



PORTRAYAL AND PERCEPTION II

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
PITTSBURGH MEDIA COVERAGE
OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

A Report from
The Heinz Endowments

Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania

March 2020

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AND PERCEPTION II
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AFRICAN AMERICANS**

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INTRODUCTION

Nearly a decade ago, The Heinz Endowments undertook a project to determine how the news media in the Pittsburgh, Pa., metropolitan area covered African American men and boys.

Based on a perception by residents who viewed coverage as unbalanced and potentially damaging, the Endowments commissioned a detailed media audit by the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. The results of that study in large part validated the perceptions of inequity in the media.

This report is designed to update that seminal 2011 study by replicating the media audit, which specifically looked at the portrayals of African American men and boys, to see whether those portrayals have changed, and draw conclusions based on that longitudinal shift over time.

In addition, this updated study builds on the original Pew research by expanding the content analysis to look at how African American women and girls are portrayed by the same set of media outlets. The original Pew report included a limited number of statistics about women and girls; this report makes comparisons to those historical data points to the extent possible.

The findings of this updated study will inform the Endowments' efforts to encourage mainstream media to broaden their coverage of African Americans and to support projects that encourage fairness and equity in how stories about African Americans are chosen and framed in the media.

The sampled media for this study consisted of news coverage mostly from March 1 through April 30, 2019, the same two-month period examined in 2011. Stories from this March–April time frame were captured from newscasts of three major TV network affiliates and from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and

the New Pittsburgh Courier. Due to technical obstacles, coverage from the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, which transitioned to an online-only format since the original 2011 report was written, was collected in real time for the dates of April 18 through June 19, 2019.

NOTES ABOUT RACE AND GENDER TERMINOLOGY

4 Upstream Analysis recognizes that “African American” is an inexact term with regard to geographic origins, as people with dark skin tone in many other regions may be considered black when referring to race. We approached this term cautiously, deferring to representations in the media coverage itself when explicit racial identities were used, and whether coverage, images or names indicated a different geographic or ethnic origin.

Throughout the report, “men” refers to all people who the average media audience member would designate as male. “Women” refers to all people who the average media audience member would designate as female.

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KEY FINDINGS

KEY FINDING 1: COVERAGE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN REMAINS LOW WHEN COMPARED TO THEIR WHITE COUNTERPARTS.

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The percentage of African Americans in 2019 Pittsburgh media changed very little from the baseline 2011 study. This is particularly notable considering the additional inclusion of women and girls in the 2019 study. There were small changes. For example, the percentage of visual references to African Americans decreased by slightly more than one percentage point for men, and two-tenths of a percentage point for women. Since coverage in 2019 has shown that it skews toward crime and justice reporting, this could be an indication that there are fewer photos being shown that depict either victims or suspect mugshots. But there could also be an argument made that more positive photos are still needed for favorable coverage focusing on a more diverse set of topics where African Americans are underrepresented. African American men experienced the highest percentages of coverage compared to their white counterparts in only three topics: crime, justice and sports.

KEY FINDING 2: THE ABSENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN SEVERAL TOPIC CATEGORIES COULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MEDIA COVERAGE IN PROVIDING A PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE GROUP.

Approximately three-fourths of Pittsburgh news coverage in which African Americans were present came from stories about either crime/justice or sports. When a population's visibility is limited to just a few topics, it leaves little room to make an impression on other subjects. For example, white women were more than twice as likely to appear in health stories as African American women, while white men were almost five times as likely to appear in health stories as African American men. White females and males were also significantly more likely to appear in stories about business. In fact, African American females did not appear at all in business coverage except in the New Pittsburgh Courier. The same disparity holds true for government coverage. The current federal administration has less diversity than more recent ones and that is reflected in the lack of people of color being shown in media coverage in newsmaker roles.

KEY FINDING 3: THERE IS STILL A CLEAR NEED FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN-FOCUSED MEDIA OUTLETS IN 2019 AND BEYOND.

The New Pittsburgh Courier bucked all the trends that were seen in 2019 coverage from the other two newspaper outlets examined. Whereas in the Post-Gazette and the Tribune-Review, crime accounted for one in ten stories, there were no crime stories on the front page or the front local pages of the Pittsburgh Courier. Adding in television coverage and focusing on just African American men, crime stories jump to almost one in three stories (28.7%).

- 6 For African Americans, or any of the diverse audiences that read the New Pittsburgh Courier, the paper can serve as a refuge for those who do not want to be bombarded with images of violence and despair in either their daily newspaper or on the evening news. The paper offered an alternative voice and perspective on several issues, including race/gender, education, entertainment and business. Of note in Pittsburgh Courier coverage was the lack of mentions of two prominent African American men who were visible in daily newspaper and television stories: Neither Khari Mosley (nor his wife, Allegheny County Controller Chelsa Wagner) nor Demetrius Coleman, the defendant in a deadly car crash case, were mentioned. For two non-athletes that commanded a high-profile presence in “mainstream media” outlets during the target time frame, it would seem a little unusual for them not to be mentioned at all in New Pittsburgh Courier coverage and could indicate a deliberate choice by the editors.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE IN MEDIA

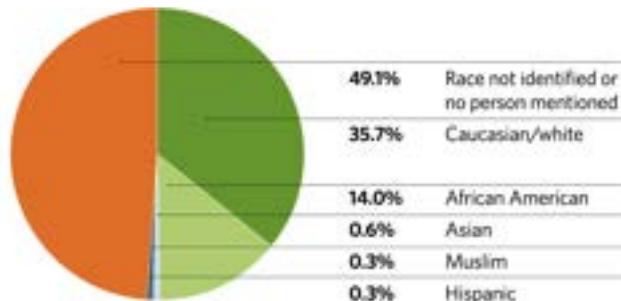
Nearly half of all media coverage monitored for this analysis did not mention the race of an individual, or the race of that person was not identified either visually or explicitly (see pie chart below). Of the remaining 51% of coverage, African Americans were present in 14% of Pittsburgh media stories and Caucasians/whites were present in 35.7% of stories. Other racial and ethnic groups were barely visible, comprising a combined 1.2% presence in coverage.

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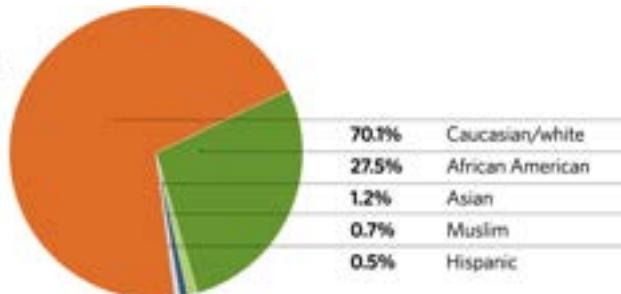
Looking only at coverage in which an individual was present and was able to be identified by race, Caucasians/whites were present in 70.1% of news stories, and African Americans were present in 27.5% (see pie chart below). This level of presence for blacks in Pittsburgh media is modestly higher than their rate in the population. According to the U.S. Census Bureau¹, African Americans comprise 23.6% of the residential population for the City of Pittsburgh proper. This finding indicates that African Americans are slightly overrepresented in news coverage at a rate of nearly 4 percentage points compared to their presence in the population. (Asian Americans, on the other hand, are underrepresented in coverage at 0.6% when they actually comprise 5.6% of the city's population.)

¹<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/pittsburghcitypennsylvania,allegHENYcountypennsylvania/PST045218> (11/10/2019)

2019
Race/Ethnicity in All Pittsburgh
News Stories
Percentage of Stories (n=5,875)



2019
Race/Ethnicity in Stories
with People whose Race is Identifiable
Percentage of Stories (n=2,957)



However, the media sources analyzed in this report reach beyond the Pittsburgh city limits, covering news from all over the region. A look at population figures for all of Allegheny County, instead of just the City of Pittsburgh, shows that African Americans comprise 13.4% of residents according to the U.S. Census Bureau. By this measure, the presence of African Americans in 27.5% of news stories in which race was identifiable shows that they are vastly overrepresented in media coverage relative to the county population. This overrepresentation has implications for shaping the image of African Americans based on the subject matter of that coverage. These implications are discussed in greater detail throughout this report.

PRESENCE BY RACE AND GENDER

African American males are present in news stories at a higher rate than Caucasian/white males. In stories that identified a black person either explicitly or visually, 76% of the time that person was male. In stories where a white person was identified, 70% of the time that person was male.

