient, framing "was a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation" (p.52).

Framing theory has been used to examine stereotypes reproduced by media through the selection, emphasis, or exclusion of certain information (Fahmy et al., 2007; Bowe et al., 2019). Framing determines which problems deserve attention (Coleman, 2009), and what audiences will understand and remember about an event (Messaris & Abraham, 2001).

In visual journalism, *"framing* refers to the selection of one view, scene, or angle when making an image, cropping, editing, or selecting it" (Coleman, 2009, p.237). Various practices and actors come into play when producing visual frames (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Coleman 2009; Bowe et al., 2019). When a photojournalist chooses to take a photograph of a particular subject or action as well as one view instead of another, that is framing; when an editor selects a particular photograph for a story instead of another one that was taken at the same time and place, and when the photograph is edited or cropped one way instead of another, that can also be considered as framing (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011).

While the camera is neutral, Fahmy (2004) states, and while photographers capture the real world, the photographic product itself is a reconstruction of that world. When capturing a photograph, photojournalists decide to include certain information and exclude other details. "A news photograph is only a slice of reality and not the entire whole; it is only a portion of what is really out there" (Fahmy, 2004, p. 95). Audiences' interpretation of news is framed by these decisions made by photojournalists and editors and by media logic (Fahmy, 2004).

Visuals and framing theory remain understudied compared with text (Coleman, 2009). Nevertheless, many scholars believe images are worthy of investigating not only because "they

are capable of conveying unverbalized meanings, but also because awareness of those meanings may be particularly elusive" (Messaris & Abraham, 2001, p.225). Furthermore, researchers believe that the vivid features of images make them have a more immediate and powerful influence than text on the audience's memory and perception (Coleman, 2009; Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011).

It is important to understand how frames become part of the messages of news visuals and how they may affect and influence audiences' understanding of an issue (Coleman, 2009). "When specific visual frames dominate the narrative of a specific event, they indicate that the majority of the target audience would be more susceptible to come to congruent understandings of that event" (Fahmy & Kim, 2008, p.445).

When addressing framing and visual communication, Messaris and Abraham (2001) pointed out three central characteristics of images that distinguish them from words. The first one is that there is an *analogical* nature to them, which means there is no need for familiarity prior to recognizing objects. The second characteristic is *indexicality*: because photographs are a product of light and lenses, they are conceived as closely linked to reality. "Because of indexicality, photographs come with an implicit guarantee of being closer to the truth than any other forms of communication are" (p. 217). The third characteristic posed by Messaris and Abraham (2001) is that they lack explicit prepositional syntaxis, which means that viewers must make use of their "ability to make intuitive sense of implicit meaning on the basis of contextual or other cues" (p.19).

The three characteristics of visuals proposed by Messaris and Abraham (2001) imply that images "appear more natural and more closely linked to reality than words" (p. 216), and thus, audiences may overlook the fact that photographs are also human-made, and somehow artificial

constructions. Because "the brain initially processes visual images in an automatic, unconscious way, viewers are less likely to notice implicit meaning" (Coleman, 2009, p. 244) and tend to not question visual framing. Fahmy (2004) explains that because photographs look closer to reality or more natural, audiences can be unaware of framing, something that is not as likely to happen with words.

The idea that images depict a more accurate representation of reality makes them very potent tools for framing and communicating ideological messages (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Visual framings may be camouflaged, and thus, images become handy to deliver messages that would be considered risky or that would meet with greater resistance if stated verbally (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Messages that are too controversial for journalists or news organizations to express through words may be delivered through images, since they may provide a shield of deniability.

Photographs communicate meanings through implicit systems, and the spatial organization of elements in the frame carries particular connotations (Bowe et al., 2019). Structural features of photography, such as camera angle and distance, are important to framing, since they may represent latent meaning in addition to the manifest content (Coleman, 2009) and help reproduce ideological messages. Manipulation of these characteristics may produce different and non-neutral effects on viewers' perceptions of certain issues, "the perceptions they create are not neutral" (Coleman, 2009, p. 248). Some of the features that have been used by previous researchers are angle, distance, focus, imaginary contact, and behavior (Fahmy, 2004; Coleman, 2009).

Angle (Point of View)

Camera angle has been one of the main features considered by researchers (Fahmy, 2004;

Coleman, 2009; Bowe et al., 2019) to map out potential meanings. The camera angle creates a symbolic relationship between the image, the photojournalist, and the audience (Fahmy, 2004). Shooting up or down conveys a sense of power, something we learn as kids, those who look down are more powerful than the ones looked down on (Coleman, 2009). A photograph shot from above is considered negative framing since it is looking down at something or someone, making the viewer feel empowered in relation to the subject (Fahmy, 2004). On the contrary, a shot from below is considered positive framing since the power is being exercised by the subject. A photograph taken at eye level is considered neutral and creates stronger engagement (Bowe et al., 2019).

Distance

Distance from the subject may express if the person is liked or trusted by the photojournalist, and thus, by the audience (Coleman, 2009). A close-up or a photograph of a subject's head and shoulders is considered positive since standing close to someone suggests an intimate relationship with the subject (Fahmy, 2004) and means that the person is more liked and trusted (Coleman, 2009). The opposite is also true, Fahmy explains (2004), a long shot is considered negative, since having the subject far away depicts them as strangers and creates an impersonal relationship. A medium shot is considered neutral (Coleman 2009).

Focus

The focus of a photograph is related to the depth of field, and how much of the photograph is focused from foreground to background (Bowe et al., 2019). A shorter depth of field isolates the subject from the background, creating a more intimate relationship with the audience. In an image with a long depth of field, details about a particular subject might be lost along with intimacy.

Imaginary Contact

According to Fahmy (2004), subjects in photographs can make imaginary contact with the audience. When a person looks into the viewer's eye or the camera, the viewer feels like they have entered that person's world and, thus, contact is established, even if it is imaginary. Furthermore, a person looking straight in the eye conveys honesty, and the opposite happens with someone looking away (Coleman, 2009).

Behavior

Previous research states that shots of action or people in motion tend to be considered more positive than images with no action (Coleman, 2009). However, in protest photography, this might not be the case, since actions depicted in protests tend to be confrontational or disruptive scenes.

In current journalism, "the process of selection of images is inevitable in the making of visual news content and displaying it to the public" (Fahmy & Kim, 2008, p. 445). And because photojournalists work within institutions, news conventions dictate how individual photojournalists and editors make decisions, making photographs socially constructed products. When trying to explain visual frame building, Fahmy and colleagues (2007) use the metaphor of peeling an onion: the core of the onion, the photographs that are published, are surrounded and shaped by several layers of influence which are the news values, practices, and traditions of the photojournalism profession, among others.

Photojournalists and editors "reference news values particular to their discipline and audience as they produce the daily visual report of a news event" (Fahmy et al., 2007, p. 557). An example of it is action photos are generally considered more newsworthy than passive photos. A photo of a protester being arrested would be chosen over a photo of a peaceful

protester, and so, a generally peaceful protest with a couple of minutes of conflict may easily be depicted in the media as a violent protest (Coleman, 2009). Editors and photojournalists would defend this decision on the idea that violence represents conflict and will more easily get the audience’s attention (Hall, 1973).

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

Visual frames and visual representation play an important role in how audiences perceive pro-abortion protests. Despite México and the U.S. having very different contexts around pro-abortion protests, it is still possible to analyze how photojournalists from each country frame these protests. Furthermore, gender roles and journalistic roles also play an important part in how journalists approach certain topics.

Considering framing theory and the protest paradigm, the first question of this research will address the differences between U.S. and Mexican media in the visual coverage of pro-choice protests.

RQ1: How do the photographs differ, if at all, according to the photographer's gender?

The second research question will be focused on the different framing of pro-abortion protests depending on the gender of the photojournalist.

> RQ2: How did photojournalists frame photographic coverage of abortion rights protests in México and the U.S.?

These first two questions will be answered through a mixed-methods approach. The quantitative aspect involves a content analysis of photographs published by media organizations of each country. The qualitative approach includes in-depth interviews with photojournalists discussing their experience photographing protests.

The first two research questions allow us to analyze the visual coverage of pro-abortion protests. However, this research aims to better understand the media practices that lead to such visual coverage. The second set of questions mentioned below are centered on exploring the

perceptions of photojournalists in both countries regarding their practices and routines when photographing pro-abortion protests.

> RQ3: How do photojournalists perceive the concept of objectivity when covering abortion rights protests?

> RQ4: How do news norms and routines influence the photographic coverage of abortion rights protests?

Method

To analyze these research questions, mixed methods were employed, pairing a quantitative content analysis of photographs published in digital media and in-depth interviews with photojournalists.

For the first part of the research, the current study used a sample of 206 photographs of pro-choice protests published by digital media from the U.S. and México, which were retrieved by doing specific word searches on the website of each media outlet. To have a balanced analysis, the research used a similar number of photographs from each country.

For the U.S., 104 photographs were gathered from the *New York Times* (n = 30), the *Washington Post* (n = 35), *The 19th* (n = 9), and *Dallas Morning News* (n = 26). The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* were selected because they have national coverage. *The 19th* was selected because its coverage specifically reports on gender and public policy. Finally, the *Dallas Morning News* was selected as the main publication from North Texas.

The photographs were gathered from news articles from May 2, 2022, which was the day that protests started after the leak of the Supreme Court Roe v. Wade draft opinion, until late July 2022, since protests were still being held across the country. Images were selected by doing a search in each media outlet using the words “demonstration,” “abortion,” “Roe v. Wade,” and “protest.”

For México, 102 photographs were gathered from four media outlets: *Milenio* (n = 60), *Universal* (n = 25), *Pie de Página* (n = 8), and *AD Noticias* (n = 9). *Milenio* and *Universal* were selected because they represent national coverage, with local newsrooms in the biggest states of México. *Pie de Página* was selected because, despite it not being focused on gender and public policy, it does have heavy coverage of human rights, resembling *The 19th*. Finally, *AD Noticias* was selected to also count on a more local source that is connected to Toluca, the capital of the biggest state in México.

The dates selected for Mexican media were September 28 and 29, 2021 and 2022 since the national pro-abortion protests are held on International Safe Abortion Day every year. The photographs were gathered doing a word search on each media outlet with wording such as "28-S," "aborto," "marcha," and "protesta pro-aborto."

The unit of analysis was each individual photograph. The content analysis was held paying close attention to the structural features and elements in the photographs. Each photograph was coded based on categories developed by different researchers (Coleman, 2009; Fahmy 2004; Bowe et al., 2019), in addition to a few categories developed based on the protest paradigm (see Appendix A).

In accordance with the research questions, frequency tests were run to compare and contrast the frames used by photojournalists in both countries as well as the differences between men and women photojournalists.

The second part of the research aims to understand photojournalists' experience and perception of pro-abortion protest coverage. This method was chosen since through in-depth interviews researchers have access to participants' perceptions, motives, experiences, understandings, and interpretations (Morris, 2015). Furthermore, in-depth interviews allow us to

understand the experiences of participants as well as the meanings of their behaviors (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Seidman, 2006), making them the preferred method for the second part of this study.

Initially, participants were contacted through e-mail, Instagram, text, or Whatsapp. In the initial stage, only photojournalists who had been published by the eight media outlets previously analyzed were contacted. Interviews with the first set of Mexican female photojournalists led to snowball sampling, allowing to find Mexican men who were willing to talk about their experience covering pro-abortion protests.

