

Frame Consistency in the *Esculachos* Movement in Brazil: A Call for Categorization

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Fall 2013

### *Abstract*

The present study applies sociological framing theory to the recent surge of the *esculachos* movement in Brazil, seeking to understand the extent to which the protests demonstrate frame consistency, or alignment between the stated goals and the themes expressed actual protest events. Content analysis of photographs and mission statements of two organizations performing *esculachos*, Frente de Esculacho Popular and Levante Popular de Juventude, allowed for comparison of framing of goals and beliefs with framing occurring during *esculachos* themselves, and revealed a lack of consistency in both organizations. However, results clearly pointed to variations in the nature of inconsistencies found in each case, leading to the proposed necessity of categorization of frame inconsistency. The study concludes with the distinction between *inconsistency within frames* and *inconsistency between frames* as essential to the understanding of frame consistency and, furthermore, to framing theory and resonance of social movements overall.

## *Introduction*

Collective action in Brazil has frequently arisen from the legacy of the 1964-1985 military dictatorship, seeking to alleviate continued effects of repression techniques and cultivate a political and social culture of democracy in the nation. One such protest movement, surfacing in Brazil only within the last two years, is the *esculacho*, or acts of public shaming, consisting most often of a group of demonstrators publicly gathered around homes and workplaces of men known to have been torturers during the military regime. Designed to form a spectacle that attracts popular attention, organizers of *esculachos* march with accusatory signs, adorn the houses with pictures of their victims, chant incriminating claims, reenact torture episodes, and play music – all under the banner of their forcefully declared slogan, “*Se não há justiça, há esculacho popular!*” best translated as, “If there is no justice, there is *esculacho*.”

As a recent collective action development, *esculachos* provide ample opportunity for scholarly research. The present sociological study approaches *esculachos* from the framing perspective, examining frame consistency within the movement in Brazil and seeking to understand the extent to which framing of beliefs and goals in organizational texts aligns with frames projected by actual *esculacho* events. Case studies were conducted of two organizations currently performing *esculachos*, Frente de Esculacho Popular (FEP) and Levante Popular de Juventude (Levante), in order to analyze variables that may contribute to or hinder frame consistency. The first, FEP, is a movement dedicated solely to the performance of *esculachos*, while Levante is a social movement organization of youth with broad goals of social justice, and performs *esculachos* as only one facet of its activity; it is this distinction between two groups that allows for the study of various manifestations of frame consistency. It was hypothesized that, because of the specific nature of its goals, FEP would demonstrate frame consistency between

texts and *esculacho* events, while Levante's framing activity in *esculachos* was predicted to be inconsistent with its very broad goals.

The study used content analysis to analyze mission statements and photographs from each organization, providing a contrast between frames promoted in goals and frames promoted in protest events that allows for examination of frame consistency. Pictures depicting various *esculacho* events that have occurred in Brazil over the last two years were pulled from the organizations' websites and from Facebook. The texts used in the study were the FEP Manifesto and two "Who We Are" statements from Levante, both taken from the organizations' respective web pages.

Four rounds of content analysis revealed that both organizations were inconsistent in their framing. Despite the apparent alignment between the specific goals of FEP and the *esculachos*, the predicted consistency was not found to be present. The hypothesis of inconsistency in Levante was confirmed, as their framing activity was found to be highly inconsistent between goals and actual *esculachos*. Further examination, however, revealed a crucial difference between the nature of the inconsistency found in each organization, leading the current study to propose the necessity of distinction between *inconsistency within frames* and *inconsistency between frames*. This categorization is important to an accurate understanding of frame consistency in social movements, rendering it a vital addition to sociological theory.

A study of *esculachos* in Brazil from the framing perspective, particularly frame consistency, is necessary and important to the furtherance of social movement theory. As a new and constantly developing social movement, *esculachos* provide an invaluable opportunity to monitor the growth of framing within a movement over time. A preliminary study of frame consistency allows for future research that will analyze frame evolution, offering a better

understanding of how social movements can expand through improvement of frame consistency. Furthermore, as an under-studied area of sociological theory, frame consistency is a theoretical field that clearly calls for exploration. In addition to laying groundwork for future study of the evolution of framing within the *esculachos*, the present research project will seek to add to the small but existent collection of literature approaching frame consistency.

### *Historical Background*

The wave of military dictatorships and subsequent re-democratization that swept Latin America in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century created a regional culture of memory, often accompanied by a Truth Commission, in attempt to officially reveal, recognize, and reconcile a series of human rights violations. In Argentina and Chile, reports from Truth Commissions were published in 1984 and 2001, respectively, in both cases within a decade of the end of the military regime. In Brazil, however, the *Comissão Nacional da Verdade* (CNV) was formed in 2009, the beginning of a five-year process that will culminate in a report expected in December of 2014 – 30 years after the first direct vote marked the end of the dictatorship. Scholars attribute this delay in State recognition to the façade of democracy maintained throughout the military regime and to the unusually gradual transition from dictatorship to true democracy, both of which worked to form a national “policy of silence” rather than a “policy of memory” (Schneider 2011). Furthermore, the 1979 Amnesty Law offered amnesty to both military officials and opponents of the regime, providing those responsible for torture with judiciary protection. Only recently have sectors of the state and social movements begun to advocate for a collective recognition of the dictatorship past, a public cry that ultimately led to the 2009 creation of the Truth Commission. However, due to conservative protests from ex-military officials and their supporters who feared revocation of the 1979 amnesty, the commission was signed with a series of amendments that

limited the scope of its investigation. It was this threat to and subsequent revision of the Truth Commission, along with national momentum following the June 2013 wave of social action, that inspired the initiation of *esculachos*, borrowed from a protest model that originated in Argentina in the 1980s after the democratic election of Alfonsín; the movement has since evolved beyond the scope of mere support for the Truth Commission, calling broadly for renewed efforts to confront the historical events of the dictatorship.