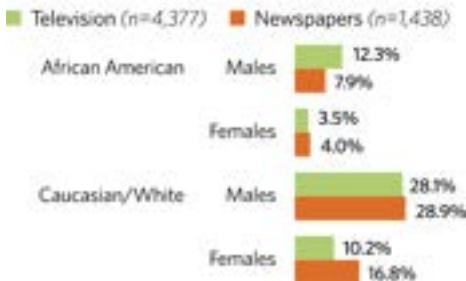
These figures demonstrate how females are underrepresented in news media regardless of race. But black women and girls in particular are less likely to see themselves in the news, appearing less than one-fourth of the time, while white women and girls appear nearly one-third of the time.

Breaking down race and gender presence even further, we see that the chart below displays the rate at which African American or Caucasian/white males and females were present in TV stories compared to newspaper stories. The chart shows that African American males were more likely to be present on television than in print. Caucasian/white females, on the other hand, were more likely to be present in newspapers rather than TV.

2019
Race and Gender Presence in Pittsburgh News:
Television and Newspapers
Percentage of Stories



2019
Race and Gender Presence in Pittsburgh
Television and Newspaper Coverage
Percentage of Stories

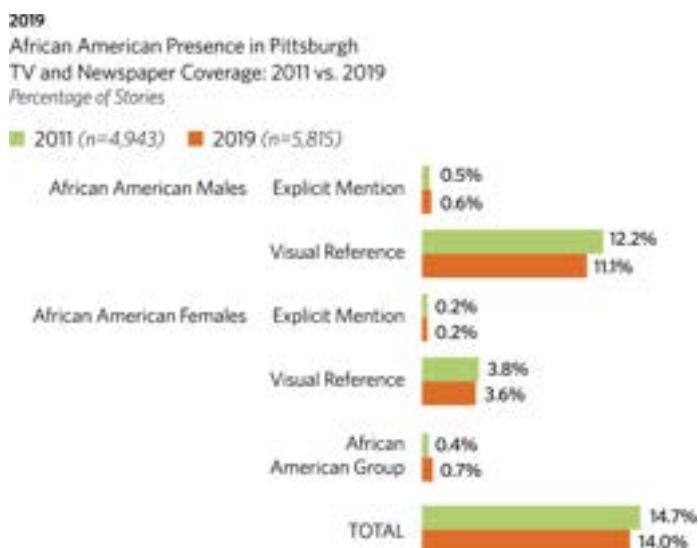


As discussed below, TV news and local daily newspapers have different priorities when choosing which stories to cover. TV news focuses on crime incidents far more than newspapers, and newspapers have far more lifestyle, entertainment and environment stories compared to TV. Being overrepresented in TV news coverage, as African American males are, means appearing in the topics that TV news stations choose to air.

PRESENCE IN 2019 COMPARED TO 2011

The presence of African Americans in local Pittsburgh news coverage in 2019 was remarkably consistent with the level seen in 2011. Overall, the proportion of African Americans represented in coverage, either explicitly or visually, was 14.0%, down slightly from 14.7% recorded in the 2011 study.

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Note: Some stories included the presence of multiple categories.

Explicit mention of race for both African American males and females were nearly identical to 2011: 0.6% for males, up one-tenth of a percentage point from 0.5% in 2011; and 0.2% for females, unchanged from 2011.

The rate of visual references in 2019 differed slightly from 2011, moving downward for both male and female images. But the variation was modest. Visual images of African American males decreased by 1.1 percentage points, from 12.2% in 2011 to 11.1% in 2019. The shift for African American females was even smaller, decreasing 0.2 percentage points, from 3.8% then to 3.6% now.

References to African Americans as a group was the only category that increased appreciably, nearly doubling from 0.4% in 2011 to 0.7% in 2019. These group references to race were included in this report only if African

Americans were explicitly mentioned as such. If a group was pictured or named without their race stated explicitly, even if one might assume race or ethnicity from the picture or name, that was not enough to be included.

10 An example of an explicit group mention was when local high school students were prevented from forming a black student union club. The inclusion of this story as an explicit group mention was not because race was stated in the name of the club (since membership was to be open to people of all races and ethnicities), but because of other group mentions in the article, such as “physical aggression toward black students” and “a dearth of black teachers” (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 4/24/2019).

Another example of an explicit group mention was during jury selection in a case against a white police officer for killing a black teenager: A Pittsburgh Post-Gazette article stated, “The racial breakdown of the [jury] panel so far is three black people and six white” (3/13/2019).

However, despite abundant news coverage of that particular trial and the protests that occurred when the jury acquitted the police officer, these stories were rarely if ever coded as a group mention. Despite the obvious implications of the case, the news media almost never referred to it overtly in terms of racial injustice. The racial injustice undercurrent appeared only in the New Pittsburgh Courier, where it showed up in headlines, quotes and commentary on the case.

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TOPICS IN PITTSBURGH MEDIA

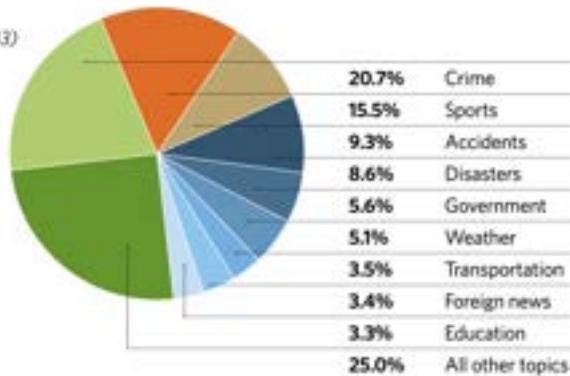
TOPICS IN 2019 COMPARED TO 2011

In 2011, the top two topics in Pittsburgh TV newscasts and daily newspapers were crime and sports. Together, these two topics accounted for 36.2% of all coverage gathered and analyzed for the monitoring period. When we look at the same set of topics as they appeared in the same Pittsburgh media outlets in 2019, we see that these two topics comprised 41.8% of all coverage, an increase of 5.6 percentage points.

Top Topics in Television and Newspapers

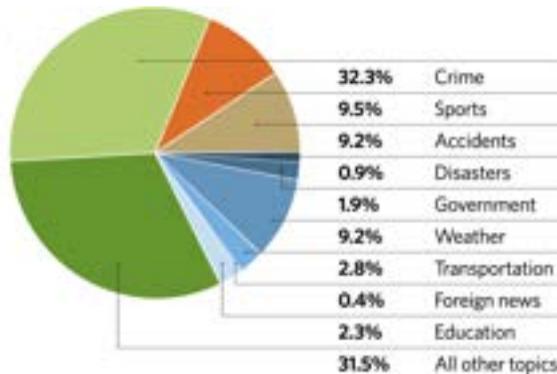
2011

Percentage of Stories (n=4,943)

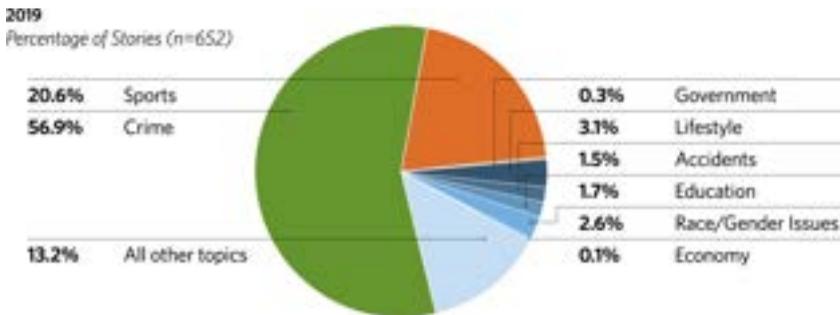
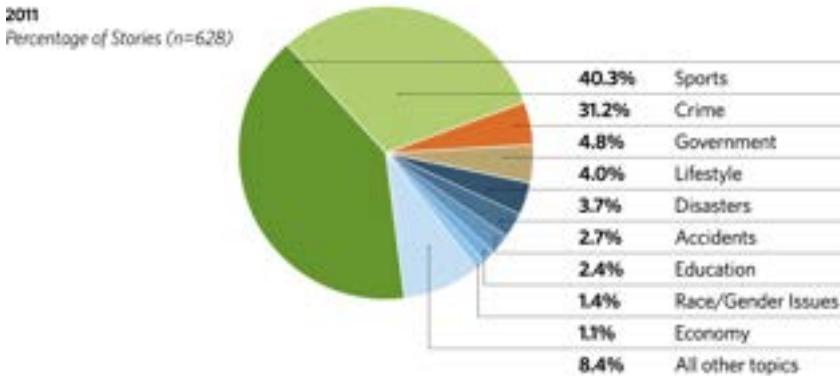


2019

Percentage of Stories (n=5,815)



Top Topics with African American Male Presence in Television and Newspapers



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For African American males, who were the main focus of the original 2011 study, the top two topics both then and in 2019 were also crime and sports. Together, these topics comprised 71.5% of 2011 coverage in which African American male newsmakers were present. Updating that figure for 2019, the same two topics accounted for 77.5% of African American males’ media visibility. That increase of 6 percentage points is similar to the 5.6-point increase for coverage overall. When roughly three-fourths of a population’s visibility is limited to just two topics, it leaves little room to make an impression on other subjects. **When that disproportional representation is maintained for the better part of a decade, the effect is potentially detrimental to creating a well-rounded portrait of that population.**

CRIME AND JUSTICE

In comparing the topics between 2011 and 2019, the pie charts above give the impression that there was a dramatic increase in crime coverage for African American males in 2019. The proportion of crime coverage in 2011 was already disproportionately high for black males, comprising 31.2% of their coverage whereas crime was only 20.7% of media coverage overall. But in 2019, crime coverage appears to explode, rising to 56.9% of African American males’ coverage, when the topic was just 32.3% of overall coverage.