U.S. photojournalists did not respond as quickly. To make sure interviews were held, emails were sent to photographers from other media outlets not analyzed in the quantitative section of this project. The first U.S. photographer who agreed to participate was introduced to the researcher by someone in common. After this interview was done, the participant helped contact other photojournalists, which once more led to snowball sampling.

A total of 13 in-depth interviews were held with photojournalists from México and the U.S. after Institutional Review Board approval. The study involved two Mexican male photojournalists, five Mexican female photojournalists, three male photojournalists based in the U.S., and three U.S. female photojournalists. The ages of participants ranged from 25 to 42. The participant with the least years of experience had two years working as a photojournalist and the one with the most had worked as a photojournalist for 18 years.

Due to the snowball sample, the sample was limited to certain cities in each country. Participants in México were based in México City, Toluca, and Puebla. Participants in the U.S. were based in Austin, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. Three of them were freelancers and the rest worked for newspapers and non-profit media.

Interviews took place during the month of March 2023 and lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. They were held in English and Spanish, depending on the preference of the photojournalists. Only one participant who works in the U.S. asked to be interviewed in Spanish since that is his first language. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the nature of the interview. They were also told that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time. Despite most participants agreeing to have their names and news media outlets identified, pseudonyms were given to all since some of them did ask for anonymity.

Due to different geographical locations, interviews were carried out through Zoom and recorded with the consent of the participants. Recording of the interviews ensured the accuracy of the transcription, which was done using Adobe Premiere Pro's transcription feature.

All interviews were intended to offer the experiences of photojournalists while covering pro-abortion protests, as well as their perspective on objectivity and what they considered important during these events. Furthermore, interviews also tried to achieve a better understanding of the photojournalistic and editorial practices around the visual framing of pro-abortion protests in the U.S. and México. Despite wanting all the interviews to be as similar as possible and despite not wanting the first interviews to influence the next ones, it was necessary to change the order of some questions due to how they might be interpreted.

The questionnaire for the semi-structured in-depth interviews had twelve questions. The first two were focused on how photojournalists perceived and cared for objectivity. The second set of questions were more specific questions about how they cover pro-abortion protests and the frames and technical aspects that they consider important. Follow-up questions were made in some cases so participants could further explain their experiences or perspectives. The final

section of the interview was focused on the editorial process and the control that photojournalists had over which images were published. (Please see the appendix for the full list of questions).

Once all interviews were done and fully transcribed, they were read and analyzed to answer the research question. A first reading of the interview was done to compare and contrast, and during a second reading of the interviews, patterns emerged, creating topics. A third reading was done to mark passages that were considered important. Passages were marked using color coding for each topic (Appendix D). It is important to note that codes were data-driven (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Profiles of participants were crafted (Seidman, 2006) to synthesize information. However, the main way information was processed and analyzed was by organizing the coded excerpts from the transcripts into categories (Seidman, 2006).

To present results, excerpts from participants that connected to others' experiences or that explained a shared feeling were selected as well as contrasting or contradictory passages, discovering interconnections (Seidman, 2006) among photojournalists' experiences.

Since grounded theory "is derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.5) results were written being faithful to the words of the participants, showing their unique perspectives. It must be noted that the translation of the original quotes from Spanish to English was done by the researcher, who is bilingual, and it was done thoughtfully to represent the full sense of the word or sentence that participants spoke (Seidman, 2006). However, some words or phrases are quite specific to the feminist Mexican movement and may have lost their cultural meaning after their translation to English.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Two of the research questions were answered using qualitative and quantitative methods, and the other two through qualitative methods only. The content analysis allows us to see the differences and similarities between photojournalists depending on their gender and the country they are based in. The in-depth interviews give us a better understanding of photojournalists' experience and perceptions of doing visual coverage of pro-abortion protests in both countries. However, it is important to acknowledge that each country, and each city, has its own photojournalistic practices when it comes to covering protests and pro-abortion protests.

Because protests are different in each country and even change from city to city and because context is an important element when reading the responses of the participants in this research, the pseudonyms of each photojournalist are accompanied by the city they are based in. Since pro-abortion protests are very different in México and the U.S., before addressing the research questions, it is important to acknowledge the context of each country; moreover, findings in this research are to be understood under the specific context.

It was common for Mexican photojournalists to mention feminist protests as a synonym for pro-abortion protests. When explaining their coverage of these protests, it was recurrent that they said things such as, "There have been many feminist protests in the last few years, not only pro-abortion ones" (Javier, México City). Other photographers constantly referred to protesters as "the feminists," implicitly acknowledging that the feminist and the pro-abortion movement are intertwined in México.

A large majority of Mexican photojournalists mentioned the heavy presence of police during pro-abortion marches. They constantly expressed that police shape the protests and that it

is important to photograph encounters with police since it shows the state repression, which will be addressed later.

Only one Mexican photojournalist addressed the big difference between feminist and pro-abortion demonstrations. Miriam (México City) acknowledged that feminist protests are more widely accepted by society, unlike pro-abortion protests. “It has a lot to do with the Mexican Catholic culture,” she said. She stated that this is also shown in heavier state repression during pro-abortion protests, such as “encapsulation,” which is when police surround a group of protesters and, using their shields, keep protesters captive for long periods of time.

> At the pro-abortion marches, there has been more encapsulation, and there have been more encounters with police. I feel like that does not happen in feminist protests. I mean, sure there are encounters with small groups and the police, but not big ones like the ones we have seen in the pro-abortion protests (Miriam, México City).

On the other hand, when talking about protests, U.S. photojournalists constantly refer to the 2020 George Floyd protests, either as a way to set examples of experiences covering protests or mentioning it as a turning point for protest photography in the U.S., which will be addressed later on in this chapter.

It is also important to note that freelance photojournalists mentioned protests in the context of other countries as a way of comparing their experiences. Simone (San Francisco) mentioned that other parts of the world have a culture where protests mean “bigger acts:”

> I think the Europeans know that, and I think Mexicans know that, and I think South Americans in general know that. And I don't think Americans do, other than for George Floyd, I've never seen anything that profound when it comes to protests.

Alvaro (NYC), on the other hand, mentioned that civic disobedience is widely stigmatized in the U.S., where “any dumb move can mean a thousand-dollar fine.” He also stated that in Latin American countries, people know the power of protesting and believe that it can create change. He also mentioned that pro-abortion protests were different in each part of the country, he

pointed out how in New York they were heavily influenced by the Latin American diaspora, showing feminist Latin American symbols, such as green bandanas and pink face covers, and being more combative.

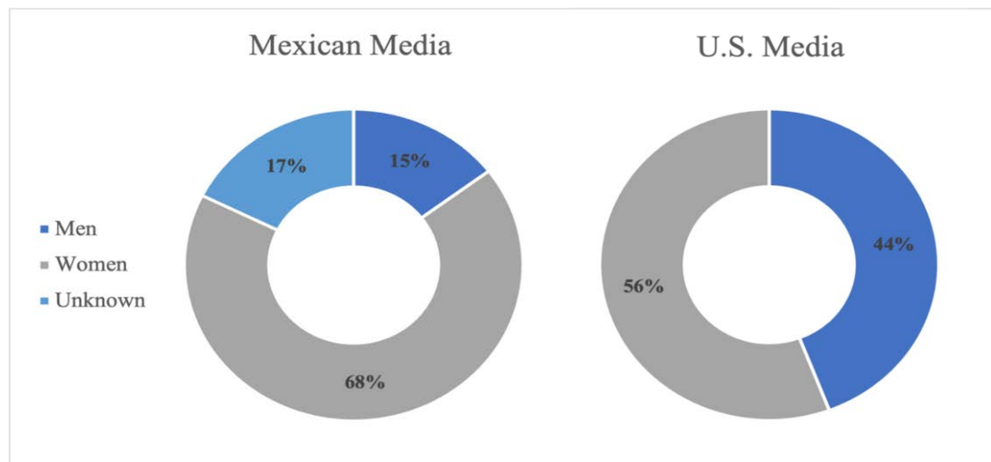
Alvaro also pointed out the difference in language, and how using "protest," "demonstration," or "rally" could create a different meaning around the event. He said things like "sometimes we say 'protest' and then pretty quickly that has a negative impact on the reader," and "people think that if it is a protest then it will end negatively, and it doesn't have to be that way."

Once the different contexts of abortion rights protests between México and U.S. have been addressed, the following pages will expand on answering the research questions.

Gender

RQ1 asks how photographs differ according to the photojournalist's gender. The question will be answered using a mixed-methods approach. It is important to note the gender disparity when covering pro-abortion protests. Mexican media mostly send women to cover these kinds of protests, which is also addressed in the interviews with photojournalists. Both countries have a higher number of women photojournalists covering pro-abortion protests (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Bylines by Gender



However, the gender gap is greater in Mexican media than in U.S. media. Men photojournalists only account for 15% of bylines on these types of stories in México, while in the U.S. they account for almost three times that amount, at 44%. It is essential to note that several photos in the Mexican media lacked a byline, which may be attributed to editors using photographs taken by reporters or from social media.

When addressing the structural features used by photojournalists (Figure 2. and Figure 3.), bylines with male names had higher percentages for non-favorable structural features compared to female names. Looking at the camera angles that were used, even though male and female bylines have a similar score on neutral camera angles (eye level), male bylines have a higher percentage of non-favorable angles (from above) (31%) compared to female bylines (21%). There is also an 11-percentage point difference in favorable angles between male and female bylines. While 36% of photographs published with a female name were captured from below, only 25% of male bylines are captured from this angle.