### *Literature Review*

#### Framing Theory

Framing theory has developed as one of the most salient and influential aspects of the emerging social movement literature in the last several decades, generating the concept that collective actors create specific, intentional meaning within their movements in order to shape their cause and gain followers. Benford and Snow suggest that this process of mobilizing movement participants requires “alignment” of frames, a concept referring to the general practice of manipulating (“aligning”) collective action frames in order to resonate with existing public discourses and thus attract potential activists (Benford and Snow 2000). The theory of frame alignment processes, specified to include frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation, has developed to refer broadly to the framing strategies used by social actors to align actions, tactics and beliefs of the movement with popular culture (Snow, et. al 1986, Benford and Snow 1989, Johnston and Noakes 2005, Benford and Snow 2000). Literature concludes that frame alignment is necessary for successful mobilization; a social movement will not rally participants if it is not “aligned” with public discourses and cultural inclinations through the interaction of these four processes.

Social movement scholars also agree that, just as collective actors must align their frames with potential participants and forces external to the movement, they should exercise frame alignment within the movement, ensuring that all internal facets of framing processes are properly associated. Though it could rightly be called “internal frame alignment” due to its essential similarity to the existing theory of frame alignment, scholarship that conceptualizes this topic has developed the term “frame consistency.” Like frame alignment, the theory originates with Benford and Snow, who formally define it as “congruency between an SMO’s (Social Movement Organization’s) articulated beliefs, claims and actions” and site it as one of the criteria of frame credibility and, thus, of frame resonance (Benford and Snow 2000). Frames that are not consistent throughout all facets of social movement activity will lose resonance, meaning they are less likely to evoke beliefs, emotions or grievances that will turn passive observers into active participants. Confirming the findings of Benford and Snow, Noakes and Johnston also situate the concept of frame consistency within the theory of resonance, arguing that collective action frames must be “logically complementary in their different aspects: tactics, diagnosis, prognosis, core values and beliefs, etc.” (Noakes and Johnston 2005).

Perhaps due to its relative specificity, very little formal research has been conducted to focus on and deepen theory of frame consistency (Snow and Benford 2000). However, several scholars have approached the general concept of consistency in their examination of framing theory, particularly within broader discussions of frame resonance. In their study of the 1989 student-led Chinese democracy movement, Jiping and Benford credit its success partially to the practice of highly effective frame consistency; the student actors achieved resonant frame alignment and mass mobilization by employing tactics such as the demonstration at Tiananmen Square that observers interpreted as “validating activists’ claims of sincerity regarding their

commitment to traditional Chinese values of community devotion and self-sacrifice” (Jiping and Benford 1995). In other words, their frame was resonant and successful in mobilizing the public because of its consistency. Their framing efforts, as stated in their goals and beliefs, centered on the values of selflessness, Confucianism and nationalism, and their self-sacrificing tactics represented the active working of this frame, substantiating the movement overall. Moreover, Jiping and Benford explain that the counter-framing exercised by the Chinese government was not consistent, further contributing to popular support of the anti-government student activists and demonstrating the negative effects of lack of frame consistency. Chinese citizens felt that the government’s counter-framing efforts lacked “experiential resonance,” or, stated differently, were not accurately reflected in the actions and behaviors of the government.

Similarly, Ellingson’s analysis of anti-abolitionist movements in Cincinnati supports frame consistency theory as crucial to a social movement’s resonance. Focusing on the interaction between collective action events and the discourses, or frames, of these movements, Ellingson sought to understand how the episodes of mobilization could affect the success or failure of a particular discourse. Ellingson demonstrates that the anti-abolition movement was discredited because of the inconsistency between its discourse and its collective action. By protesting in mobs, the activists undermined their frame of preservation of the political and economic order, therefore losing credibility among potential followers. Though he does not use the term explicitly, Ellingson refers here to frame consistency.

Existing social movement literature calls for a closer examination of frame consistency. While aforementioned studies have approached or alluded to the concept, scholarship lacks empirical research that will establish frame consistency as a crucial aspect of collective action framing theory. Additionally, previous scholarship has approached frame consistency only as it

relates to the resonance of a social movement, rather than examining consistency directly. An analysis of frame consistency within two organizations participating in the *esculachos* movement reveals that social movement literature has thus far failed to recognize an important distinction between types of consistency and, moreover, has focused heavily on only one of two forms of inconsistency. The present study will support frame consistency as important to the overall discussion of social movement framing, attempting to contribute a step to a broader theoretical base for consistency by presenting the necessity for distinction between *inconsistency between frames*, as seen in studies conducted by Ellingson and Jiping and Benford, and *inconsistency within frames*, unobserved in previous scholarship.

### Theorizing *Esculachos*

Social movement scholars have long recognized that collective action is a form of performance, a concept formalized by Charles Tilly in his study of contentious performances and repertoires of contention (Tilly 2008). Collective actors select tactics, or repertoires, that will most adequately accentuate and contribute to the framing of their contentious performance (Franklin 2013). Though not through the lens of social movement theory, performance study resembling Tilly's scholarship has been applied to the study of *escraches*, the Argentine equivalent of *esculachos*. In the absence of scholarly literature approaching *esculachos* due to the remarkable novelty of their development, the present study will examine *escraches* as a theoretical base for *esculachos*, considering their similarity adequate reason for direct comparison.