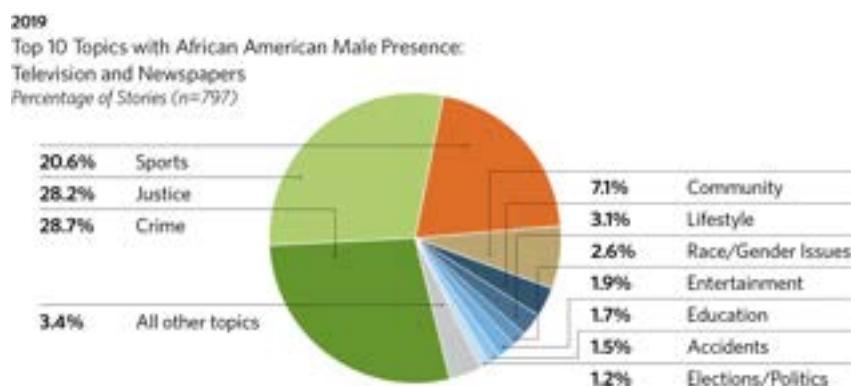
To understand this increase, we looked at the underlying content. One of the biggest generators of “crime” coverage was the trial of former police officer

Michael Rosfeld, who is white, in the killing of 17-year-old Antwon Rose II, who was black. Certainly, news about a criminal trial can be considered crime-related. But to categorize the substantial volume of coverage about this case as crime stories involving African Americans would be misleading. This trial was a news story not just because one person killed another person, but because it evoked issues of racial injustice. The focus was not the crime, but the pursuit of justice.

The 2011 study did not include a separate code for “justice” stories. It is unclear how many stories at that time were purely about crime, and how many, if any, were about the justice system, such as trials and sentencing, that carried overtones of social or racial justice.

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Neither the 2011 study nor the 2019 update rated news stories for tone. But it is reasonable to surmise that crime stories carry a negative connotation regardless of whether those involved are shown as perpetrators or victims. To categorize stories about social or racial justice as “crime” stories creates a false negative impression about the content and the people involved. **Therefore, in this 2019 report, a new topic, “justice,” was created to more accurately convey the substance of these stories without imbuing them with the negative stigma that “crime” evokes.**



Using this new topic to siphon off justice stories from crime stories, the revised pie chart above shows that the rate at which African American males are present in crime coverage is nearly unchanged from 2011: 31.2% of coverage for black males in 2011 was about crime, and in 2019 that figure was 28.7%, a difference of just 2.5 percentage points. More significantly, **almost the exact same percentage of 2019 stories are about justice: 28.2% of 2019 stories where African American males are present show people striving to combat discrimination and social injustice.**

By this measure, the finding that more than one-fourth of stories involving African Americans males are about seeking redress through the justice system could be considered a positive development when compared to perpetrating crimes or being victims of crime. A counterargument to whether this represents progress is that it also shows that more than half (56.9%) of stories in which African American males are present involve the legal system in some form.

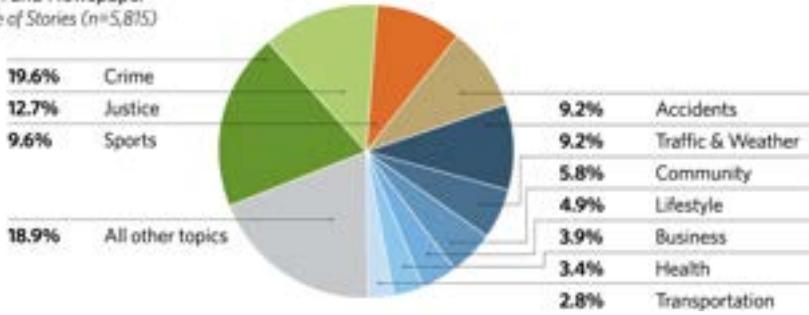
SPORTS COVERAGE IN 2019

Sports stories in Pittsburgh media comprised 9.6% of all news coverage. Yet the rate at which African Americans (male and female combined) were portrayed in sports stories was almost double that, at 17.6%. Among African American males, the proportion rises to 20.6%. In contrast, white males were present in sports coverage at a rate of 12.4%. (For black women/girls and white women/girls, sports stories comprised just 2.8% and 1.0%, respectively.)

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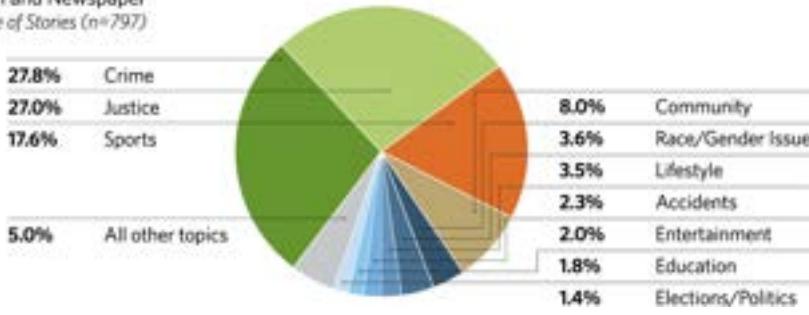
2019

Top Topics in Pittsburgh News: Television and Newspaper
Percentage of Stories (n=5,815)



2019

Top 10 Topics with African American Presence: Television and Newspaper
Percentage of Stories (n=797)



The two storylines that drove the most coverage in the sports topic were the trade of Antonio Brown by the Steelers to the Raiders, and the Penguins' ill-fated run for the Stanley Cup. The controversy over Brown contributed significantly to the visibility level of African American men, while the Penguins' playoff series contributed significantly to the visibility level of Caucasian/white men. It is possible that if the Penguins had gone further in the playoffs, the proportions of black and white sports figures might have been less divergent.

Head coaches Mike Tomlin of the Steelers and Mike Sullivan of the Penguins both appeared in the top ten lists of most visible newsmakers. And though football season was over in February, Tomlin, who is African American, appeared prominently in sports coverage for the city. Meanwhile, as the Penguins were making their playoff run, Sullivan, who is white, appeared in three times as many stories as Tomlin (39 to 13).