Figure 2: Structural Features on Male Bylines

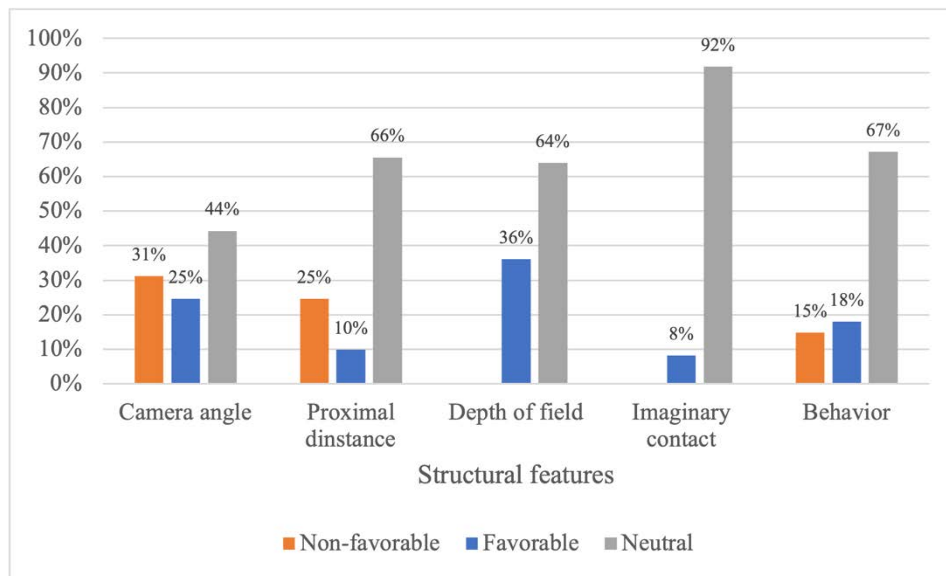
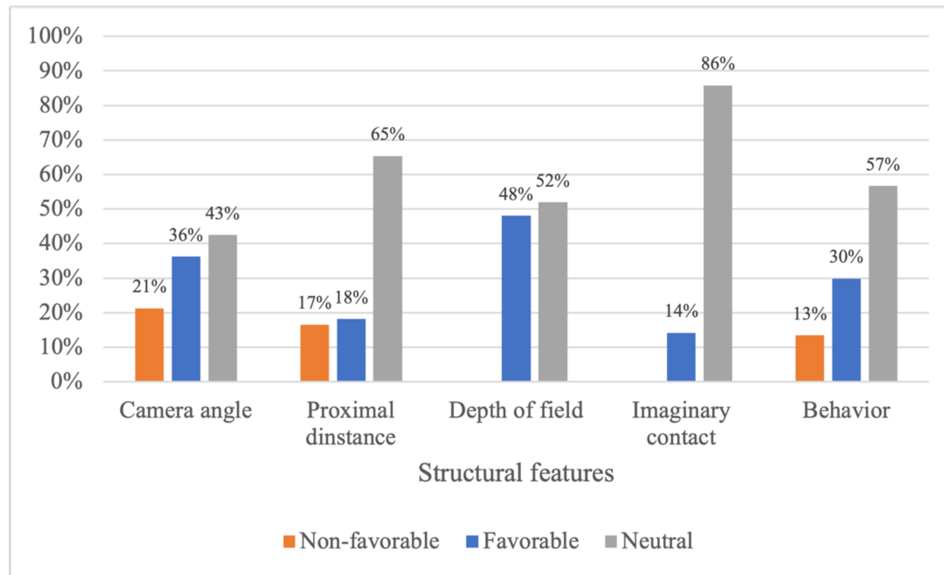


Figure 3: Structural Features on Female Bylines



Looking at the proximal distance, it is shown that even though both genders have a similar percentage for neutral shots, women’s bylines show a higher percentage for tight shots (18%) than men's (10%). In accordance, male bylines show a higher percentage of photographs taken from afar (25%) compared to female bylines (17%). On the other hand, women's bylines showed more images with shallow depth of field, accounting for 48% of their photos, compared to male bylines (36%). Similarly, the percentage of female bylines (14%) that show imaginary contact, which is considered a positive frame, is higher than the one for male bylines (8%).

Finally, for photographs showing different kinds of behavior, it is shown that even though male and female bylines have similar percentages for non-favorable frames, women's bylines had more images (30%) showing favorable behavior, such as emotions and hugs, compared to the male bylines (18%). Overall, women's bylines show to have higher percentages of structural features that are considered positive, however, photographs are constructed by different features, so it is hard to say if they have more positive frames than photographs taken by men.

For the qualitative part that addresses this research question, it is important to

acknowledge that gender identities and roles influence how photojournalists view their work, but also how they are perceived by protesters and even their willingness to participate in this research project.

A large majority of those interviewed mentioned at some point that their gender played a big role in their photojournalistic work, and when photographing protests, it is a big part of how they are perceived and what they paid attention to. The sentiment was repeated in different forms by women photojournalists that they had personal feelings when covering pro-abortion protests or demonstrations, something, they said, men would never understand. They thought that being women could make them photograph differently, even if they didn't mean to.

> Sometimes I go to a protest, and I connect with my own life experience. I feel things, and sometimes I can't hide it (…) When you're there, sometimes you connect with the emotions that you see at the protest because you have felt them too. It doesn't matter whether I like it or not, it's also embedded in what I see, what calls my immediate attention (Guadalupe, México City).

> I think that these are things that men will never understand, and I think that women empathize more with other women (Daniela, Toluca).

One of the Mexican participants expressed that because women were closer to the feminist and pro-abortion movement, they were more aware of the frames that were harmful to the movement:

> We (women) question ourselves more. We have a wider narrative of what we want to photograph and what it means to the people we are photographing and to our own ideals. (…) I do see that it's harder for our male counterparts. In these kinds of protests, they always try to show the most violent parts, like, them (protesters) destroying things, or smashing, or attacking police (Isabel, México City).

On the other hand, Kate shared the idea that it wasn't only that men photographed differently, which she thought was debatable, but that protesters might also react differently to them. Simone had a similar point of view:

> I think it's the response of the protestors too. To a woman is more open and more

engaged and less held back. I think a woman is more likely to cry in front of me or get upset or just be truly, like, emotional. (…) I just think that there's a way that women can connect with each other that allows trust and break down barriers, especially on a topic like this where women feel violated by men. And this brings up issues of not just abortion, but, you know, sexual trauma or harassment and I think that I'm able to be a safe person (Kate, San Francisco).

I feel like female photojournalists are able to capture emotion differently maybe because people feel less intimidated by the presence of a female photographer and they're more willing to show their vulnerabilities (Simone, San Francisco).

Daniela also said she has seen protesters react differently to men photographers than to women. The way she poses the issue shows implicitly that she perceives herself as part of the participants of the protests, using words like "nosotras," which means "us women."

I have seen women who tell men not to take their pictures. Because, I mean, it is a moment between women. It's a moment of encounter between us (nosotras). And having a man who suddenly comes and puts a camera on your face might be intimidating (Daniela, Toluca).

Context also matters when taking gender into account as well as protesters' reactions to photojournalists. Mexican feminists have asked the media not to send men photojournalists to cover pro-abortion or feminist protests, which adds a layer of complexity to the way photojournalists perceive their own presence in the protest. This exclusionary measurement also had an impact on the participation of men photographers in this research project, since it was harder to find male photojournalists who have photographed the protests in México and were willing to talk about it. One photojournalist, who was not interviewed, even stated that he always asks for the day off, to avoid being assigned to cover the protests.

Both Mexican men that were interviewed stated that they do photograph the protests, but they do it from afar. Javier (México City) mentioned that protests are so big that his media outlet sends at least three staff photographers to cover. Because they don't have enough women, he has been assigned to go, but his editors understand he will do it from a distance. Hugo (Toluca)

mentioned that he has to go as a freelancer, but he keeps his distance because he was once threatened by protesters with a taser due to a misunderstanding with protesters.

Having exclusionary protests has also prompted discussing consent in newsrooms and photojournalists questioning their frames and journalistic practices.

> When marches started being exclusionary it was also when we started questioning ourselves, or at least my close circle of male and female photographers (…) and now we still have to go but my boss tells us to cover from outside, to not go in the groups (Javier, México City).

> I think there are still more male photographers in the media, but I think that at the beginning [when feminist protests started] they didn't have the sensitivity to respect certain spaces. It was until certain [feminist] groups started setting limits and rules because they only saw male photographers, rules on how close they [male photographers] could get. It was only then that they started changing the way they photograph these kinds of causes and protests (Marina, Puebla).

Regardless of how the exclusion of men from the protests affects individual photographers, most of them said they approved of the exclusion because it has increased the bylines of women photographers and has forced the media to hire more women.

> Since this has started [protests] a lot of media had to hire women because they didn't have any on their staff. And because protests were exclusionary, that created conflict for male photojournalists to be there. I mean, they had to do it from afar because otherwise, protesters would paint their cameras (…) [Feminist] protests have forced media to have women photographers on their staff (Miriam, México City).

> For other kinds of protests, like 68 or Ayotzinapa, they (editors) normally send men. But I think that exclusionary protests have allowed us, women photographers, to have a space and to get published, because the media have no other option. Also, newspapers are hiring women, because who else is going to cover those events? (…) Every protest, the one on March 8th, pro-abortion, the one on violence against women, they all have been great opportunities for female photographers, especially for young ones (Isabel, México City).

One of the men photographers from the U.S. thought it was important for it to be mainly women who photographed pro-abortion protests. Chris (Austin) mentioned that "this is an issue that disproportionately affects women. So, it's important that they be given the first opportunity

to share their perspective."

When it came to men photojournalists' opinions, most of them acknowledged that there was a difference in how they photographed. Alvaro (New York) acknowledged that he was an outsider, not just as a man, but also as someone who did not grow up in the U.S. "I'm not saying I don't understand it, or that I understand it perfectly, but I know that there are parts of their arguments that I will never understand." However, he also mentioned that having different perspectives and sensibilities on one issue helped have a wider range of visions that would allow global audiences to have a more informed opinion.

Framing the Protests in Each Country

A mixed-methods approach was also used to answer RQ2 on how photojournalists frame abortion rights protests in México and the U.S. Looking at images from both countries (Figure 4.) it is important to note that overall photojournalists tend to use more neutral features. The proximal distance is the only feature where percentages are higher for non-favorable than for favorable features, with 23% of the photographs being wide shots and 14% being tight shots; however, this could account for photojournalists wanting to show the size of the protests, which is addressed in the qualitative part of this section.

When comparing photographs published by Mexican and U.S. media (Figure 5. and Figure 6.), Mexican media has more images (48%) that have a neutral camera angle (eye level) compared to U.S. media (37%); however Mexican media has a lower percentage (28%) of favorable camera angles than U.S. media (36%), with U.S. media having more balance in the use of camera angles overall.

When looking at proximal distance, Mexican media tend to publish more photographs with wide shots (31%) accounting for almost twice the percentage of U.S. media (16%).

Differences are also evident in the depth of field, where U.S. media has a 50% use of favorable and neutral features, while 32% of photographs published in Mexican media show a shallow depth of field (favorable).