Developed in 1995 by the organization HIJOS (Daughters and Sons for Identity and Justice against Forgetting and Silence), *escraches* surfaced in response to the lasting effects of the military dictatorship of the 1970s and spread to countries such as Chile and Spain. In her

study of the movement, Taylor coined the concept of the “DNA of Performance,” highly similar to sociology’s “repertoires of contention,” to approach *escraches* as a trauma performance inherited from the Madres and Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo (Taylor 2002). Activists build a DNA that shapes their tactics and performances and is then passed down among generations of collective actors as a vehicle to transmit memory. In the specific case of the HIJOS, *escraches* are a trauma performance inherited from the Madres and Abuelas that confront the shock of the military dictatorship and seek social change through collective memory.

Like Taylor, several scholars outside the realm of sociology have sought to understand the *escraches* in Argentina, though often departing from the performance perspective. Kaiser theorizes *escraches* as a communication tactic aimed at challenging a discourse of denial and eliminating the predominant culture of impunity for torturers, military officials, and others involved in the disappearances and deaths of victims during the dictatorship through public awareness. Thus, they disrupt the normalized discourse in an effort to promote an informative and truthful commentary in post-dictatorial Argentina (Kaiser 2002). Benegas, on the other hand, proposes that *escraches* are not only trauma-based performances, but also formative events that shape the way the public experiences trauma and identity. The loud, public nature of the *escraches* breaks the post-dictatorial silence and affects trauma by leading the public in overcoming fear and adopting a collective identity of agency and action (Benegas 2011).

However, as mentioned above, *esculachos* and *escraches* have been scarcely studied from a social movement perspective. Taylor’s theory of the DNA of Performance confirms the conceptualization of *escraches* as a contentious performance, therefore mandating the necessity of framing theory as a crucial element of their examination. Benford and Snow explain the essential link between performances and framing, proposing that, “Movement tactics are not

solely a function of environmental constraints and adaptations, but are also constrained by anchoring master frames” (Snow and Benford 1992). Framing, therefore, is present in both goals and beliefs and in tactics. It is this theoretical connection that so clearly calls for study of *esculachos* within framing theory and, particularly, within the concept of frame consistency. As Taylor’s study indicates and Snow and Benford confirm, performance protests such as *esculachos* are dynamic processes that require agency from activists. In other words, *esculacho* activists are engaging in framing processes that shape the way they approach their performances. An examination of frame consistency will reveal the extent to which organizational framing is realized in these performance events, engaging both theories of collective action frames and performances. Hence, the *esculachos* provide a window of opportunity for development of theory. Their heavy performance nature allows study that can both deepen scholarly understanding of framing consistency, a neglected facet of social movement theory, and provide necessary links between existing theory of performance and theory of framing within social movement literature.

### *Methods*

#### Data and Sample

In order to analyze and compare frame consistency within FEP and Levante, data was collected directly from each organization. Visual content analysis of photographs depicting protest events was used to represent framing occurring in *esculachos* themselves, while textual content analysis of mission statements revealed framing of goals and beliefs in both organizations. Because the study was limited by a small data pool due to the novelty of *esculacho* events in Brazil, photographs and texts were collected using availability sampling. Outside of pictures disregarded for repetitiveness that would produce sample bias, such as

multiple shots or angles of the same photograph, all possible data was used in the content analysis.

FEP images were pulled from the organization's website and represented 2-3 distinct *esculacho* events, a total of 20 photographs. Included among the 20 were detailed copies of signs carried by protest participants, which were then classified as manifest content and used in the coding process. The mission statement used for FEP was the organization's "Manifest," pulled directly from their website; the document offers a lengthy and detailed explanation of motivations and grievances that stimulate *esculachos*, providing a perfect opportunity to examine framing of goals and beliefs. Data used to analyze Levante consisted of 45 photographs taken from the organization's Facebook page, depicting approximately 4 different *esculachos*, and two broad mission statements: a "Who We Are" section of their website and their "Carta Compromisso," also from the website; both of these statements broadly outline the goals and grievances of the organization, omitting explanations of how these grievances are addressed in specific types of protests. Additionally, both organizations were contacted directly to ensure that no other photographs or texts could be made available, and both responded with assurances that all possible data was already published online.

### Methods

For the purpose of the present research, frame consistency is defined as uniformity between all manifestations of a social movement's activity, including textual statement of beliefs and goals and active framing occurring during protest events. Thus, the use of content analysis lends itself perfectly to the investigation of frame consistency; examination of the documents written by the organizations reveals their desired framing, while the photos of actual events demonstrate the extent to which this framing is represented in their actions, offering an objective

way to analyze multiple aspects of framing activity. The distinction between FEP as focused on *esculachos* only and Levante as wide-ranging in their social movement activity allows for comparison of two different types of organization. Additionally, while other studies such as Jiping and Benford's analysis of the Chinese Democracy Movement have discussed frame consistency in a historical context, after the social movement has succeeded or failed, a case study of two presently active social movements provides the opportunity to look directly (rather than retrospectively) at frame consistency, eliminating the potential of historical bias.

Content analysis was performed individually on each of the data sets, combining for a total of four rounds (two sets of photographs and two sets of texts) and resulting in the ability to directly compare framing of texts with photographs for both organizations. All photographs were coded inductively and deductively; some codes, such as reference to the "National Truth Commission" and "Amnesty Law," were suggested by historical literature, while others were created in a preliminary round of open coding. Additionally, coding of photographs utilized both manifest content, primarily signage carried by participants, and latent content, including interpretation of facial expressions and apparent emotions. The resulting codes (52 total codes for FEP and 92 for Levante) were classified into categories, which were then used for the quantitative analysis.