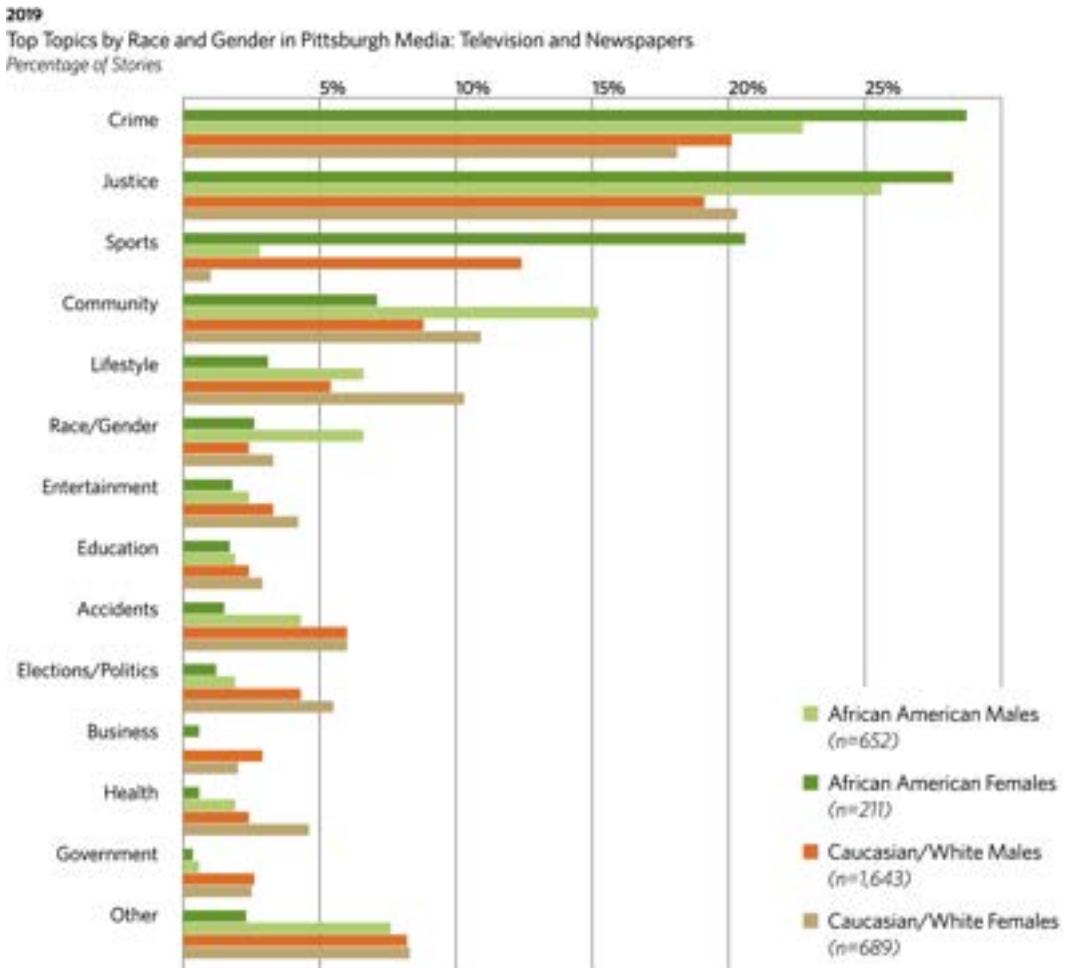
Broadcast outlets appeared to struggle with depth of coverage in trying to capture all sides of an issue while limited by the time constraint of a half-hour newscast. For African American males, there are still more images of mugshots and as victims than other types of representation; Mike Tomlin was a visible exception.

In the 2011 study, the sports topic made up 40.3% of all African American male visibility in media coverage. That is nearly double the proportion of sports coverage for African American males in 2019 (20.6%). It is not clear why the proportion of sports stories with black athletes or coaches dropped so dramatically from 2011 through 2019. It is possible that the justice topic for African Americans was such a large slice of the pie that it reduced other slices like sports, since pie charts are a zero-sum measurement (when one slice gets bigger, other slices must get smaller).

TOPICS BY RACE AND GENDER

When we look at topics by race and gender, we see that African American and Caucasian/white females have more topics in common than African American and Caucasian/white males. Of the top 10 topics for black women/girls, nine are also in the top 10 topics for white women/girls. Those nine topics are (in rank order for African American females): justice, crime, community, lifestyle, race/gender, accidents, entertainment, education and elections/politics.

The top 10 topics for African American males and Caucasian/white males are a bit more divergent, sharing eight topics in common. Those eight topics are (in rank order for African American males): crime, justice, sports, community, lifestyle, entertainment, accidents and elections/politics.



The top four topics for African American females (justice, crime, community, lifestyle) are the same top four in the same order for Caucasian/white females. Those four topics account for 70.1% of all stories in which black women/girls were present and for 59.6% of all stories in which white women/girls were present, a difference of 10.5 percentage points.

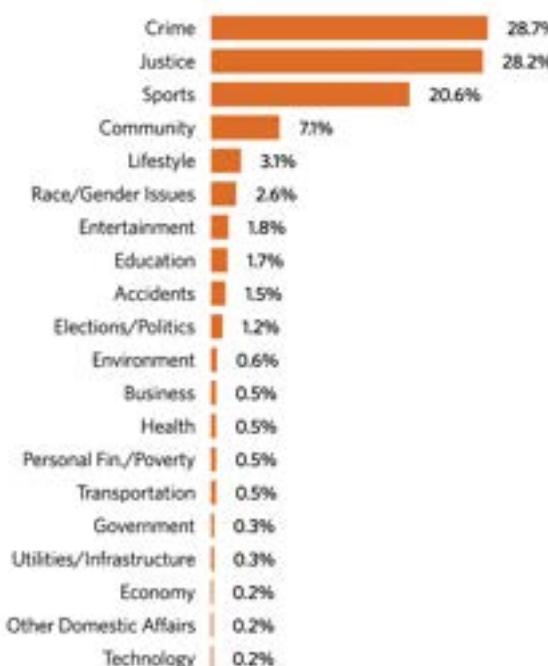
16 The top four topics for African American males (crime, justice, sports, community) were also the same top four, in the same order, for Caucasian/white males. Those four topics accounted for 84.6% of stories in which black men/boys were present and for 60.4% of white men/boys, a much larger difference of 24.2 percentage points.

2019 Top 4 Topics for Males in Pittsburgh News Coverage: Television and Newspapers			2019 Top 4 Topics for Females in Pittsburgh News Coverage: Television and Newspapers		
<i>Percentage of Stories</i>			<i>Percentage of Stories</i>		
Topic Rank	AA Males (n=652)	White Males (n=1,643)	Topic Rank	AA Females (n=211)	White Females (n=689)
1. Crime	28.7%	20.1%	1. Crime	25.6%	20.3%
2. Justice	28.2%	19.1%	2. Justice	22.7%	18.1%
3. Sports	20.6%	12.4%	3. Sports	15.2%	10.9%
4. Community	7.1%	8.8%	4. Community	6.6%	10.3%
Total	84.6%	60.4%	Total	70.1%	59.6%

As previously noted when comparing the 2011 findings to 2019, a smaller number of topics made up a larger portion of the coverage of African American males compared to that of Caucasian/white males. The bar charts on the next page show all topics identified in 2019 coverage, divided by race and gender. African American males were present in 20 topics, but 10 of those topics were at a rate of less than 1% of all African American male coverage. Just 10 topics accounted for 96.5% of all media visibility of black males. In contrast, white males were present in 25 topics, and their top 10 topics accounted for 84.8% of white male coverage.

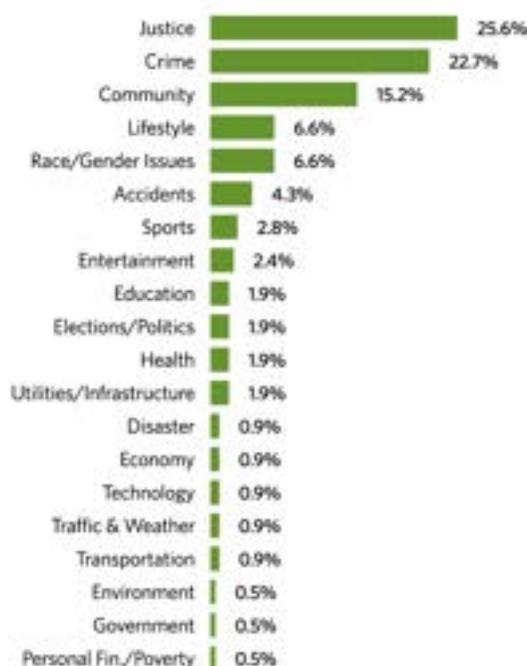
2019

Topics for African American Males in Pittsburgh Media
Percentage of Af. Am. Male Coverage (n=652)



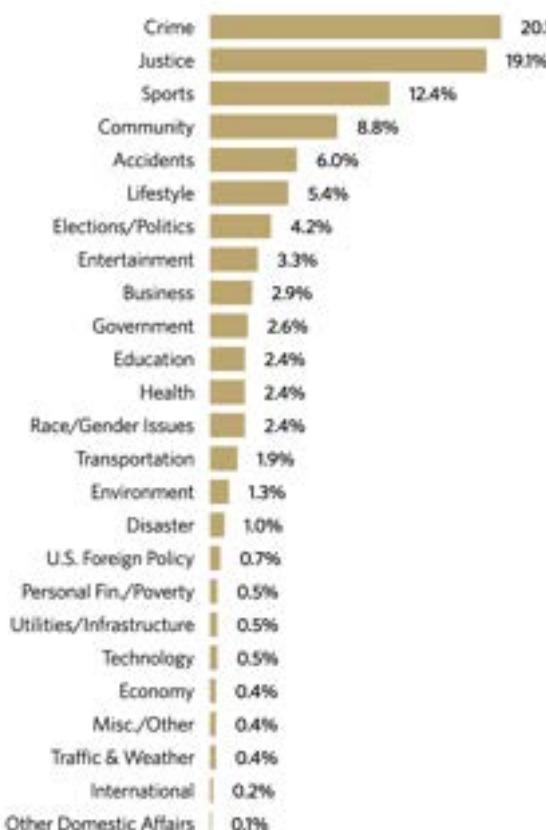
2019

Topics for African American Females in Pittsburgh Media
Percentage of Af. Am. Female Coverage (n=211)