Figure 4: Structural Features in Photographs

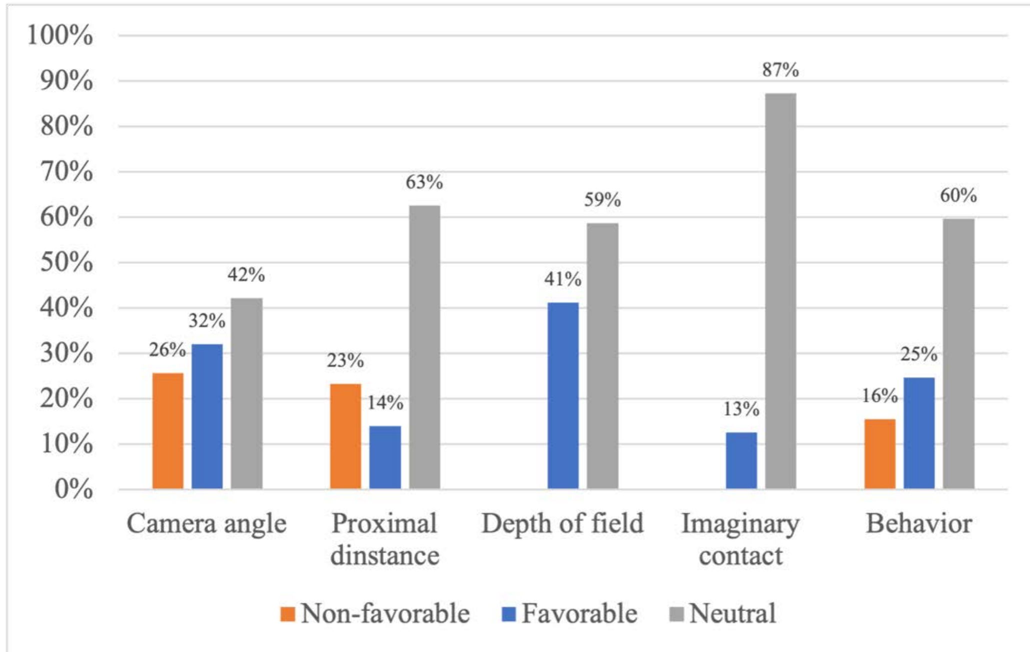


Figure 5: Structural Features in Photographs from Mexican Media

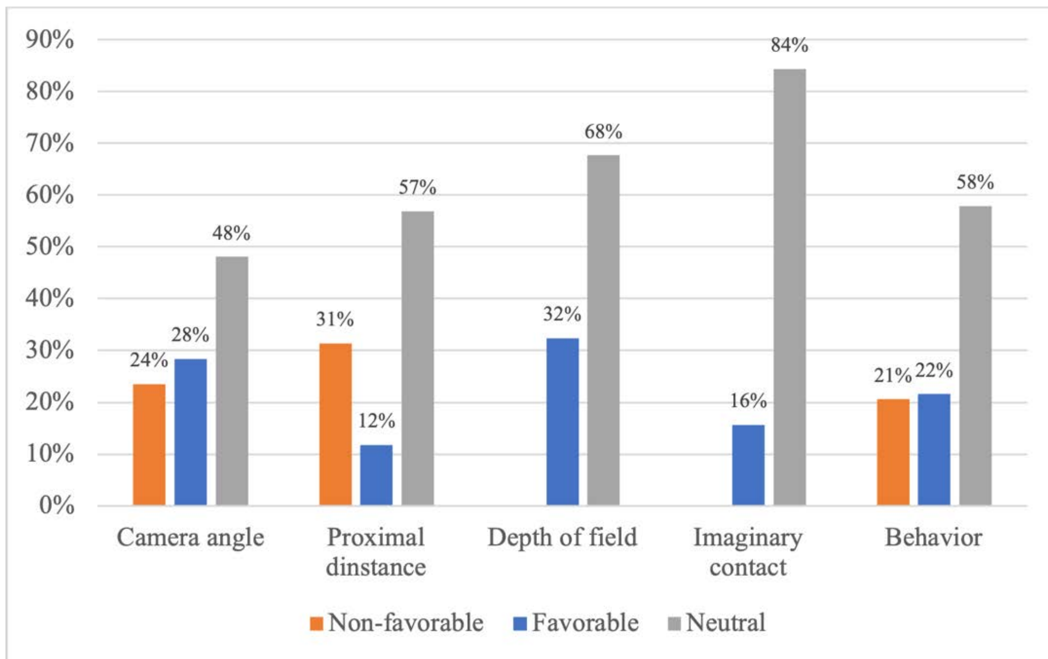
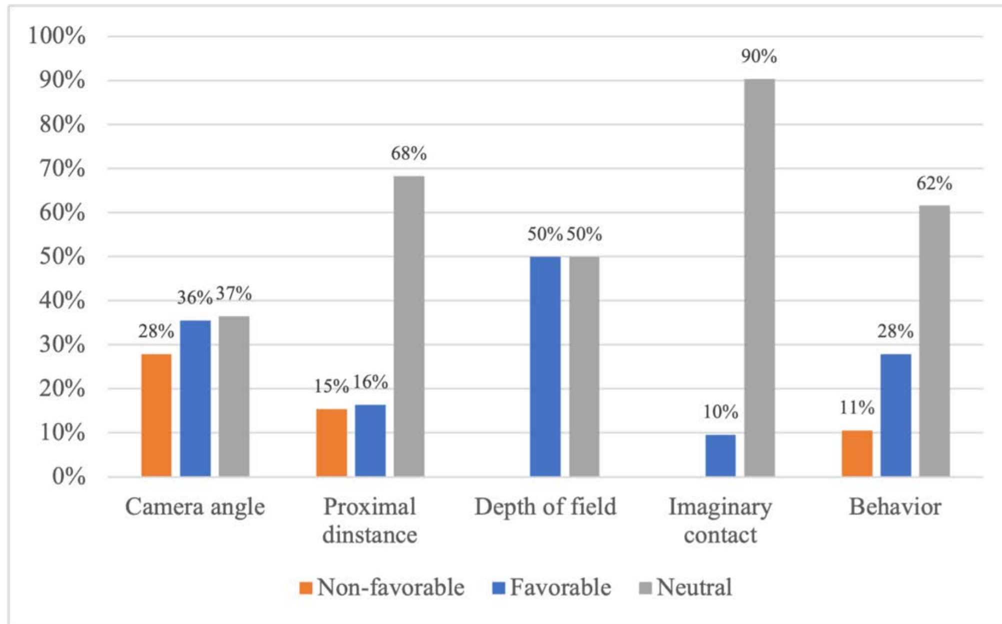


Figure 6: Structural Features in Photographs from U.S. Media



On the other hand, it seems like Mexican media publish more images with people looking into the camera (16%) than U.S. media (10%). Finally, there is also a big difference in behavior with Mexican media showing more images with disruptive behavior (21%) compared to U.S. media (11%).

Quantitative methods may give us a general idea of what frames and structural features are being used by photojournalists; however, the in-depth interviews provide an explanation of these findings, and the way photojournalists photograph these abortion rights protests. During the in-depth interviews, photojournalists were asked about the technical skills and structural features in their photographs, as well as what kinds of frames they considered important when covering pro-abortion protests. It is important to note that most of them demonstrated an understanding that their framing can influence how the protest is perceived by audiences.

Multiple topics came out when addressing frames: structural features, the “good side” of the protest, and disruptive acts. The more experienced photojournalists addressed how technical aspects or structural features could construct framing, and thus, meaning. Photographers from

both countries and both genders mentioned that emotions help legitimize and create empathy. Mexican photojournalists constantly referred to photographing disruptive acts as a way of stigmatizing the protest, however, this is a complex topic that will be addressed in different sections. To answer RQ2, the topics have been divided into sections to allow for a more in-depth analysis of each one of them.

Structural Features

When addressing structural features such as point of view, distance, or depth of field, most photojournalists stated that their decisions depended on the situation. When it came to distance, there was a consensus in needing wide, medium, and tight shots.

Most photojournalists stated that a wide shot was obligatory when covering protests since it shows the size of the protest. Guadalupe (México City) stated that showing the number of participants gives legitimacy to the protest. Many expressed that this specific wide shot is also normally shot from above. Isabel (México City) mentioned that this is the only shot she makes from a higher ground since it is charged with meaning:

> I only use a high-angle shot to capture crowds or the "muscle" of the protest. When they're walking down the street is when I do use this shot because I feel like it's a shot that breaks with equality, with the idea that we are equals and, in a way, when you have a camera, you have a weapon (…) so doing high angle shots is something I'm very careful of.

Guadalupe (México City) said that certain technical skills help create a respectful portrayal of her subjects, explaining that shots from a higher ground make people look smaller, so photographers "must take into account that those frames can be discriminatory."

Mexican men said that not being able to photograph from up close affected the structural features of their photography, finding themselves with more wide shots and with photos shot from above, since they had to get on higher points and use a telephoto.

Most photographers asserted that it was important to get close to protesters. However, Miriam (México City) said that occasionally she steps out of the protests and uses a telephoto to get more natural shots, that way she avoids violating the intimacy of her subjects while still capturing intimate images. Daniela (Toluca) stated that she photographs from different perspectives depending on the subject, looking to create images with symbolism:

> If a woman is holding a smoke bomb I always, always take that photo from below to make her stand out. The photos of mothers with their daughters, I always take those as medium shots. And when capturing the crowd, I always get in a higher place, like a post light to show how many we are.

Guadalupe (México City) was the only one who addressed that technical aspects are visual tools that help create certain narratives. In her opinion, photojournalists must be very aware of how they are constructing photographs because “understanding technical aspects helps you have a better understanding of the messages you are putting out there.” She gave the example of using depth of field in two different ways:

> When you’re trying to convey information, then it’s important to keep your background focused, because it gives you context. Not because it doesn’t have a shallow depth of field it means that the background is dirty. If you have a clean background then the message is more potent.

Simone (San Francisco) was also the only one who said that she uses different technical skills, depending on the media outlet she’s working for, since different media outlets have a higher tolerance for creativity when it comes to photojournalism.

U.S. photojournalists didn’t expand much on the structural aspects of photography. Natalie explained that technical aspects are important, although, at this point, they are second nature.

> I'm always thinking about technical aspects as well because I want it also to be a really powerful photo and however way, you know, so it's always a combination of the scene and technical aspects, but I feel like it's almost just kind of instinct at this point (Natalie, San Francisco).

Chris (Austin) had a similar response, saying he takes too many wide shots, but that he tries to cover protests the same way he would cover any other event.

Most photojournalists mentioned that technical skills were something that they would decide at the moment, depending on what they were photographing; however, three of them went back to their photo archives to try to find patterns in their work.

Additionally, when photographers were asked about what kind of images they would normally look for in a protest, they were aware of the frames that were considered favorable and unfavorable. Photojournalists noted that the moments they decided to capture could make a difference in the audiences' perspectives. It was mostly Mexican photojournalists who set a difference between the frames that would legitimize the protests and those that would stigmatize them. Miriam (México City) referred to the "good" and the "bad" side of the protest; the good side being emotions and human connection, and the bad the disruptive acts. These kinds of framings will be discussed in the following sections.

The "Good" Side of the Protest

Photojournalists shared what they considered important to photograph while covering a pro-abortion protest. Most of the moments that are thought to be important are also moments that they believe can facilitate a better understanding of the protest or may help audiences empathize with protesters. Some of the images mentioned were photos that show emotions, people yelling, mothers and their children, hugs, signs, and performances.

Photojournalists believed that photographing signs not only informs audiences about the motives and demands of the protest, helping them gain a better understanding, but they also show people's creativity and freedom of expression. Kate (San Francisco) explained that handmade signs could show that people care because they took the time to "write it sincerely and

genuinely." Chris (Austin) shared that some signs can explain what the entire crowd of people is trying to say.

Mexican women photojournalists mentioned that they like to photograph mothers who attend the protests with their children. Guadalupe (México City) shared that this image shows that motherhood must be a decision. Isabel shared a similar idea, explaining that photographs of mothers with their kids show that people who support abortion are not against having children.

Furthermore, Mexican women photojournalists constantly talked about capturing "sororidad", a term to which the closest translation is "political sisterhood", as showing the "good side" of the protest. Many mentioned that this political sisterhood can be shown with images of women hugging. Marina (Puebla) stated that it was positive to show that women help each other.

> When there are encounters with police, sometimes they help each other (…) I mean, there are very symbolic images, like hugs, holding each other's hand, or raising their fist. There are images that I feel like really show the companionship that you see in the protest.

Alvaro (New York) also considered it important to show the unity and community that is created in the protest. For him showing that women from different spaces can work together is a way to humanize passionate pro-abortion protesters.

All photojournalists agreed that capturing emotions was fundamental when covering pro-abortion protests; most of them even addressed emotions even before being asked about them. They mentioned all kinds of emotions, happiness, sadness, despair, anger, love, and even resilience. Miriam (México City) said that for her it was important to make tight shots of people's emotions because showing a face will do more than showing a large group of people walking. She also shared that these kinds of images depict the true feeling of the protest, since "you can't fake emotions."