Open coding was conducted individually for each of the texts, given the large variation between the goals of FEP and the goals of Levante. Textual coding was primarily inductive and focused largely on manifest content, relying on latent content only when required for the purpose of clarification. It was necessary, for example, to clarify between the use of "torturer" in a purely revelatory manner and "torturer" as an accusatory term calling for punishment; the former was coded as "Public awareness" while the latter was "Punitive action." Unlike visual coding, in

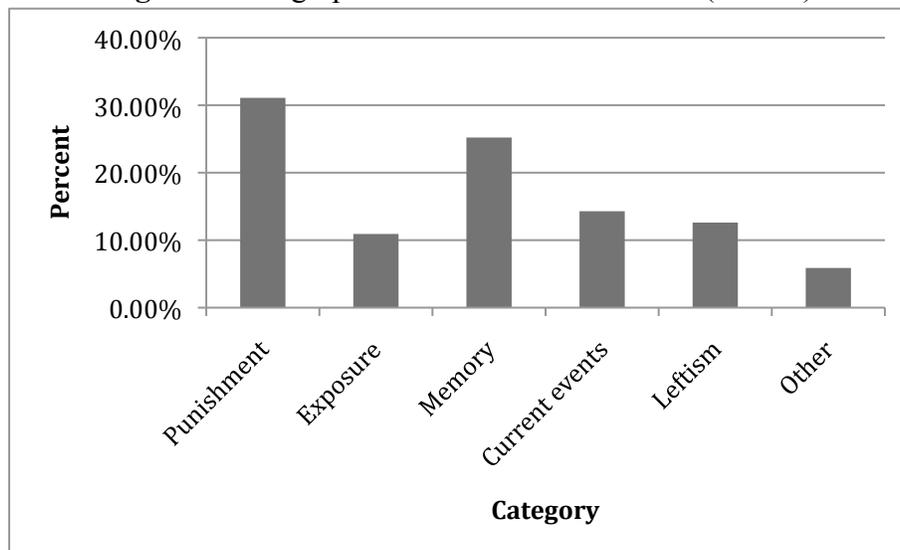
which the picture as a whole was the unit of analysis, textual coding considered words to be the unit of analysis and counted each time a code appeared in a given text as compared to the overall count of codes. As with coding of photographs, the textual codes were divided into categories for the purpose of clear quantitative analysis<sup>1</sup>.

### *Analysis and Discussion*

#### Analysis of FEP

It was predicted that, because the organization defined its goals only in relation to *esculachos*, FEP would show consistent framing across its mission statements and *esculacho* events. However, comparison of visual and textual content analysis revealed a clear lack of consistency between goals stated in the manifest and frames produced by the protests themselves, noted primarily in variations in emphasis. Though FEP demonstrated relative similarity between texts and pictures regarding the overall presence or absence of frames, categories found to be most frequent in the textual analysis, and therefore most important in the

**Figure 1:** Bar graph of codes in FEP Manifest (N=119)



<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I for a complete list of codes and categories for all texts and photographs.

process of framing the goals of the organization, were not consistent with the codes emphasized by the *esculachos* as depicted by the photographs.

As depicted by Figure 1 (above), analysis of the FEP Manifest pointed to “Punishment” as the most prominent category, at 31.09% of total codes, indicating this to be the organization’s most important goal as declared by their mission statement. This category included any effort in the Manifest to highlight and affect change upon the impunity of military officials known to have been torturers during the dictatorship, including open calls for judicial action, references to justice through punishment, and condemnation of the Amnesty Law.

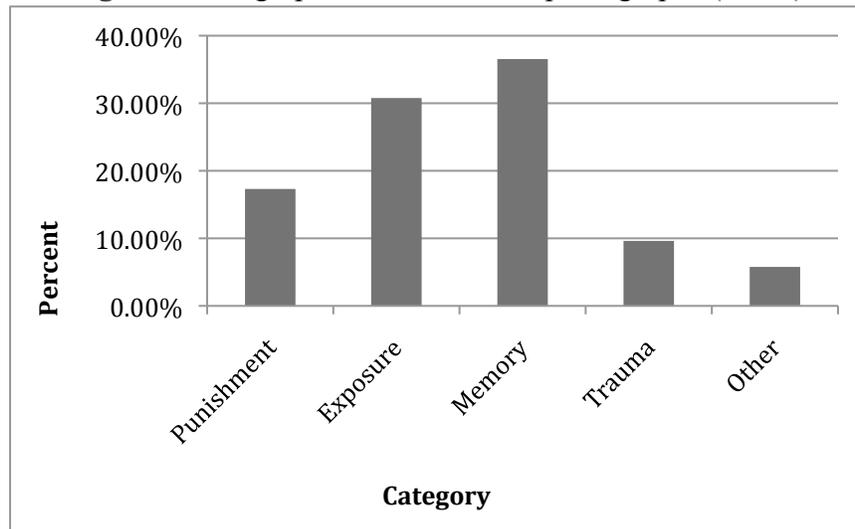
Though less prominent than “Punishment,” “Memory” was also shown to be a significant category in the framing of goals seen in the FEP Manifest. Any code referencing the need for or lack of collective memory of the military dictatorship was classified under this category, including use of the words *esquecimento* (forgetting), *amnesia* (amnesia) and *homenagear* (pay homage). The category represents 25.2% of total codes in the text, indicating a moderate but definitively present emphasis on collective memory as a stated goal of *esculachos* performed by FEP.