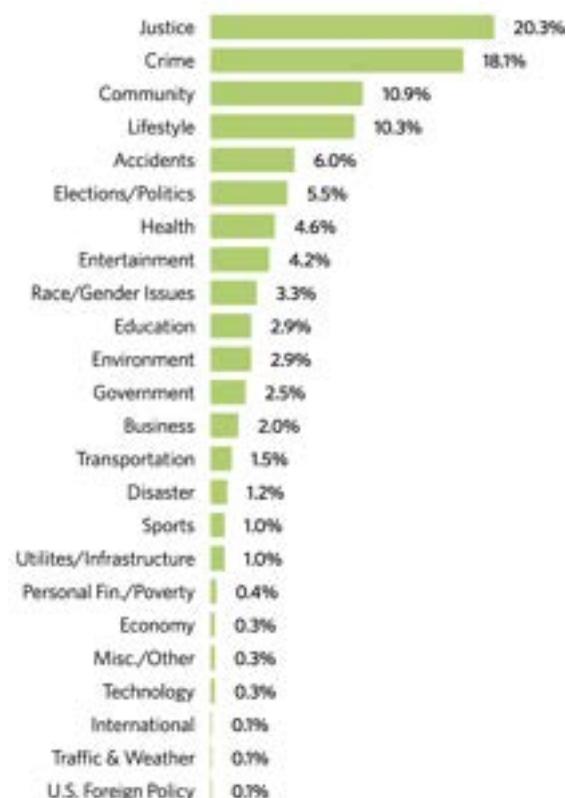
2019

Topics for Caucasian/White Males in Pittsburgh Media
Percentage of White Male Coverage (n=1,641)



2019

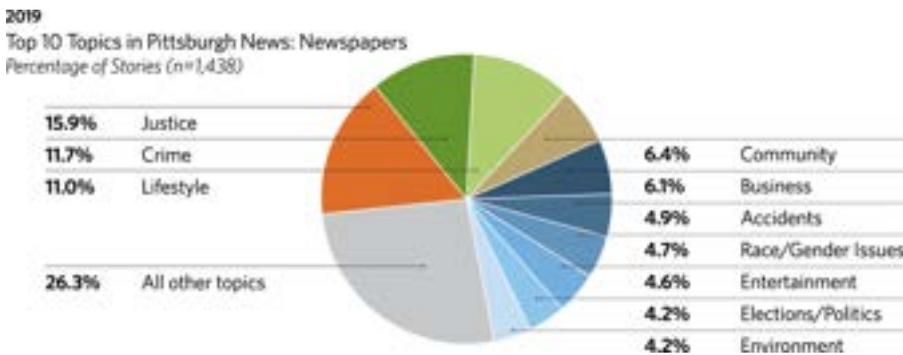
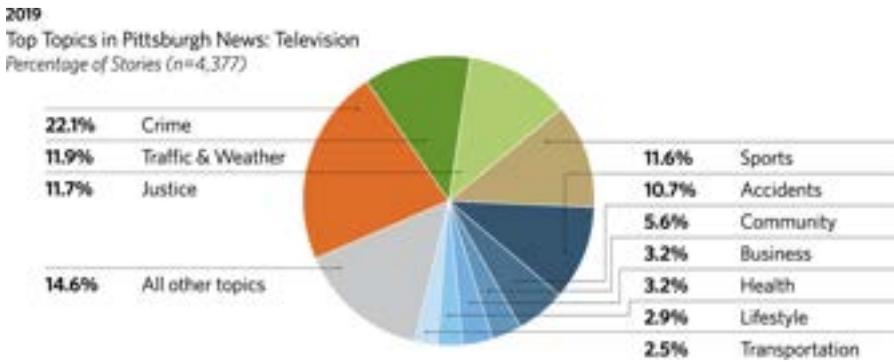
Topics for Caucasian/White Females in Pittsburgh Media
Percentage of White Female Coverage (n=689)



TOPICS BY MEDIA TYPE

For both the 2011 and the 2019 studies, analysis incorporated all stories that aired on local 11:00 p.m. TV news broadcasts but included only page-one stories from the front section and local section of daily newspapers. As a result, sports and routine weather and traffic reports had a much larger presence in TV coverage, comprising a combined 23.5% of TV news stories, but just 4.1% of tracked coverage in local daily newspapers. The two pie charts below show the top 10 topics on TV (top) and in print (bottom) based on percentage of stories for each medium.

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Even though “traffic & weather” and “sports” gobble up nearly a quarter of all TV news coverage, leaving less time for all other topics, TV newscasts still managed to cover crime stories at almost double the rate of newspapers (22.1% to 11.7%, respectively). Consequently, African Americans, who are present in crime stories at a rate of 27.8% compared to 19.6% overall, have a larger presence on TV than in newspapers.

Overall, four factors combine such that **the predominant image the community sees of African Americans, as reflected in the local mainstream news media, is that of a black, male criminal.**

1. African American males are overrepresented in crime stories.
2. Black men/boys appear in news coverage at a rate of more than 3:1 compared to black women/girls.
3. African American males are present in TV coverage at a higher rate than in newspaper coverage.
4. The vast majority of references to African Americans are visual rather than explicit, and TV is a far more visually stimulating medium than newspapers.

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For anyone watching or reading the news, this image could contribute to the reinforcement of long-standing negative stereotypes.

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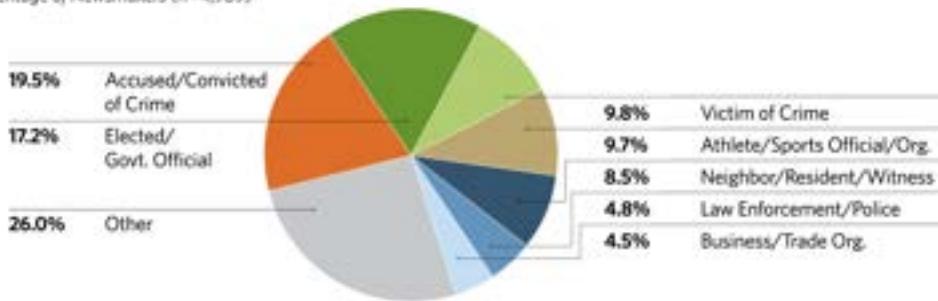
NEWSMAKERS IN PITTSBURGH MEDIA

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Analysis of Pittsburgh media included tracking up to two “newsmakers” in each story. The lead newsmaker was the person who was the main focus of the story, that is, the person whose actions or statements constitute the main subject matter. A second lead newsmaker was recorded only when more than one person appeared as the main focus of the story.

For example, stories about the trial of former police officer Michael Rosfeld, accused of fatally shooting Antwon Rose II, were recorded as having two newsmakers if both people were discussed prominently. Similarly, stories about the arrest of Allegheny County Controller Chelsa Wagner and her husband, Khari Mosley, were frequently coded as having two lead newsmakers.

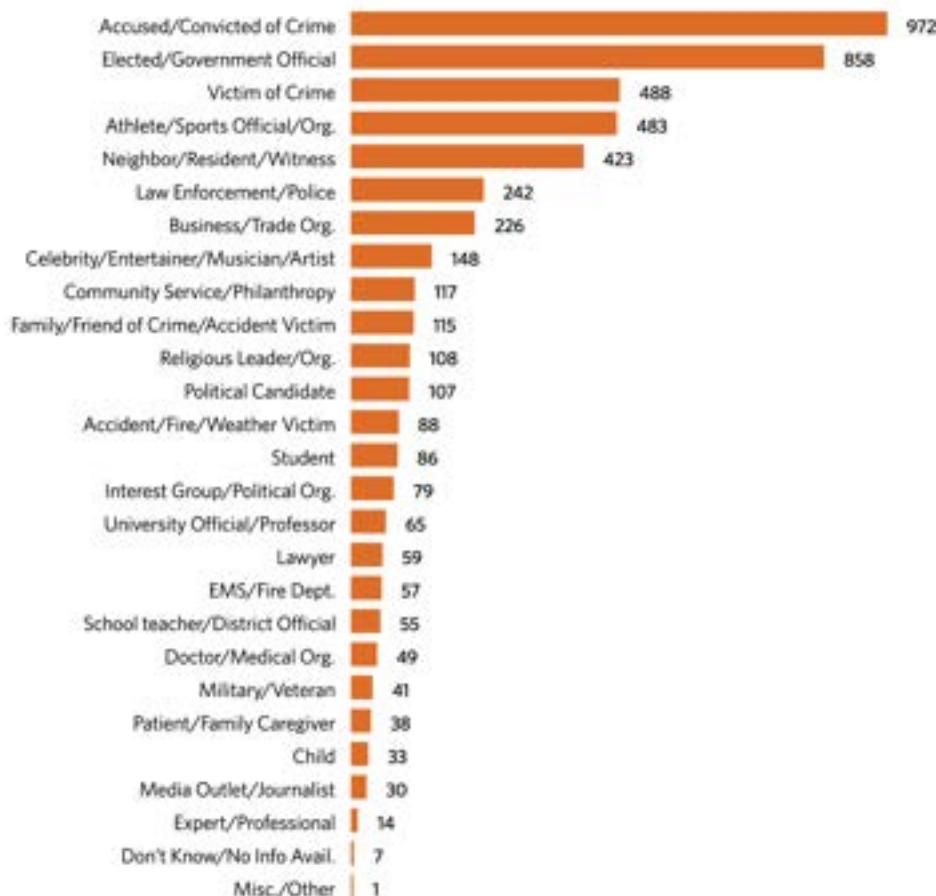
2019
Top Newsmaker Types in Pittsburgh Television and Newspapers
Percentage of Newsmakers (n=4,989)