Hugo (Toluca) shared that he normally tries to capture faces showing people's eyes, since "photos with eyes are more powerful because they show emotions". Marina (Puebla) shared this feeling, saying that even when women have their faces covered "their eyes carry their emotions."

Overall, photojournalists shared that capturing emotions can help create empathy. James (Los Angeles) explained that emotions make compelling images and that the key to any story was "distilling it down to the raw emotion of what is happening." Kate and Chris also shared that emotions were a way of helping audiences understand the general feeling of the protest.

> Because I'm trying to capture what it's like to really be there, and how the energy feels. Because different protests feel really different, and people just standing with signs is something you can kind of imagine. But how it feels viscerally and how it hits you, I think is something that people will relate to more (Kate, San Francisco).

> That can help you connect or help people connect with the people in the photos They can see maybe they were angry or sad as well. Or maybe they didn't understand, you know, "This doesn't seem like a big deal," but then you see all these people who are clearly upset by something (Chris, Austin).

Javier (México City) expressed that emotions can be carried through photographs and that is the purpose of his work. "If an image makes you feel something, then it fulfilled its purpose of informing you (audience) and provoking something in you (…) and maybe it helps you understand the reason for the protest," he said.

However, some photojournalists also differentiated the meanings of certain emotions. Simone (San Francisco) explained that she looks for "quiet emotions" or moments between people because they are more real than other emotions:

> Tender moments between two people where it's really raw and really real. And not to say that anger isn't really raw and really real, but I think it's the quieter emotions that are more appealing to me because it's not for the view of other people. The anger I feel is for other people. (…) And the tender moments are like, for me, more real. Because it's not a display for others.

While most photojournalists referred to anger as an emotion that can convey how much people

care and that they are protesting for their rights, James (Los Angeles) had a different approach to it. He explained that photojournalists must also think about how these images are read:

> All the eye-catching photos we are trained as photojournalists to look for, those peak actions, and those high emotions. And so, if all that we're putting in papers are angry people screaming at protests, what effect does that do? Because some people are turned off immediately. And if someone's angry, they get coined as like the angry ethnic person or the angry Black person or the angry brown person. And like, that immediately shuts them [audiences] off for wanting to learn more about their cause.

The “Bad Side” of the Protest- Misrepresenting?

While Mexican photojournalists talked about disruptive acts such as fire, graffitiing, window smashing, or encounters with police before even being asked about them, U.S. photojournalists rarely mentioned this side of the protest before being asked. However, participants were aware that photographing these kinds of acts may lead to misinformation about the protest. Most photojournalists expressed that publishing the disruptive or violent side of protests mainly leads to misrepresenting the protest.

Participants like Marina (Puebla) shared that the information around the protest must be centered on the rights protesters are demanding, and not on how they are demanding it. Javier (México City) explained that images of disruptive acts don’t necessarily represent the thousands of protesters in the streets. Alvaro (New York) emphasized the significance of maintaining balance, despite certain elements being more visually appealing:

> I’m not going to deny it, fire calls for more attention than a smile. But if not all the protest was fire, then why would you not show the smile? You must find that balance.

Chris (Austin) had a similar opinion. He shared an example of two men having a dispute at the protest he was covering. Even though he photographed the fight, he thought it was an isolated incident that didn’t deserve attention.

> Everyone else was very peaceful (…) and people don’t need to learn about that (the incident) and have their perception of the movement changed by this small interaction.

James (Los Angeles) argued that photojournalists must strive to cover the protests creatively, trying to tell the stories in different ways that may influence different demographics. However, he explained that once in the field, photojournalists feel the adrenaline and it is easy to go for the sensationalizing image that might do a disservice.

> Sometimes when it comes down to it, a lot of these sensational photos are easier to get. And it's sort of like the low-hanging fruit. We can quickly go out and get this sensational photo that's eye-catching, whereas some more nuanced photos may take more time to get and may take more legwork (James, Los Angeles).

Overall, participants said that they would unlikely share photographs of disruptive acts. However, their points of view showed that publishing or not publishing it was a complex issue they were aware of, and sometimes they even pondered on it. Simone's points of view were contrasted. At first, she expressed that these kinds of acts were important to create change, thus it was important to cover them. Nevertheless, later she said these photos may criminalize the protest.

> Like someone graffiti on a wall, I feel like there's a certain viewer that wants to see that. But you as a photographer probably aren't going to send those photos because it's dark. It's like criminalizing the protesters (Simone, San Francisco).

On the other hand, Chris (Austin) stated that images of disruptive acts may show the willingness of protesters to claim their rights. James has a similar perspective since he believes that publishing images of disruptive acts may affect the perception that audiences have of a protest and is careful about what he sends to his editors. He also understands that sometimes disruptive acts are part of protesters' strategies to gain attention.

> Some of the people who organize these protests and things like they also do want their actions to be documented and to get the word out (…) you've got to understand, some people want their faces shown, they want the word to get out there. And they think "Okay, we went the normal routes to get our points across. We've lobbied, we've done all this and obviously, it's not working. So, we need to take it to the next level and get the word out." And part of getting the word out is being photographed, being interviewed, doing these types of acts that will then bring attention to the cause (James, Los Angeles).

Isabel made a similar point, stating that disruptive acts are also part of protesters' narrative, there is a reason they are doing these kinds of acts – smashing windows and graffitiing in every protest or march:

> It's the way that these protesters can show resistance. Us making photos of these acts is not always to stigmatize, there's also an informative part of saying "It's not possible that these things keep happening and that's why people are protesting."

On the other hand, Miriam explained that she always photographs encounters with police, and she tends to share them, because "society knows that the police are the ones who act wrongly." Another reason for Mexican photojournalists to photograph disruptive acts or encounters is to protect protesters from police repression.

> I think it's very important, because before there were a lot of things that were completely ignored, state repression, to say it some way, against women who were protesting or that were exercising their rights. When there's media coverage, there's more possibility to make noise or protect them somehow (Marina, Puebla).

Photojournalists from both countries and both genders were aware that their photographs are only showing limited moments of the protests, and thus, they understand the importance of making decisions about which moments to photograph and how to photograph them. Even though they differentiate between the favorable and non-favorable frames, the decision-making is not a simple path, as will be described in the next question around objectivity.

Objectivity

The third question of this research asked how photojournalists perceive the concept of objectivity when covering abortion rights protests; however, objectivity or the lack of it was implicitly acknowledged in the previous research questions, with photojournalists acknowledging that their gender may play a role in how they photograph pro-abortion protests and if they feel attached to the issue. However, when asked directly about the importance of objectivity and if it was possible to achieve objectivity, the opinions were divided into two

groups. The first group was that of those photojournalists who think that objectivity is unachievable and thus, not that important. The second group considers objectivity crucial for photojournalism. It must be noted that the divide was not by country.

Most of the participants who belong to the first group mentioned that objectivity does not exist since photographers are deciding what to capture, and by doing so they are already putting themselves in their work. Photojournalists in this group consider that there are things more important than objectivity, such as being respectful, honest, and incisive.

For U.S. photojournalists, objectivity was not only a matter of how they photograph but also about being public with their opinions. The two freelance photographers from the U.S. mentioned that they were open about their opinions on multiple social issues. Simone (San Francisco) even mentioned that she believed that she had more freedom of expression than her counterparts who worked as staff photographers.

Mexican photojournalists thought of objectivity mainly in how they do their work. Two Mexican photojournalists mentioned that the construct of objectivity had to do with power imbalances.

> I don't believe in objectivity. I think there are a lot of parts involved, and normally it's the official part [the state] that has more resources, more voice. So, I think objectivity is to understand that disparity and understand where that imbalance is and focus on giving voice to those who have fewer resources to make themselves heard (Hugo, Toluca).

Participants believed not only that power imbalances are present outside of the media, but also that objectivity is unachievable under the influence of news media economic interests. Guadalupe (Mexico City) explained it this way,

> It's illogical to continue believing in objectivity when for years we've known that news media has certain narratives in the pocket, to say it some way. I mean, that media outlets have certain narratives, and that they have their own ideologies and even economic interests. So there has never been such thing as objectivity.

Despite expressing that objectivity was unachievable or an old construct, participants in this group also mentioned that they think they can cover other issues fairly.

> I'd like to think that I could still go to a protest or a place that was about something that I didn't necessarily believe in and cover it well. And, you know, cover it the same way I cover any other protest. But it's hard to know if that is really true (Natalie, San Francisco).

Guadalupe (México City) stated that even though objectivity does not exist, photojournalists must strive to cover human rights issues with ethical guidelines and respect, while also seeking out as many perspectives as possible. For Daniela, who doesn't believe in objectivity, the closest she can get to caring for objectivity during pro-abortion protests is steering away from sensationalizing journalism and informing what protesters demand in a truthful light.

The photojournalists in the second group mentioned that part of being objective was showing information without it being misleading (Chris, Austin), not altering reality (Javier, México City), or not taking sides despite your own beliefs (Miriam, México City). James (Los Angeles) explained that objectivity was very important in today's political climate and fundamental to upholding the credibility of the news media industry.

Despite mentioning the importance of being objective, photojournalists in this second group also acknowledged that photographers are influenced by their context and their beliefs, even without being aware of it. Chris (Austin) explained that their biases could be shown in what they choose to focus on. Kate (San Francisco) compared it to inherent racism.

> It's hard to break out of that systemic nature. And so, I'm sure that in my work my feelings about it come through whether I want it or not. You know, I'm sure without a doubt that the fact that I'm a woman comes through.

It is important to note that women in both groups referred to their feelings when it came to addressing how objectivity might not be achieved while photographing pro-abortion protests. One of them mentioned that even though objectivity was important to her, her own experience of

having an abortion make her care a lot about these protests and connect emotionally with protesters.

Photojournalists from both groups expressed that the concept of objectivity was an old construct. Miriam (México City) mentioned that she had been taught by "old school photojournalists" and that's why she thought it was important. On the other hand, Guadalupe (México City) referred to objectivity as a "fantasy of old journalists."

Some of the older journalists, like James, Natalie, and Alvaro mentioned that it was positive that conversations were happening around what it meant to be objective. Natalie (San Francisco) stated that for a very long time, she felt uncomfortable with the construct of objectivity but was unable to discuss it with anyone around her:

> I was of that mindset of just like "we report the news, we're down the middle, we're totally objective" (…) So, I'm so thankful for those conversations because, in so many ways, it's been just such a relief. It's just been great to learn that it doesn't need to be this one way, right? I was taught that and maybe didn't always necessarily believe all of it, but I was like, "Okay, this is what photojournalism is."

James (Los Angeles) expressed that when he first became a photojournalist, he had a mindset of being completely objective. However, in the last four or five years he has seen a divide in how photojournalists view objectivity, finding himself on the other side.

> So I think it's great that it's in people's consciousness now. I really do feel like we do have to make an effort because really who's running these papers are like old, old people and they're normally like old white people. And so, we also have to start educating the top to [do things in] different ways. And I feel like they're slowly getting there (James, Los Angeles).