“Current events” followed “Memory” at 14.3% of total codes found in the Manifest. These codes were condemning references made in the text to the prevalence of police brutality, crime, and continued use of torture in modern Brazilian society. The “Leftism” category, at 12.6% of total codes, consisted of leftist sentiments urging for militancy and mobilization. Codes classified as “Exposure” were frames intended solely to alert the public of the presence of ex-torturers and military officials, without prescriptive reference their impunity, and totaled at 10.9% of codes. Finally, the “Other” category, at 5.88% of total codes, included the codes

“trauma,” “poverty,” and “National Truth Commission,” whose distinct nature did not classify them under any of the other categories.

In contrast to the heavy emphasis on Punishment as a primary goal indicated by the Manifest, visual analysis of FEP photographs revealed “Memory” to be the most prevalent category noted in actual *esculacho* events. Figure 2 (below) highlights the prominence of “Memory”; this category represented 36.6% of all codes in the content analysis, observed primarily in the use of signage containing pictures and names of victims of torture or disappearance. “Exposure” also appears to be more frequently present in *esculacho* events than

**Figure 2:** Bar graph of codes in FEP photographs (N=52)

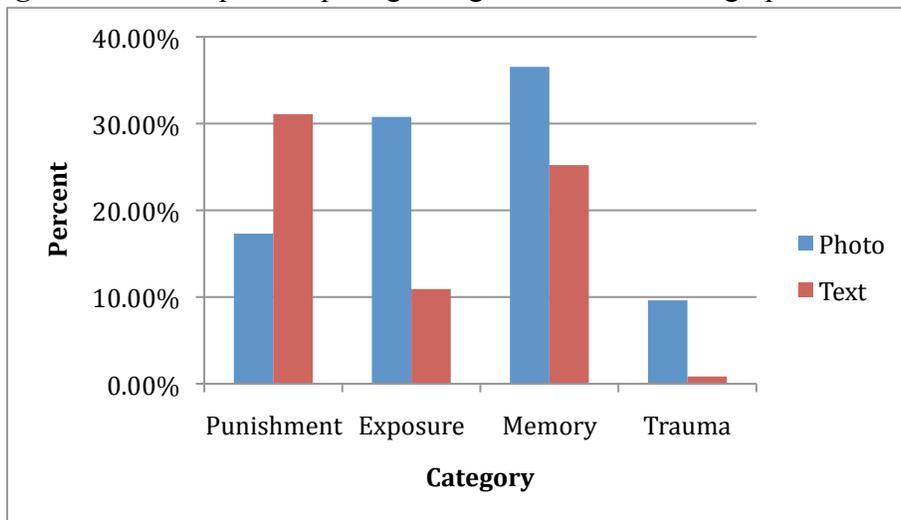


in the mission statement, at 30.8% of codes in the photographs. “Punishment,” on the other hand, represented only 17.3% of the total codes, a significant departure from the frequency of this category in the text and a clear indication of frame inconsistency. There was also inconsistency within the “Punishment” category, as mention of the Amnesty Law was not noted at all in the FEP photographs. Finally, trauma was much more prevalent in photographs than in the Manifest, meriting a category of its own and further highlighting inconsistency between framing of goals

and framing occurring during *esculachos*. Figure 3 (below) demonstrates the discrepancies in emphasis of these categories between the text and the photographs.

Therefore, quantitative content analysis reveals a significant possibility of frame inconsistency between the FEP Manifest and their performance of *esculacho* events. Most strikingly, the strong emphasis on punishment of torturers as a primary goal of the organization was not represented in *esculachos* themselves. Additionally, while photographs showed that *esculacho* events focus largely on inspiring collective memory of victims and public exposure of torturers, these goals, though present in the Manifest, are secondary to Punishment and clearly not as important to framing of FEP’s goals as the photographs would suggest.

**Figure 3:** Bar Graph Comparing Categories in FEP Photographs and Text



Further comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2 reveals the presence of some goals in the Manifest that were not at all present in the *esculachos*, namely the significant textual emphasis on “Current events” and “Leftism” as goals of the organization. Though indicative of variance across frames, this apparent inconsistency is alleviated by a brief qualitative analysis of the FEP Manifest. Momentary departure from a purely quantitative examination reveals the interconnected nature of the categories in the text, as exemplified by the following excerpt:

We know that *the impunity of torturers* is the machine that systematizes and intensifies the continuity of the *brutal practices of the police and the army* in Brazil... Even though the dictatorship has officially ended, Brazilian institutions are generally reminiscent of an authoritarian structure, especially in the police, its methods of violence, social coercion control, and in the torture and executions. *This is a direct fruit of impunity and of forgetting.* (FEP 2012, emphasis and translation of the researcher)

Thus, the Manifest clearly connects the presence of police brutality with both the impunity of torturers and the lack of collective memory in Brazil, suggesting that violence today is perpetuated by failure to punish officials and remember victims. This textual link is supported by the quantitative analysis, which revealed that 23.5% of the codes within the “Current events” category were references to police brutality or violence as a direct result of impunity. Similarly, the Manifest repeatedly refers to memory as “combative” or “militant,” further connecting the goal of collective memory with leftist sentiments. The frames of “Punishment” and “Memory” are therefore directly connected to “Current events” and “Leftism,” indicating greater consistency between texts and photographs than initially suggested by the quantitative results. Though “Current events” and “Leftism” were not present in photographs of the *esculacho* events (see Figure 1), the inter-connected nature of the categories in the Manifest suggests that references to impunity (“Punishment”) and forgetting (“Memory”) may be considered inclusive of continued police brutality and leftist sentiments.