Overall, 58.6% of stories in Pittsburgh media contained at least one lead newsmaker, and 27% of stories contained two lead newsmakers. The pie chart above shows that the most frequent type of newsmaker mentioned were people who were accused or convicted of crimes (19.5%). This is in line with the finding that crime was the leading topic in coverage at 19.6%. The next largest category, elected/government officials at 17.2%, included district attorneys and attorneys general, which also aligns with the finding that justice is the second largest topic at 12.7% of stories.

The next three largest groups of newsmakers — crime victim; athlete, sports official or organization; and neighbor, resident or witness — were in a similar range, each appearing in 400 to 500 stories. The next two types of newsmakers — law enforcement and police; and businesses or trade organizations — were the only categories remaining that received more than 200 stories each. Combined, these top seven categories comprised nearly three fourths (74%) of all newsmakers.

2019
Types of Newsmakers in Pittsburgh TV & Newspaper Coverage
Number of newsmakers (n=4,989)



TOP NEWSMAKERS BY RACE

The table on the next page lists the African Americans who were the newsmakers mentioned most frequently in Pittsburgh media coverage. Of the 11 people listed, five were crime-related, whether they were perpetrators, victims, family of victims or lawyers. Another five of the top black newsmakers were sports-related as athletes or coaches. Just one newsmaker was a government official, the only person on the list who could be considered a leader in civic life. These top 11 people accounted for 26.3% of all African Americans mentioned as newsmakers in the media.

2019

Top African American Newsmakers in Pittsburgh News Coverage

Newsmaker	# of Stories	% of AA Newsmakers
	(n=813)	(n=863)
Antwon Rose II, 17-year-old killed by police officer	55	6.4%
Antonio Brown, former wide receiver, Pittsburgh Steelers	36	4.2%
Khari Mosley, husband of Allegheny County Controller Chelsa Wagner	35	4.1%
Michelle Kenney, mother of police shooting victim Antwon Rose II	17	2.0%
Demetrius Coleman, defendant in deadly car crash case	16	1.9%
Devin Bush, linebacker, Pittsburgh Steelers	14	1.6%
Mike Tomlin, head coach, Pittsburgh Steelers	13	1.5%
Chris Archer, pitcher, Pittsburgh Pirates	12	1.4%
Ed Gainey (D), State Representative, 24th District	10	1.2%
TIE: Le'Veon Bell, former running back, Pittsburgh Steelers	9	1.0%
TIE: S. Lee Merritt, civil rights attorney for Rose family	9	1.0%
Total	226	26.3%

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The next table lists the top 10 Caucasian/white newsmakers in Pittsburgh media. Three were mentioned in crime-related stories and two were sports-related. Three white newsmakers were government officials, and another was a former government official and current candidate for office. Rounding out the top 10 was a religious leader of one of the largest denominations in the community. Overall, five of these figures could be considered leaders in civic life (although two of them — Donald Trump and Joe Biden — are not local to the region).

2019

Top White/Caucasian Newsmakers in Pittsburgh News Coverage

Newsmaker	# of Stories	% of White/Caucasian Newsmakers
	(n=2,073)	(n=2,332)
Donald Trump	82	3.5%
Michael Rosfeld, former East Pittsburgh police officer	63	2.7%
Chelsa Wagner, Allegheny County Controller	54	2.3%
Bill Peduto, Pittsburgh Mayor	47	2.0%
Mike Sullivan, head coach, Pittsburgh Penguins	39	1.7%
Sidney Crosby, team captain, Pittsburgh Penguins	33	1.4%
Josh Shapiro, Pennsylvania Attorney General	27	1.2%
Joe Biden, former vice president and Democratic presidential candidate	26	1.1%
Adnan Pehlivan, accused of stalking and sexual assault	20	0.9%
David Zubik, bishop, Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh	18	0.8%
Total	409	17.6%

The top 10 Caucasian/white newsmakers accounted for 17.6% of all Caucasians/whites mentioned in the media, 8.7 percentage points fewer than for African Americans. This reinforces the earlier finding that African Americans are represented in stories about a smaller array of topics. **When a segment of the population is represented by only certain types of people and shown in a limited number of situations, it becomes easier to form stereotypes about who that community is and their role in society.**

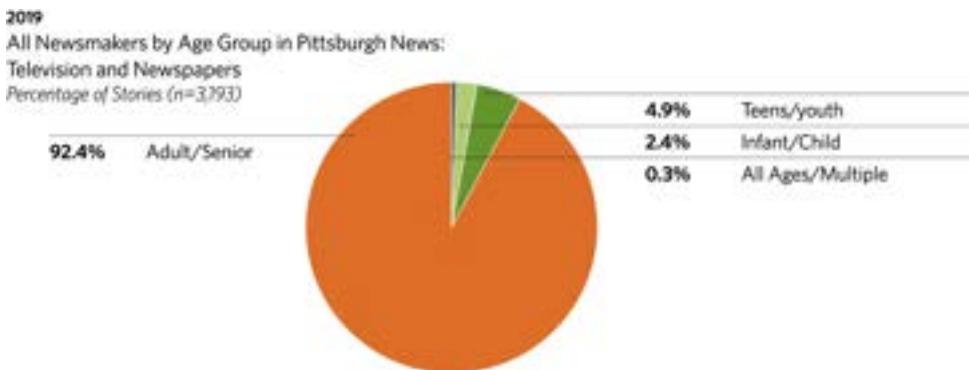
6

PORTRAYAL OF RACE BY AGE

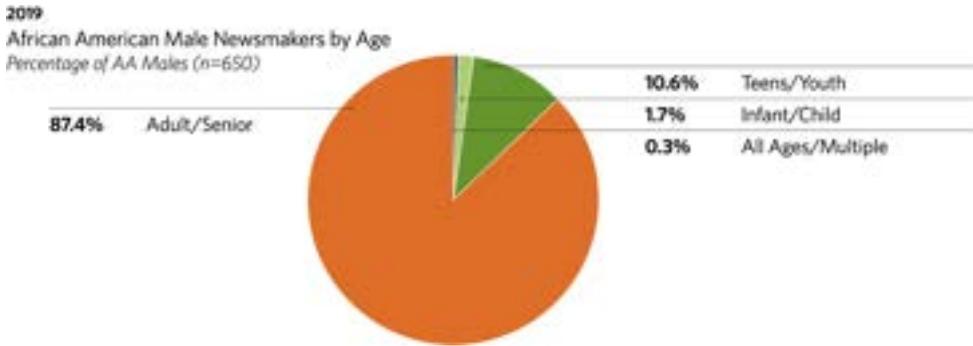
In tracking up to two newsmakers in each story, based on either explicit or visual race, the approximate age of each newsmaker was tracked as well. For Caucasian/whites and African Americans, an age category was assigned to the newsmaker featured. If there were two newsmakers of the same race and both were the same age, it was recorded once. If they were recorded with two separate ages, it was recorded as “all ages/multiple.”

Overall, those identified as adult/senior in coverage accounted for 92.4% of all age category mentions. Teen/youth accounted for 4.9%. Infant/child made up 2.4% of mentions while all ages/multiple made up less than 1% of the classifications.

For newspapers, the adult/senior group accounted for 90.6% of the mentions. Both teen/youth and infant/child accounted for less than 5% each (4.8% and 4.2%, respectively). All ages/multiple again failed to make up at least 1%, indicating that there was not a significant number of stories where two different age groups from the same racial group appeared as lead newsmakers in the same story. Television coverage had the highest percentage of visibility for adult/senior newsmakers with 93.3% of mentions. Teen/youth made up 4.8%, while infant/child made up 1.7% and all ages/multiple again made up less than 1%.