Despite a divide between those who believe in objectivity and those who don't, all participants were aware that their work is influenced by their personal experiences. However, most of them acknowledge that their work is to photograph as faithfully as possible, which was referred to as documenting. Photojournalists in the U.S. shared the idea that photographing these

protests was important since the overturning of Roe had historical relevance. Kate (San Francisco) mentioned that doing visual coverage could bridge gaps between both sides of the issue:

> It's an important time in our history. And I think it's definitely important to cover both sides. To me, it's like the way that we can relate and understand each other and create a bridge is to have both sides of the equation.

For other photojournalists, documenting was part of being objective and truthful about what is happening during a protest. Javier (México City) explained that it was important to capture even the disruptive accts and encounters with police, "because if you don't then you're breaking with telling everything that is really happening."

Other participants considered that small acts were not that important but that capturing bigger encounters or disruptive acts was a way of documenting a specific time and place in history. Kate (San Francisco) explained it with an example:

> There were pro-choice people at the pro-life [protest]. They were just arguing the entire time and kind of like screaming at each other and holding up their signs to each other and getting in each other's faces. You know, screaming matches. So, I feel like that's very indicative of where we are as a country.

Isabel (México City) made a distinction between registering an event and doing photojournalism. She said that her photographs are charged with the history and context of what is happening in a time and place, and that's part of her job when capturing disruptive acts. Guadalupe (México City) shared a similar feeling, explaining that she might not take the "direct photo" of protesters graffitiing or intervening monuments, but she will document it as a way to preserve a historic memory. It must be noted that she used specific terms of the feminist movement that lose some cultural meaning in the translation.

> I don't want to ignore the existence of that rage. What I'm starting to do is take photos of their graffiti, of the places that have been intervened or where there was a "direct action", because I think is part of history. [These are] messages they are putting out there that

> later on will be erased by institutions. I mean, after the protest there's censorship from the state because they erase it all. So, I think it's important to document without putting anyone at risk (Guadalupe, México City).

Most participants talked about the importance of depicting the protest in a truthful light, however, they also worried about the impacts that their photographs may have on the individual lives of protesters. Marina (Puebla) explained that she tries to document with consent and make sure protesters feel safe, sometimes even stepping back:

> Some groups are opposed to it, they say "Don't photograph my face, don't capture this." And I don't. I try to respect their rules and to make them feel comfortable. I can capture other things from outside. If they don't feel safe, I try to not make them feel vulnerable, to not show their faces so those images are not wrongly used (by authorities) later on.

Natalie and Simone (San Francisco) shared the sentiment that the George Floyd protests made photojournalists question themselves, and while trying to depict protests accurately and show the scale of the protests they now also worry about showing their faces. However, Guadalupe said that for her it was important to document the "violence" in the protest "because you never know when your photos can help (protesters) during a trial."

Most photojournalists agreed that to present an accurate portrayal of the protest, submitting an image that depicted disruptive acts or confrontation depended on the prevalence of such acts and the number of individuals involved. They also acknowledged that sharing the image depended on whether they thought their editors would ask about it or not, which will be addressed in the next research question.

Photojournalistic Norms and Routines

The last questions of the in-depth interviews were focused on answering the fourth research question, which looks into how news norms and routines influence the photographic coverage of abortion rights protests and how much power of decision photojournalists have in the editing process. However, during the interview, most photojournalists shared information

about the editorial line of the media outlets they worked for and the decision process behind capturing, selecting, and sharing images with their editors.

The first decision that photojournalists must face is whether to capture certain moments or not, something that came up frequently when addressing photographing disruptive acts. Photojournalists expressed that photographing these parts of the process is not only part of their job but also part of media practices. As shared earlier, James said that photojournalists are trained to look for peak moments, which leads them to focus on certain emotions or disruptive acts.

Natalie shared that when covering a protest, she is aware of what is considered to be visually appealing, but she tries to question herself and the impact of that image. She explained that during the pro-abortion protests she had taken photos of people holding hangers, but later questioned the narrative of those images. She decided not to use them, despite knowing that most media would use something similar as lead images.

> I don't know if it was the right decision to not use those photos. I really don't. But it is easily recognizable that that is what that protest is about. And so many news organizations are just looking for that, you know, lead image to draw people into a story that yeah, it could be used to quickly visualize those protests (Natalie, San Francisco).

Isabel explained that even though she may not have a personal inclination towards these kinds of images, she also acknowledges that the media practices that determine what is newsworthy will make her editors ask for certain photos, especially if reporters are writing about disruptive acts.

> When I see a violent act, it's part of my job to register what is happening, because, in the end, my editor will ask if I have that photo or not. If they see it (somewhere else) or if it was highly shared, then my newspaper will ask why I don't have it. It is established and it is basic, I must register it because in the end that will be the news: how many monuments were intervened, how many people were hurt, how many fences were knocked down (Isabel, México City).

James (Los Angeles) shared a similar perspective, stating that he knows that certain editors like sensationalizing images for the front page, however, for him it is important to feel comfortable with his morals and his ethics and to know that he is not misrepresenting the protest. Furthermore, he explained that newspapers aren't profitable anymore and that sensationalizing images was a way of having "easy clicks," which translates to revenue. Daniela (Toluca) had a similar perspective:

> I think that a lot of news media have that approach of sensationalizing, because in the end that's what sells. News media take advantage of that to have wider audiences and generate certain discourses and a debate among their audience.

Another explanation provided by participants was that they photograph disruptive acts because don't want to miss out on something significant that their peers might be photographing. Isabel explains that even when other things are happening at the protests, sometimes photojournalists can't look away from more disruptive acts. She sets the example of photojournalists ignoring speakers because a small group of radical feminists was starting a fire. Even though radical feminists asked not to be photographed and emphasized the importance of photographing speakers, photojournalists didn't move because they knew media outlets wouldn't care about photos of speakers.

> I remember perfectly that I thought "They are so right, what are we all doing here?", but then no one moved. We all just stayed there taking photos because we knew very well that if we moved to where the speakers were, where the groups were talking, then no, no one would care for those photos. Not web, not newspapers, no one (Isabel, México City).

However, as shared earlier, these practices are being questioned. Javier stated that it's not only about photojournalists and the news media industry questioning themselves but also about how repetitive acts lose relevance for news outlets. He explained that because feminist and pro-abortion protests have been widely held for the last three or four years and because disruptive acts are common, photojournalists do not see disruptive acts as newsworthy anymore.

> I'm saying this from what I hear from my coworkers when they [protesters] start doing these kinds of actions, then photographers say "Well, we have seen this, this has happened in so many other protests and it's the same image over again. So, we look to photograph other things. But even so, you must be there in case anything happens, in case things get out of control (Javier, México City).

Another element that influences the decision-making of photojournalists during the protests is immediacy, which participants from both countries considered a problem. According to Miriam, the pressure for immediacy has resulted in editors often publishing the first available photograph, and as a result, she must be extra cautious about the images she shares with her editors.

Javier (México City) explained social media has increased the need for that immediacy since people doing Facebook or Instagram Lives create more pressure for newsrooms. Reporters add to the problem, he said, since they send photos taken with their phones, and those are the ones that get published since they are the first ones to make it to the editors.

> I dare to say that immediacy is more important than the quality of the news article or the photo. Because you're not only competing with reporters and with other media outlets; you are also competing with people who are out in the street (Javier, México City).

Media publishing images not taken by photojournalists was only discussed by Mexican photojournalists. However, immediacy is also a problem that U.S.-based photojournalists face differently. Kate, on the other hand, said that she feels the responsibility to share with the public what is happening out in the streets. During the pro-abortion protest, she covered she would photograph for 20 or 30 minutes, then step out of the protest to send her images, and then go back for another 20 or 30 minutes. However, this didn't feel right to her.

> I don't like working that way at all. It feels like the opposite of the way one should work because I want to be focused and invested in what I'm seeing. (…) But then you're missing things. It doesn't feel as complete as it feels when you can really sink yourself into it for an hour or two. (…) So, I feel like I have, you know, cheapened my own work by missing moments (Kate, San Francisco).

Most participants said they understood the pressures that newsroom norms and routines create for them and showed discontent with certain media practices. When it comes to covering disruptive acts, it is important to note that photojournalists set a distinction between capturing disruptive moments and sharing the photos with their editors, even with some of them stating that they were the initial gatekeepers.

Working with Editors

Most photojournalists believed that had control over the content that gets published since they decide what images to share with their news editors. However, in the previous section, it has been addressed that sometimes they feel pressured to share certain photographs that they normally wouldn't share. Most Mexican photographers expressed at some point that the media they worked for didn't publish stigmatizing photographs of pro-abortion protests, but that other news media outlets did. Photographers who worked for two big news media outlets in México City expressed that their editors used to ask for those images, but they don't anymore.

A small number of participants said that they had control over the publishing process after sending their photos to their editors. Marina (Puebla) was one of them. She said that since she is part of the editorial process of the newspaper she works for, she gets to ask for changes in case she feels uncomfortable with the selected images. However, she doesn't have decisive power on the front-page photo. Natalie (San Francisco) also said that her team is so small that she has total control over what is published, which to her feels like too much responsibility since she has no one to discuss it with. Kate (San Francisco) explained that even though she doesn't have control once she submits her photos if something is being misused or misrepresented, she can ask for a change.

Marina and Natalie are the only ones who have an influence on what gets published after

submitting the images; however, all the other participants said that their control was in selecting the images they would send to their editors. Photographers expressed that they won't share images they are not comfortable with. Chris (Austin) said he wouldn't share an image he doesn't feel comfortable having his name attached to. James (Los Angeles) even referred to photojournalists as being the first gatekeepers, especially younger generations:

> We have that initial gatekeeping of those images because once we submit those images to our editors, everything is out of our control. So, I go out and photograph a protest or rally or anything, and I submit 20 photos. I don't necessarily get to pick which one of those 20 photos gets to go in the paper (…) So when it comes down to it, a younger generation of photographers are taking back some of that control by really curating what we submit to our editors.

Daniela had a similar point of view, stating that she felt like she had a lot of control over what kind of images get published, that control was during the protest and selecting her own images. She knows what images her editors like or the images that they will publish.

> If I send ten photos of iconoclasm or shattered windows, then those are the images they will publish. But if I send seven general photos of emotions, signs, and three of iconoclasm, then those are the ones that will get published. I mean, it is important to know what kind of media outlet you are working for (Daniela, Toluca).

The decision to publish or share certain photographs with editors is not only influenced by how photojournalists perceive the protesters but also by the media outlets they work for and the audience. Hugo, who works as a freelance photojournalist, explained that he knows what media outlets are looking for, which sometimes motivates him to make specific images, like capturing disruptive acts since he will get paid for those images. However, he pondered whether he should feel bad about it, and later shared that he has his own Facebook page where the same images get different reactions.

> It also depends on the audience. Because I sent them photos of the graffitiing and I also published them, and the reactions were completely different. It was the same photo, same caption, and the reactions were so different (…) I could publish the same photo and get

> just heart reactions and they (the media outlet) will get angry reactions and even comments with insults towards protesters (Hugo, Toluca).

Having a similar perspective, Daniela explained that she might not send photos of disruptive acts to the publication she works for since she is aware that certain images can "stigmatize the movement." Nevertheless, she does post them on her personal social media because they have different audiences.

> I like to photograph them (disruptive acts), but for my personal media, because I think they show helplessness and rage, exasperation, frustration, and weariness. And I like that for my personal media, but not for mainstream media because they have bigger audiences and the message may be misinterpreted (…) I don't like it when the message is focused just on that, I think the message (of the protest) goes further than graffitied walls or shattered windows (Daniela, Toluca).