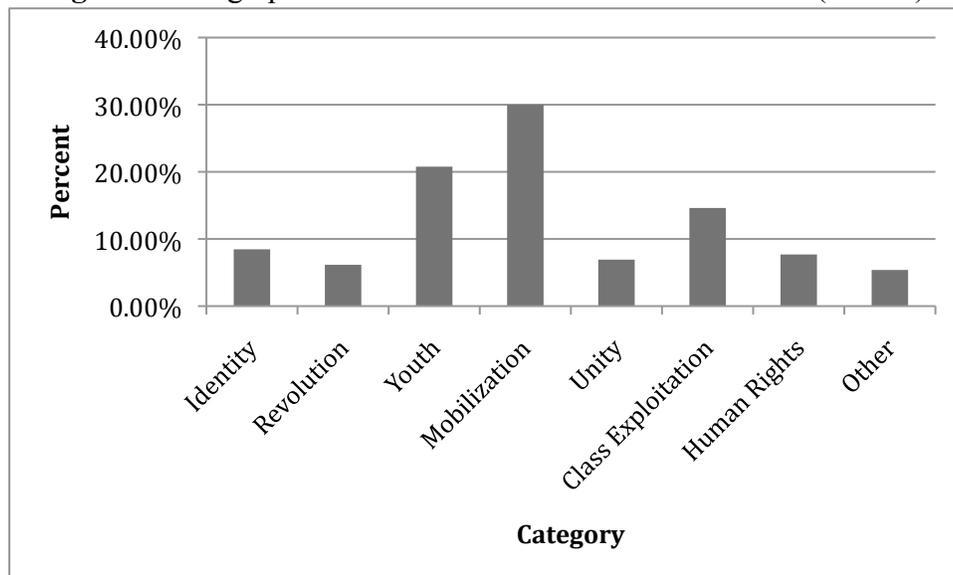
In sum, though qualitative analysis confirms the presence of similar codes across texts and photographs, thus indicating the same general frames in both textual and visual manifestations of the organization, quantitative analysis supports the claim of overall inconsistency by revealing variation in prominence of certain frames over others. As a social movement formed solely for the purpose of performance and organization of *esculachos*, meaning all facets of framing activity are centered on one specific type of protest event, FEP demonstrated inconsistency in emphasis of frames between goals and *esculacho* events. Analysis

of the FEP Manifest revealed their primary goal to be punishment of military officials, while the most prominent frame in the photographs of actual *esculacho* events was clearly memory of victims.

### Analysis of Levante

Comparison of Levante mission statements and photographs shows definite inconsistency between framing of goals and framing occurring in *esculachos* themselves. Figure 4 (below) details the results of textual content analysis, revealing the broad and scattered nature of the goals stated by the organization. The most prominent category noted in the two mission statements was “Mobilization,” at 30% of total codes, classified as a general call to action using words such as *massificação* (massification) and *luta* (battle). References to youth and young people also represented a significant portion of the textual codes, with “Youth” at 20.8% of total codes. Otherwise, the distribution of codes was relatively even across all categories, pointing to the organization’s wide-ranging goals. *Esculachos* were not mentioned in the texts.

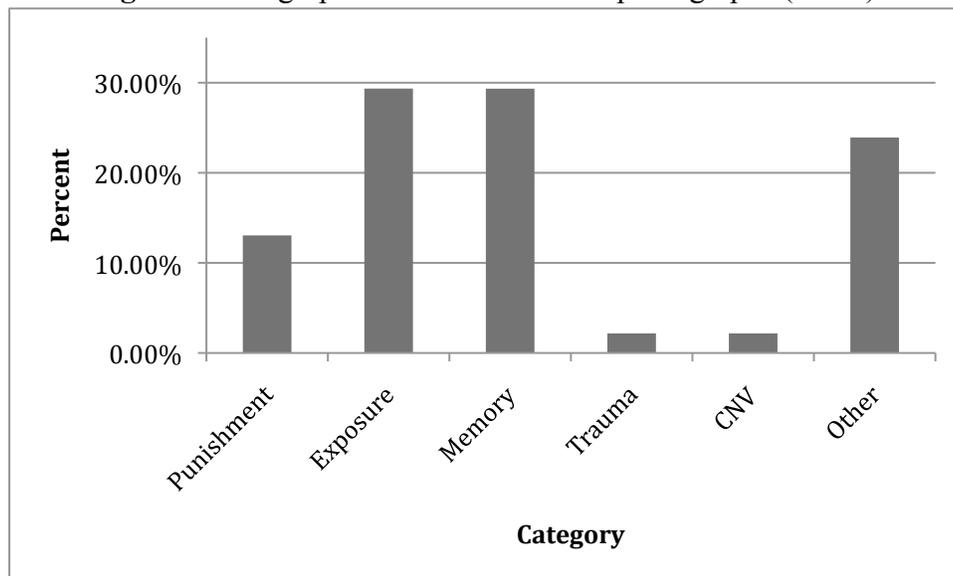
**Figure 4:** Bar graph of codes in Levante mission statements (N=130)



The visual content analysis revealed framing occurring in *esculacho* events to be similar to frames noted in FEP photographs, but highly inconsistent with goals and beliefs observed in

the Levante mission statements. Figure 5 (below) demonstrates that “Exposure” and “Memory” were the most frequent categories, emphasized almost equally at 29.4% and 29.3%, respectively. None of the categories present in the mission statements were observed in the photographs, suggesting that Levante’s primary goals are not specifically reflected in their performance of *esculachos*. It could be argued that some consistency is noted in the repeated appearance of the Levante slogan in photographs, classified above in the “Other” category. This refrain, coded as any variation of the phrase, “*Levante popular de juventude,*” could be reflective of the emphasized values of youth and mobilization noted in the mission statements, as it expresses a

**Figure 5:** Bar graph of codes in Levante photographs (N=92)



general urge for young activists to “rise up.” However, this is a minor and largely inferential consistency that cannot be empirically confirmed, thus leading to the conclusion that there is no consistency between framing of goals and framing of *esculachos* in Levante. This finding could reasonably be explained by the general nature of the organization in comparison to the specificity of *esculachos*; because Levante aims to address a wide range of grievances, their goals are too broad to be reflected in *esculachos*.