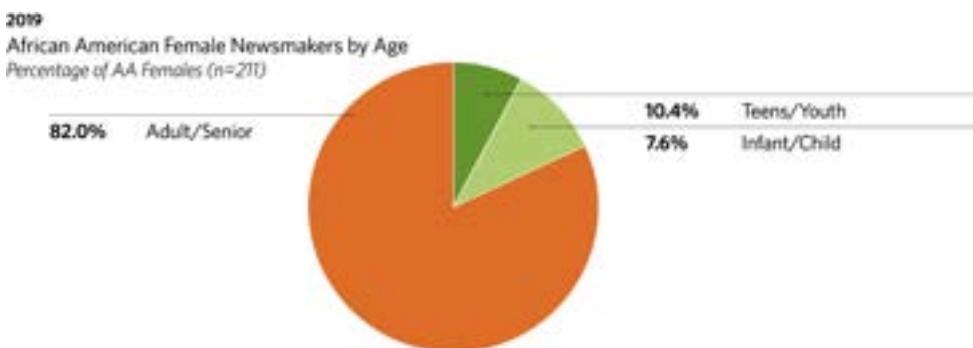


For individual racial groups, there were some subtle distinctions that should be noted.



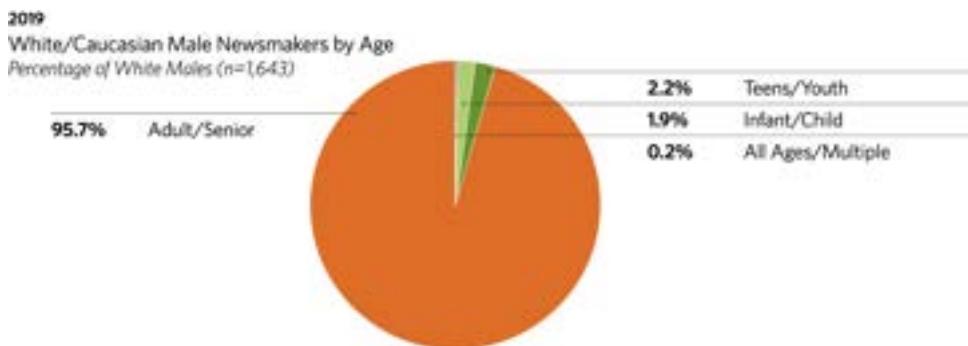
24

African American males had the highest percentage of teen/youth newsmakers with 10.6%. This is compared to 2.2% for white males. Broken down by media type, a higher percentage of African American males were featured in television newscasts (11.2%) versus newspaper stories (8%). The leading topics of coverage for African American male teens and youth by number of stories were justice, crime and community, respectively. Stories about justice accounted for 58% of African American teen/youth mentions versus 18% for African American females, 17% for white females, and 6% for white males. **For newspapers, it should be noted that black teens/youth were not mentioned at all in any crime stories.** As noted, the most visible African American newsmaker in teen/youth coverage was Antwon Rose II, whose death was the focus of a large amount of justice coverage. He alone accounted for more than 6% of all African American newsmakers of any age.

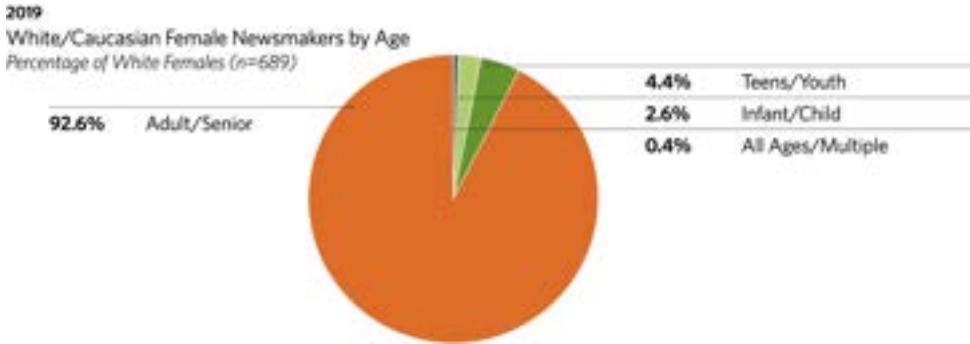


African American females had the lowest percentage of adult/senior newsmakers with 82%. African American males rang in with 87.4% of the group, which contrasts to white males and females with 95.7% and 92.6%, respectively.

Newsmakers for both white groups were more than 90% adults/seniors. In raw numbers, white adult/senior newsmakers vastly outnumbered African American adults/seniors, with 1,572 white males and 638 white females versus 568 stories for African American males and 173 for African American females. Broken down by media type, African American female adult/senior mentions appeared more frequently in television stories (86.9%) versus newspaper stories (69%). Similar to African American males, the most visible topics in coverage featuring adult/senior newsmakers were justice, crime and community, respectively. In television coverage specifically, crime stories were more prevalent, edging out justice pieces 40 stories to 39. **Michelle Kenney, mother of police shooting victim Antwon Rose II, was a leading figure in justice coverage and the only woman among the top ten African American newsmakers.**



White males had the highest percentage of mentions of adult/senior newsmakers with 95.7%. The percentages were consistent across media types as well, with TV at 96.4% and newspaper coverage at 93.5%. Within the adult/senior segment, the most visible topics covered were justice, crime and sports, respectively. For TV coverage, the top three topics were crime, justice and sports, while for newspapers, the top three were justice, community and crime, all respectively. **White males, by raw number of stories, had the most mentions of almost all topic categories.** Two exceptions would be white females having more mentions in newspapers about lifestyle and on TV about personal finance/poverty. Donald Trump was the most visible white male newsmaker in coverage. Though he spoke primarily about national issues, he was consistently visible in both broadcast and print media.



26

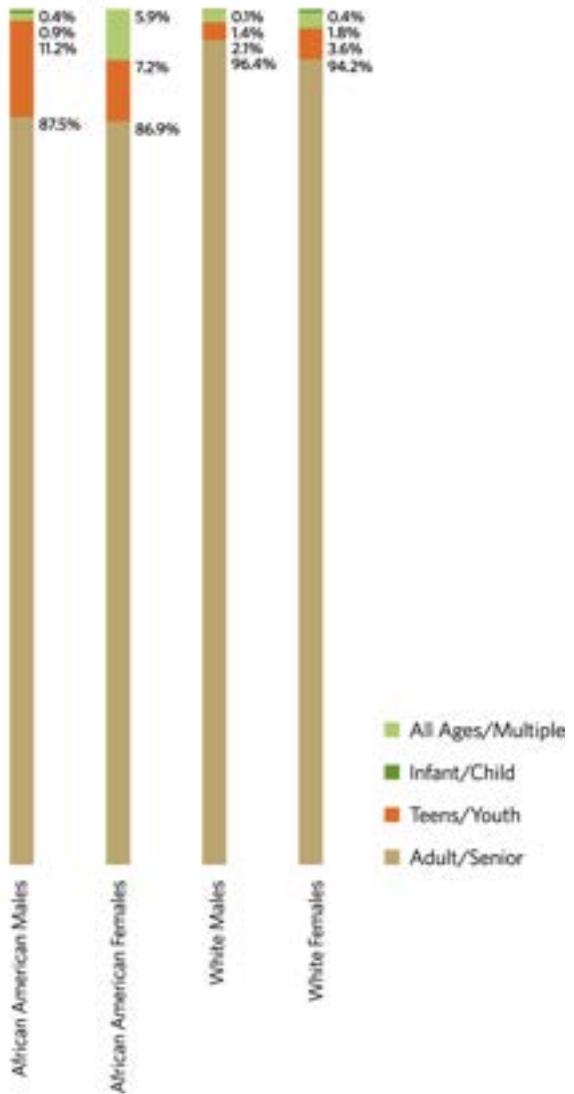
White females had the second highest number of infant/child newsmakers at 18 stories (behind infant/child white males at 31 stories), and the percentage of those stories (2.6%) was second to that of African American females (16 stories, 7.6%). For the infant/child segment, the leading topics were lifestyle, justice and race/gender issues. For newspaper coverage specifically, the leading topics were lifestyle and entertainment, while the leading topics for TV were justice and accidents. Interestingly, the leading topics for white adult/senior women were exactly the same, and in the same rank order, as the leading topics for African American adult/senior women: justice, crime and community. Overall, white females had the highest percentage of lifestyle (infant/child group) and health (adult/senior group) stories. **Allegheny County Controller Chelsa Wagner was one of the leading drivers of both justice and crime coverage, and was the only woman present in the list of top 10 white newsmakers.**

White women were less visible in business coverage compared to their white male counterparts, but they were represented nonetheless. The numbers for African Americans, however, were particularly stark. Business stories accounted for roughly 3% of white male adult/senior mentions, while accounting for slightly less (2%) for white female adult/seniors. For African American adult/senior men, business coverage accounted for less than 1% of total stories (0.5%) and **there were no business stories in which African American adult/senior women were featured as newsmakers.** For comparison's sake, in the New Pittsburgh Courier, business stories with African American newsmakers accounted for 11% of coverage, and women accounted for two-thirds of those mentions. In mainstream media, the lack of voice for African American women is an issue. For white women, their presence in business coverage is small, but they are still more visible than African Americans of either sex.