Even though photojournalists are aware that they are the first decision-makers in which images get published and sometimes make different decisions depending on where they will be published, they also acknowledge that editors and management have an important role. Despite James (Los Angeles) saying that photojournalists were the first gatekeepers, he also mentioned that photo editors had to be compassionate when selecting photos. He explained that there is a whole team that makes decisions, and everyone has their own moral compass.

As explained in the multiple sections of the results, photojournalists are having conversations with their editors. While Mexican photojournalists are having conversations on whether men should or should not cover the pro-abortion protests, U.S. journalists said that the George Floyd protests have kept the conversation going about a lot of ethical issues in covering protests in general.

Both freelance photojournalists from the U.S. said that nowadays editors seem to be more willing to have conversations with photographers. Simone (San Francisco) expressed that it depends on the outlet:

> For The Times, the editor wanted to have me involved in the editing process. I feel like that's just a point of respect for photographers. I wish there were more editors that did that.

James was the most hopeful out of all the participants, expressing that conversations are taking place in newsrooms and journalism schools. Alvaro (New York) also expressed that he has found a middle ground with some editors:

> I have worked with very interesting editors in news outlets that have an editorial line that I don't agree with, and we have been flexible, we have brought other elements [to the table.] And I think that is enriching and is a gain for the reader, for people who are documenting, for the news media.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Visuals can shape audiences' understanding of social movements. This study uses framing theory to analyze visual coverage of pro-abortion protests in México and the U.S., two countries that, despite geographical proximity, have different media systems. Understanding that gender may create different practices among male and female journalists, this research analyzes whether gender plays a factor in the ways photojournalists frame pro-abortion protests, a social movement that is heavily linked to women's rights. Furthermore, since visual framings are the results of multiple practices inside newsrooms, this research examines photojournalists' perspectives on what influences their work when photographing pro-abortion protests.

Pro-abortion protests have different contexts in México and the U.S. While in México they are heavily linked to the feminist movement and are pushing forward on abortion rights, in the U.S. they are the response to a regression in abortion rights. Despite these differences, findings show that because abortion is considered to be a women's issue, media outlets from both countries tend to send more women to cover these protests. However, there is a substantial difference between countries, with Mexican media having more women's bylines than U.S. media. It must also be noted that this is something that may not be consistent for photographic coverage of other protests (Briscoe, 2021) since this is a result of the demands from the Mexican feminist movement.

Quantitative findings suggest that men and women photojournalists cover the protests differently; furthermore, since women photojournalists tend to use more favorable framings than their male counterparts, this research is consistent with previous research that suggests that there is a female and a male gaze (Mulvey, 1975; Ritland, 2018). Regarding coverage of pro-abortion

protests, the current study provides evidence that women tend to photograph more with low-angle shots, getting closer to participants, using shorter depths of field, creating more imaginary contact with protesters, and looking for favorable behaviors such as emotions, hugs, and performances.

The quantitative part of this research may suggest that the understanding of the protest and identifying with the cause because of gender may create differences between the male and female gaze. Furthermore, these differences lead to men photojournalists using more non-favorable structural features such as photos taken from above and wider shots. It can be inferred that men photojournalists tend to play a bigger role in reproducing the protest paradigm than their women peers since they use more non-favorable structural features in their photographs.

Photojournalists who participated in this research were aware that their gender influenced their work. Women stated that they felt a strong sense of connection to protesters, sometimes not being able to hide their emotions; something that men were also aware of, stating that they might not fully understand the protesters, which made them agree that since abortion disproportionately affects women, women should take the lead on covering these protests.

Another consistent finding with previous research (Darian-Smith, 2016; Hadland & Barnett, 2013) is that women photojournalists tend to have better access than men photojournalists. Men and women photojournalists were mindful of how their gender may affect the way they are perceived by protesters. They shared that women protesters may be more willing to be vulnerable in front of women photojournalists, which may be the reason why women tend to publish more images that portray emotions since they have better access than their male counterparts. This finding shows that the emotionalization of certain issues that has been linked to the female gaze might not necessarily happen because women are more willing to

photograph emotions, but because people are more willing to show their emotions in front of women photographers. These results add to previous research (Westcott Campbell & Critcher, 2018) that state that by being able to build intimacy, women have access to other photographic opportunities.

It must be noted that gendered differences also appeared between countries. Mexican protesters asked for men to not cover the protests since they consider that male journalists tend to criminalize protests. However, when it comes to photojournalists, this measurement may have the opposite effect than what protesters intended. Since news media outlets don't have enough photojournalists, they send men who are forced to take photographs from afar, using non-favorable angles which are not able to create emotional or intimate photographs, which in turn may lead to men producing more non-favorable images.

Another difference between countries was that even though photojournalists from both countries were open about their abortion opinions, all of them being pro-choice, Mexican women photographers not only communicated their inclinations, but they also showed that they feel part of the protest. They talked about going to the protest with green bandanas on their wrists or using words like "nosotras," "sororidad," or phrases like "when we go out on the streets." These and other findings are also consistent with previous studies (Tuchman, 1978b), that state that it is hard for women journalists to separate themselves from women's movements. Mexican women also realized that this meant that their male counterparts were excluded from certain spaces; however, they felt a sense of belonging that justified their access to spaces that men can't access, adding to Somerstein's (2020) study that shows that women journalists consider their gender an asset.

Looking at how photojournalists frame the protest, quantitative findings suggest that

photojournalists tend to use neutral and favorable features more often than non-favorable. Photojournalists tend to photograph from below or eye level, using close ups or medium shots, and mainly focusing on non-disruptive behavior. However, it must be noted that the non-favorable features of camera angle (shots from above) and proximal distance (wide shots) were used in almost a quarter of the photographs. Even though previous research suggests these are non-favorable features (Fahmy, 2004; Coleman, 2009; Bowe et al., 2019), photojournalists expressed the reasons behind using them. Participants in this research stated that a wide shot is mandatory, since they have to show the size of the protest in order to show that abortion rights are an issue that a lot of people identify with. Furthermore, to make a wide shot that shows the size of the protests, they normally are forced get up on higher ground, which would also be considered a non-favorable feature. It is worth discussing that talking with photojournalists demonstrates that structural features that might be considered non-favorable in some photographs, could facilitate delivering information and, therefore, result in a more neutral or favorable frame.

Results also show that wide shots were also more heavily used by Mexican media than U.S. media. While they account for a third of photographs from México, they are 16% of U.S. media. This might have two possible explanations. The first one is that Mexican male photojournalists are not allowed to get close to the protest, forcing them to take photographs from a distance. The other reason was explained by one of the Mexican photojournalists who stated that it was very important to show the size of the protests since President Andrés Manuel López Obrador is constantly minimizing protests as a way to ignore certain demands. This last finding is consistent with the literature on media systems that state that media is influenced by economic and political interests (Brüggemann, et al. 2014).

Another quantitative difference between countries is that Mexican media tend to show more photographs of disruptive behavior. There is no clear answer to why this happens, however, it can be speculated that Mexican protests have more disruptive acts, such as iconoclasm, graffitiing, or fire, and police tends to be more present and to use force against protesters, which leads to more confrontations and more stigmatizing images. It must also be noted that due to cultural differences, some behaviors might be read as stigmatizing in one country but not in the other.

Through listening to photojournalists' experiences, it was clear that Mexican and U.S. participants had similar opinions about what is considered to be negative and positive framing of abortion rights protests. For photojournalists, it was important to show the positive frames of the protests through emotions, candid interactions between protesters, meaningful signs, and the size of the protest. They believed that these kinds of images can inform more accurately about what happens in abortion rights protests, but, more importantly, they also help create empathy in the audience.

Mexican participants were very aware of the negative frames of the protests, especially when it comes to disruptive acts and encounters with police. U.S. photojournalists did not mention disruptive acts as much, but participants from both countries were cognizant of how photographing certain parts of the protest can help misinform audiences and help reproduce the protest paradigm (Chan & Lee, 1984). However, some of the photojournalists also believed that disruptive acts were part of the protesters' strategy to gain attention from the media and audiences, and to achieve their goals (Brown & Mourão, 2021). As a result, the responses of participants were ambivalent whether photographs depicting such acts were beneficial or not.

It must be noted that some findings contradict previous research. While scholars have

stated that the protest paradigm illustrates how media representation contributes to the repression of the movement, Mexican photojournalists see their work as a way to protect protesters. Participants stated that it was important to photograph disruptive acts and confrontations with police, because, as they saw it, their photographs may protect protesters from police violence. The results also suggest that different contexts between countries and the different media systems lead to photojournalists caring differently about abortion rights protesters.

Another contradiction with previous research is that part of the protest paradigm states that protesters don't have control over how news media will portray them (Boyle & McLeod, 2018); however, photojournalists in México constantly talk about not wanting their subjects to feel uncomfortable with their presence. According to participants, in the last few years, news media have consciously questioned and changed the way the movement has been portrayed.

However, through the exclusion of men photojournalists and by agreeing not to photograph certain parts of the protests, Mexican photojournalists have given more agency to feminist and pro-abortion protesters to decide how the movement is portrayed. Some may agree that by doing this, photojournalists are breaking with the protest paradigm, helping protesters be portrayed in a positive light; however, some may question how much agency protesters, and subjects in general, should have in the photojournalistic work. When it comes to abortion rights protests this study shows that Mexican media are handing over more control to pro-abortion protesters than U.S. media.

Even though giving more agency to subjects was not something that came up in the interviews, it is linked to objectivity, which is a big part of this research. Overall, participants consider objectivity in photojournalism an old concept. Under the understanding that their life experiences come through in their work, photojournalists seemed to value other ethical principles

over objectivity, such as fairness, accuracy, honesty, respect, and questioning the status quo.

For participants, maintaining their ethical principles also meant that they had to photograph all sides of the protest as a way of documenting a historic time and place with accuracy, even if it was for their own archives. Doing interviews with photojournalists revealed that the process of capturing an image and deciding to send it for publication is a different one. Photojournalists may capture everything that takes place in a pro-abortion protest, however, being aware of the protest paradigm, they later make decisions on what to share with their editors and what to keep for their personal archive.

Findings indicate that photojournalists are aware of how news conventions and norms play a role in news framing and in their photojournalistic work (Boyle & McLeod, 2018). Participants were conscious that they were trained and asked to look for peak moments (Arpan, et al., 2006), making disruptive acts and confrontation newsworthy. This realization has led them to question the impact of their images and to try to photograph other sides of the protest creatively without losing the news value. Furthermore, they state that since they understand that they are the first gatekeepers, they carefully select photographs they will share with their editors, making sure they feel comfortable with having their names attached to them.

Even though at times it seems like photojournalists are pushing to break with the protest paradigm, there are other times when it can be deduced that as part of a bigger system, it is hard to do so. Participants stated that they depend on the trends of the news industry and on the work of other photojournalists or reporters. Even though they might not agree with certain practices, requests from their editors make them comply with them. Furthermore, they stated that there are certain factors, such as adrenaline or immediacy, that might cause them to overlook the impact of their photos, or to send images without carefully curating them.