## Discussion

Though content analysis revealed both FEP and Levante to be inconsistent in framing of beliefs and framing occurring in *esculacho* events, examination of the two case studies against one another indicates a clear difference between the nature of the inconsistencies found in each respective organization. FEP demonstrated relative consistency regarding inclusion of frames in both its protest events and its goals; both texts and photographs revealed the presence of memory, punishment, exposure, and trauma as important frames. The inconsistency, therefore, was found in the emphasis of one category over another, particularly in the prominence of punishment as a primary goal in the Manifest and its decreased importance in the actual *esculacho* events as evidenced in the photographs.

Contrastingly, Levante demonstrated inconsistency between the frames included in texts and those demonstrated in photographs; none of their goals, as communicated by their mission statements, were present in *esculacho* events. This frame inconsistency more closely resembles the conclusions of previous research than the inconsistency of emphasis demonstrated by FEP. In his study of the anti-abolitionist movement in Cincinnati, Ellingson reported that lack of consistency was found in the total variation between framing of goals and frames promoted by protest events. The movement's primary goals were stated to be restoration of political order, but the frames promoted by their mob protests were primarily violent (Ellingson 1995). The frame of peace seen in their goals, therefore, was completely different from the frame of violence observed in their activity. Similarly, the broad frames of social change and human rights noted in Levante's mission statements were not specifically reflected in *esculacho* events.

It is this apparent variation revealed by the two case studies that leads to the need for recognition of multiple types of inconsistency. The present study proposes distinction between

*inconsistency within frames* and *inconsistency between frames* as essential to the overall understanding and importance of frame consistency theory. *Inconsistency within frames*, observed in FEP, can be defined as variation in emphasis or communication of relatively similar frames between goals and actions. *Inconsistency between frames*, contrastingly, is variation in the presence or absence of frames across goals and actions, noted in Levante and in the anti-abolitionist movement studied by Ellingson. In other words, if frames of goals and beliefs of a social movement are not the same as frames of protest events, it can be classified as *inconsistent between frames*. If frames of its goals and beliefs are the same as frames of protest events, varying only in the frequency of appearance or degree of emphasis, a social movement is considered to be *inconsistent within frames*.

This distinction is not only essential to the understanding of existing frame consistency theory, but also reveals an unspecified variation of inconsistency. As noted above, previous studies have referred only to consistency between frames, failing to approach consistency within frames as a valid type frame consistency. While Levante's *inconsistency between frames* was both predicted and quickly noticeable, the *inconsistency within frames* found in FEP was subtle, observed only through detailed examination of content analysis. Perhaps overlooked due to its nuanced nature, consideration of this form of consistency carries implications for resonance and credibility within social movements such as FEP whose goals and beliefs are specific to their protest events. The results of the FEP case study suggest that frame inconsistency can be manifest in understated yet significant ways, reinforcing the need for a categorization.

## Conclusions

Visual and textual content analysis exposed different forms of frame inconsistency in each organization examined in the case study, revealing the need for categorization. FEP, a social movement organization that performs only *esculachos* and therefore centers all goals and beliefs on one type of protest, was found to be *inconsistent within frames*. Textual and visual analyses demonstrated generally similar frames that were stressed at varying degrees in statement of goals versus *esculacho* events, creating inconsistency in the emphasis of some goals over others. Levante, an organization with a broad range of goals performing *esculachos* as one manifest of social movement activity, demonstrated *inconsistency between frames*. None of the goals cited in their mission statements were represented in framing occurring in *esculacho* events. This type inconsistency is identified in previous research conducted by Ellingson and Jiping and Benford.

It is essential to note that this study was limited by a small data pool, the restricted nature of photographs, and a particular lack of data for Levante. Despite the use of availability sampling to maximize data, the novelty of *esculachos* in Brazil resulted in an overall scarcity of photographs and mission statements that could cause bias in findings. As a result of this lack of ample data sources, content analysis included only photos and therefore limited results to visual observations; audible or verbal data was unavailable, excluding framing occurring through chanting, song or conversation. Similarly, Levante presented a particularly difficult data insufficiency. Though the use of their general mission statements in comparison to *esculacho* events demonstrated interesting and important results, thorough study would also consider the organizations' specific goals in performing *esculachos*. This data was not included in the present research because it does not exist, but it must be noted that comparison of Levante mission

statements does not allow the opportunity to consider consistency between their goals regarding only *esculachos*.

These data scarcities reinforce the need for continued study of *esculachos*. As performances, *esculachos* exemplify the inevitable framing that occurs during social movement activity and call for research that considers performances as agents of framing. Frame consistency (or lack thereof) is present, therefore, in every such performance, and merits intentional investigation. Moreover, because it is a new and emerging form of protest in Brazil, *esculachos* provide an important opportunity to monitor the growth of a social movement over time. With the present study as a base for comparison, future research can continue to approach *esculachos* and other performances of contention in order to observe advances in frame consistency as the movement matures, as well as further confirm the findings noted here.