Finally, as part of a bigger news media system, photojournalists are having conversations with editors and coworkers to find better journalistic practices with which they feel more comfortable. From what participants shared, it can be noted that in México the feminist movement, and in the U.S. the George Floyd protests have prompted discussions on the social responsibility that visual journalists have towards vulnerable groups.

Implications

The current study addresses gaps in two topics: gender differences in photojournalism and the visual framing of protests. Overall, the findings are in accordance with previous research on differences between male and female journalists. However, the results in this study build on previous literature by exploring the perceptions of photojournalists who not only agree that women have more access to certain sources, but they also believe that they photograph differently according to their gender. Findings also expand on academic literature on the female and male gaze, with results that support that men and women use different frames when photographing pro-abortion protests.

The research also adds to the literature on the protest paradigm by suggesting that photojournalists are aware of the paradigm and of how their photographs may misinform about a protest. Going against previous research on the protest paradigm, it can be said that photojournalists try not to reproduce hurtful narratives and go as far as to think that their job may help protesters while being out on the field and also by capturing injustices. However, results also provide evidence that despite photojournalists wanting to break the cycle created by the protest paradigm, they are unable to do so due to their adherence to newsroom norms and routines.

Findings in this research also contribute to the existing literature by presenting three

possibilities for media practices for leaving behind the protest paradigm. The first is with photojournalists curating the images that they share with editors. Knowing the impact of their images, photojournalists may make a balanced selection of their images that represents the protest accurately. The second is with editors and photojournalists having more open discussions about the social impact of their work. As visual journalists become more aware of the norms and routines that help maintain the protest paradigm, they will also have more resources to break the cycle. Finally, the third is the possibility that once disruptive acts become repetitive over time, photojournalists may ignore them, focusing on more creative stories around the protest. This will have an impact on the way abortion rights protests are depicted; it may create more in-depth narratives and help audiences gain a better understanding of the demands.

On a separate matter, the discussion of certain findings has added to the academic literature on how structural features may have different meanings depending on the context. Furthermore, by using mixed methods, this research allows a broader understanding of the reason behind certain frames; however, it also emphasizes the importance of considering the journalistic norms and routines as well as the media systems in different countries.

Finally, this study adds to the literature on media systems by showing that social movements may also influence media coverage. The current research also reveals that the Mexican media system is changing, with photojournalists noting power imbalances, challenging the "official" government discourse, and using their work to create spaces against governmental oppression.

Limitations

As with any research, there are limitations that cannot be avoided. The first limitation is that the study doesn't consider that photographs are rarely published as standalone pieces; they

are normally published within a news article and with captions, which some scholars (Sultze, 2003) may consider as an oversight. While scholars have suggested that visuals have a more lasting impression on the audience's memory and opinion than text, photographers could further explain the protest in their captions, helping audiences have a better understanding of their frames. Since this study analyzed structural features, it did not consider photo captions; however, captions could have changed the understanding of the image.

The way the content analysis was carried out presents its own limitations that can be divided into two parts. The first one is that even though new coding categories were developed for this study, it was not possible to use them to compare the photographs from each country since the context of the protests is different for México and the U.S. The presence of police or people getting arrested could have been taken as stigmatizing for one country, but for the other, it might be taken as a positive image. Thus, the content analysis had to limit itself to the structural features of photographs. The second limitation was the tests that were run for the content analysis. Even though it is valuable to have results presented in percentages, it is not optimal. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to run chi-square tests that would have determined the statistical significance of the results.

The qualitative part of the study also presents limitations. Information gathered in the in-depth interviews brings a better understanding of how photographers think of pro-abortion coverage, providing insights into their intentions. Nevertheless, this information is not generalizable due to the small number of interviews that were held. Furthermore, snowball sampling also leads to participants being more heterogeneous, focusing on certain cities from each country and on a narrow range of ages. Having photojournalists from other cities and with

more years of experience could have given more contrasting responses to certain topics, like objectivity.

When it comes to the gender diversity of participants, this research could have benefited from having more men photographers from México, since it seems like they have a very different experience from their women peers. Furthermore, the research only considers gender as a binary construct, leaving out other identities and limiting the understanding of trans, queer, and non-binary photojournalists.

Another limitation of the interviews is that they were done during the month of March, a month in which feminist protests are held all across México. This could have led to a deeper intertwining of the pro-abortion and feminist movements in the answers of Mexican photojournalists.

Finally, as with any cross-cultural research, this study also presents limitations by not being able to fully compare the experience of photojournalists, since their context is very different. Furthermore, the researcher's upbringing may also imply bias when analyzing information from each country.

Suggestions for Future Research

Framing in photojournalism as well as gender and photojournalism are areas of study that need further attention. As newsrooms have more discussions on power imbalances inside the journalistic world, it is important for scholarly work to show how individual differences, such as gender, race, and ethnicity, affect journalistic coverage of multiple social issues. Future studies could do a qualitative analysis of the images published in U.S. and Mexican media to expand on the literature on the male and female gaze. Furthermore, studies could have an intersectional approach, exploring the differences not only by gender but also by race and ethnicity.

Furthermore, all participants either showed to have a pro-abortion inclination or stated their pro-abortion opinions openly. Future research could be done with photojournalists who do not support abortion rights, since their experience and perspectives could be very different from the ones in this research.

This study was designed to analyze the photographs of pro-abortion protests and to only include photojournalists to understand their experiences when covering these protests. Since news norms and routines shape the protest (photo)journalistic coverage, and since photojournalists in this research spoke about the pressures they feel from their editors, it would be beneficial to do a similar study with photo editors to understand their perspectives around pro-abortion protests.

On the other hand, since the protest paradigm states that news coverage of a protest often fails to align with the intended message of protesters, further studies could also consider conducting interviews with pro-abortion activists and protesters on whether the frames used by photojournalists are consistent with the intended message.

Finally, participants in this research stated that the feminist movement has had an impact on Mexican news media, with actions such as increasing the number of women photojournalists on staff or prompting discussions around the protest paradigm. Considering this impact, future research could look specifically at how journalistic norms and routines have changed in Mexican newsrooms in the last few years. Furthermore, since a lot of media attention is focused on México City, the research could look at how media coverage of the capital affects media coverage and the feminist movement in other cities across the country.

Conclusions

The findings in this study add to three academic fields within journalism, however, it also

opens more questions for the news industry, especially when it comes to protest coverage. As the photojournalism industry is foregoing many changes, such as the Photo Bill of Rights or the creation of Women Photograph, and as the (photo)journalism industry is discussing how much control to give to their sources, this research could contribute to raising further questions.

Even though the Mexican feminist and pro-abortion movement has helped women gain more space in the photojournalism industry in México, the lines between protesters and photojournalists are starting to become blurry. As U.S. photojournalists question the objectivity and news media practices, some lines may also become blurry. There is no clear answer on if those lines should or should not be maintained, on the contrary, this research opens more questions on how much agency photojournalists should grant their sources. Should they grant more agency to protesters to determine how and by whom to be photographed? Should the Mexican media send male photojournalists to photograph protests? Are there limits to subjects, or protesters, in this case, dictating rules for visual coverage?

APPENDIX A

CODING SHEET FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Variable	Operationalization	Value	Source
Gender of photographer	0- Man 1- Woman 2- Unknown		
Camera angle	• Non-favorable: Photograph taken from above. Person looking up. • Favorable: Photograph taken from bellow. Looking up at person. • Neutral: Photograph taken at eye level.	• Non-favorable: 0 • Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Fahmy, 2004; Coleman, 2009; Bowe et al, 2019
Proximal distance	• Non-favorable: Photograph taken at long distance, no identifiable features. • Favorable: Photograph taken from a close distance. Identifiable features, head, and shoulders. • Neutral: Photograph taken at a medium distance, shows features, waist up.	• Non-favorable: 0 • Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Fahmy, 2004; Coleman, 2009;
Focus (depth of field)	• Favorable: Short depth of field. Focus on one person. • Neutral: Long depth of field. No particular focus.	• Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Bowe et al, 2019
Imaginary contact	• Favorable: Imaginary contact. Viewer looking into camera. • Neutral: Non-imaginary contact. Viewer not looking at camera	• Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Fahmy, 2004; Coleman, 2009;
Behavior	• Non-favorable: Disruptive act such as burning or destroying public property, graffitiing, representations of blood. • Favorable: Peaceful protest. Acts such as hugging, laughter or dancing.	• Non-favorable: 0 • Favorable: 1	Coleman, 2009; Rovira-Sancho, 2013.
Diversity of participants.	• Favorable: Diversity of participants, pregnant women, kids, and elder people in the frame. • Neutral: No diversity, just young women.	• Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Created from interviews
Showing faces	• Non-favorable: doesn’t show people • Favorable: shows identifiable faces of participants • Neutral: not identifiable faces	• Non-favorable: 0 • Favorable: 1 • Neutral: 2	Created from interviews

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

No.	Question
	Objectivity
1.	How important is objectivity for you as a photographer?
2.	Do you think a photographer's personal beliefs are embedded into their work, and if so, how?
	Covering Pro-Abortion Protests
3.	How do you care for objectivity when covering pro-choice protests?
4.	How important do you think it is for a photographer to identify themselves with the cause of a protest when covering them, in this case pro-choice protests?
5.	Do you consider important the visual coverage of pro-choice protests? Why?
6.	What kind of photos and shots are important when photographing a pro-choice protest?
7.	How do photographs in media help legitimize or stigmatize pro-choice protests?
8.	If there are violent or disruptive acts – confrontation- in a pro-choice protest, how important is it for you to photograph these acts?
9.	When photographing a pro-choice protest, how close do you get to participants?
10	When photographing a pro-choice protest, do you look for emotions? What kind of emotions?
	Editorial Process
11.	How much control do you feel that you have over what photos are published?
12	How are assignments created at your newsroom?

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Pseudonym	Country	Gender	Organization	Age	Years of experience
Chris	US	M	Staff	25	2
Kate	US	W	Staff	36	8
Simone	US	W	Freelancer	29	6
James	US	M	Staff	35	18
Guadalupe	México	W	Staff	28	4
Hugo	México	M	Freelancer	28	4
Daniela	México	W	Staff	25	1
Miriam	México	W	Staff	33	12
Isabel	México	W	Staff	25	3
Marina	México	W	Staff	30	8
Natalie	US	W	Staff	38	12
Alvaro	US	M	Freelancer	42	12
Javier	México	M	Staff	30	10

APPENDIX D

PARTIAL LIST OF INTERVIEW CODES

1. Objectivity
    a. Change over the years
2. Gender
    a. Women identify with protesters
    b. Men
        i. Exclusionary protests- violence towards them
        ii. Mexican media must send women
        iii. Lack of women in photojournalism
3. Context
    a. Rally, protest, demonstration
    b. México- Feminist movement
    c. U.S.- Black Lives Matter
    d. Authorities- how protests are held
4. Emotions
    a. Happy, yelling
    b. Angry, sadness
5. Disruptive acts
    a. Document vs. publishing
    b. Not show faces
    c. Iconoclastic
    d. Publish on personal media
    e. Repetitive, not important anymore
6. Frames – Technical

a. Angle
b. Depth of field
c. Wide, medium, tight

7. Questioning own work
    a. Consent
    b. Stigmatize
    c. Change
8. Editorial process
    a. Immediacy
    b. Conversations with editors
9. Written journalism
10. Audiences
    a. How images are read
11. Further coverage after protest
12. Importance of visual coverage

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