The distinction of terms proposed in this study reveals the previously unexamined facet of consistency within frames, underscoring the necessity of categorization in this area of social movement theory. The specification of *inconsistency within frames* opens the possibility of subtle inconsistencies within social movements that have been thus far unnoticed by social movement literature, clearly warranting further establishment of types of consistency. Additionally, the present study stresses the importance of close and direct analysis of frame consistency within social movements, revealing the complexity and merit of a generally neglected field of framing theory.

The establishment of types of consistency also calls for deeper investigation to establish empirical correlations between consistency and resonance. Literature suggests that *inconsistency between frames* is damaging to social movement credibility and resonance, but the distinction of *inconsistency within frames* as a separate area of frame consistency theory merits further

exploration of resonance that will consider both types. Furthermore, because frame consistency has a positive effect on resonance, the distinction presented here has real life implications for social movements who seek to gain followers. Collective actors must understand that consistent frames are more resonant, and therefore more likely to support the credibility of the movement. The undeniable existence of various types of inconsistency and the inevitable occurrence of framing in any social movement performance has vast implications for the sociological fields of framing and resonance, and for the success of social movement actors. Frame consistency theory, therefore, is highly relevant to social movements and vastly critical in the continued development of framing theory overall.

## Appendix I: Codebook

### Codes for FEP Photographs

#### 1. Punishment for Torturers

- Signage mentions torturers in relation to lack of punishment
- Use of slogan “Se não ha justiça...” (“If there is no justice...”)
- Signage openly demands punishment via judicial persecution
- Condemnation of Amnesty Law in signage or graffiti

#### 2. Exposure of Torturers (for the purpose of public knowledge)

- Use of noise-makers (instruments, megaphones) purposed to draw attention
- Connecting names or locations with torture
- Connecting names or locations with murder
- Graffiti of public places, including posters and art

#### 3. Collective Memory

- Signage contains photos and/or names of victims
- Signage contains description of torture methods used on victims
- Protesters reenact torture
- Use of the phrase “nunca mais”

#### 4. Trauma

- Facial expressions of sadness, sorrow, etc
- Acts of mourning

#### 5. Other

- Use of costume

### Codes for FEP Manifesto

#### 1. Punishment for Torturers

- Amnesty Law (*Lei de Anistia*)
- Justice (*justiça*)
- Punishment (*impunidade, punidade, punicao, julgamento*)
- Crime (*criminoso/ crime*)
- Assassin/torturer- in relation to lack of punishment (*assassino, torturador*)

#### 2. Exposure of Torturers

- Name of torturer
- Assassin/torture- in relation to exposure (*assassino, torturador*)
- Exposition (*expor, exposicao, alertar*)

#### 3. Collective Memory

- Forgetting (*esquecimento, amnesia*)
- Memory (*memória, lembrar*)

- The past (*passado*)
- Pay homage (*homenagear*)

#### 4. Current Events

- Torture- in relation to current events and police violence today (*tortura*)
- Connects torture of dictatorship with current torture
- Police (*polícia, policial*)
- Crime- occurring today (*crime*)

#### 5. Leftist/militant echoes

- Youth (*Juventude/jovem*)
- Militant (*militante*)
- Combat (*combate, combativo*)
- Anti-capitalist (*anticapitalista*)

#### 6. Other

- National Truth Commission (*Comissão Nacional da Verdade*)
- Trauma (*trauma, horror*)
- Poverty (*pobre, pobreza*)

### **Codes for Levante Photographs**

#### 1. Punishment for torturers

- Condemnation of Amnesty Law in signage or graffiti
- Signage mentions torturers in relation to lack of punishment
- Signage uses word “justice”
- Signage openly demands punishment via judicial persecution
- Signage uses phrase “Não perdoamos”

#### 2. Exposure of torturers/public knowledge

- Use of noise-makers (instruments, megaphones) purposed to draw attention
- Visible shouting
- Connecting names or locations with torture
- Connecting names or locations with murder
- Graffiti of public places, including posters and art
- Participants are speaking directly to media

#### 3. Collective memory

- Signage contains photos and/or names of victims
- Protesters reenact torture
- Use of the phrase “nunca mais”
- Signage mentions combating forgetfulness

#### 4. Dealing with trauma

- Facial expressions of sadness, sorrow, etc
- Acts of mourning (flowers)

- Makeshift graves

## 5. Truth Commission

- Signage mentions National Truth Commission

## Other

- Vague use of word “torture” without reference to context
- Use of Levante slogan and/or symbol on signage\*

## Codes for Levante Texts

### 1. Identity

- *feminismo/ machismo*
- Woman (*mulher*)
- Race (*racismo, raça, negro*)
- Homosexuality (*homossexualidade*)

### 2. Revolution

- New- in relation to regime, government (*novo*)
- Re-organization (*reorganização*)
- Conquest (*conquista*)
- Revolution (*revolução*)

### 3. Youth

- *Juventude/ jovem/ jovens*

### 4. Mobilization

- Organization- action (*organização*)
- Work/duty (*trabalho*)
- Battle (*luta*)
- Massification (*massificação*)

### 5. Unity

- Collective – noun or adjective (*colectivo*)
- Unity (*unificar, unidade*)
- Organization- togetherness (*organização*)
- Solidarity (*solidariedade*)

### 6. Class exploitation

- Capitalism (*capitalista, capitalismo*)
- Worker (*trabalhador*)
- Elite class (*elite*)
- Subject (*sujeito*)

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\* Does not include appearance of slogan on t-shirts, as this was featured in every photograph and would have biased coding.

7. Human rights

- Better conditions (*melhores condições*)
- Lack (*falta*)
- Education (*educação*)
- Public transportation (*transporte pública*)

8. Other:

- *Democracia popular*
- *Projeto Popular*
- Environment (*meio ambiente*)

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