2019
Age of Newsmakers: Newspapers Only
Percentage of Mentions



2019
Age of Newsmakers: Television Only
Percentage of Mentions



Teens/youth accounted for a very small percentage of total newsmakers in coverage. As noted previously, the bulk of teen/youth mentions for African American males centered around stories focusing on justice and (on TV) crime. In fact, those two topics accounted for 75% of the stories mentioning that group of newsmakers. For both white males and African American females, the most visible topic for teen/youth mentions was community. These stories most often focused on the search for missing teens in cases where no criminal activity or nefarious intent was explicitly reported. For white females, the most visible topic was lifestyle. Foremost among them were stories about local proms. The lifestyle topic was present in coverage for other groups, but was not nearly as visible when compared to white teen females.

7

COMPARISON TO NEW PITTSBURGH COURIOR (NPC)

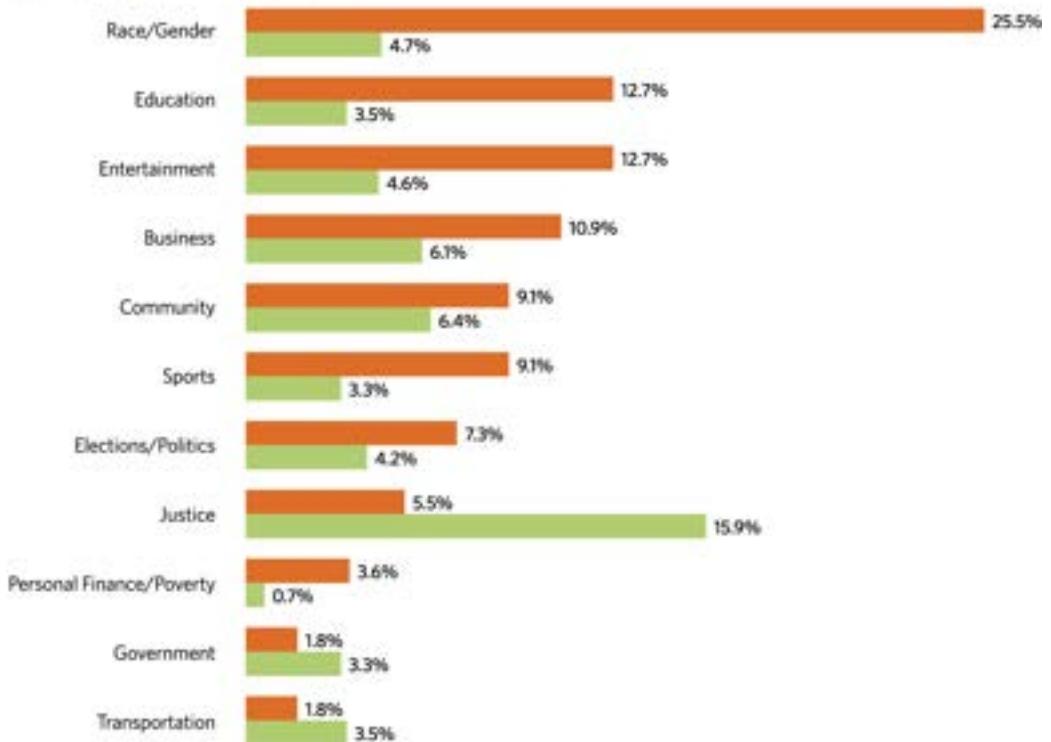
28

The New Pittsburgh Courier is a weekly newspaper catering to African Americans in the Pittsburgh market. The paper, as currently named, was founded in 1966, though its roots can be traced to the Pittsburgh Courier, which was founded in 1910 and at one time was the country's largest black weekly, with national and international circulations. As of 2012, the paper had a recorded circulation of 3,480. According to its website, the paper prides itself on serving the black community, stating, "We are the New Pittsburgh Courier, one of the oldest and most prestigious black newspapers in the United States, with a rich and storied history."

2019

Topics in New Pittsburgh Courier vs. Dailies
Percentage of Stories

■ NPC (n=55) ■ Dailies (n=1,438)



Contrasting with daily newspaper coverage in the other combined target outlets, the New Pittsburgh Courier reported with a much greater emphasis on both race/gender issues and education. Whereas race/gender issues accounted for only 4.7% of combined coverage in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, they accounted for 25.5% in the Courier. Additionally, education accounted for 3.5% of coverage in the Gazette and the Tribune-Review while accounting for nearly 13% in the Courier.

Leading into the conclusion of the Michael Rosfeld trial, the New Pittsburgh Courier had two front-page headlines that were written in all caps, seemingly to emphasize their importance to the majority black readership of the paper. A March 20 headline read, “TRIAL OF THE DECADE HAS BEGUN.” The story contained side-by-side photos with Rosfeld’s mugshot and a smiling photo of Antwon Rose II. The lede read, “The last time a white police officer was tried in Allegheny County for killing a black suspect was 20 years ago. There was no Twitter, no Facebook and no video of Pittsburgh officer Jeffrey Cooperstein fatally shooting Deron Grimmitt as the car he was driving was coming into the view of the officer on Second Avenue.” The story immediately set an equivalence to an earlier case where a white police officer shot a young black male victim. In a second story, published on March 27, the headline read, “ONCE AGAIN, NO JUSTICE...Michael Rosfeld found not guilty.” The lede was even more damning of the verdict: “Not even a video clearly showing a white police officer shooting an unarmed black teenager in the back is enough to get a guilty verdict.”

Contrast that coverage with the headline from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette on the day of the verdict, which simply read, “Rosfeld acquitted.” The sub-head read, “Antwon Rose II’s family disagrees with verdict, demands changes in law on police shootings.” The piece explicitly noted race twice. First, it reported that the jury foreman, “a 71-year-old black man who spent his career as a woodshop and gym teacher, read the verdict.” The second mention of race came in a quote from Patrick Thomassey, attorney for Rosfeld, in which he stated, “I’m going to say this right now, this case had nothing to do with race, absolutely nothing to do with race. Some people in the city made it that way, and it’s sad. Mike Rosfeld was doing his job, he did his job, and [it had] nothing to do with the color of anybody he was arresting” (3/22/2019).

In speaking about the jury foreman from the Rosfeld case, writer Mercedes J. Williams penned a scathing piece for the Courier titled, “Death should not be the consequence for being a black man.” In it, she criticized the foreman, Jesse Rawls Sr., who himself is black. In particular, she wrote about him speaking about the jury decision on his 72nd birthday, “Sir, you should have remained anonymous and cut your Harrisburg birthday cake,” referencing the fact that the jury was bussed in from another jurisdiction. “Instead, you

decided to spew the most illogical rhetoric to your decision, further victimizing Antwon Rose II and painting Rosfeld as a hero.” She did not mince her words when speaking about Rosfeld attorney Patrick Thomassey either: “Another person who deserves the mute button is Rosfeld’s defense attorney, Patrick Thomassey. I don’t know if it’s his white privilege or simple lack of respect, but for a man who has reaped the benefits of the black dollar, he should have thought about his press conference statements. He said that this case had ‘absolutely nothing to do with race.’ Thomassey would be a fool to believe that. Let’s be clear — Michael Rosfeld would not have killed Antwon Rose II if he were white” (4/15/2019).

8

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of implicit racial bias in news coverage continues to be an issue that local news organizations will have to proactively deal with. The phenomenon was more likely to occur in broadcast coverage, though some of the characteristics appeared in print media as well. In particular, by showcasing African American males disproportionately in stories about crime and criminal activity, seemingly objective news stories promote persistent and often inaccurate stereotypes. The damage of such reporting manifests itself in several different ways with two of the most prominent being:

- Young African American boys and girls that watch the news are consistently being bombarded with negative images of people that look like them engaged in criminal activities. Of the images shown during the average nightly newscast, many of them are of young black people being displayed as victims or suspects of various criminal acts. To be clear, the act of reporting crime in and of itself is not intrinsically a bad thing. However, consistently offering up images and reports that are not in line with actual crime statistic trends locally or nationally can help create images of a false reality and lead to harmful self-perceptions for an entire group of young people. This focus on negative representation also takes away opportunities to highlight favorable contributions that are being made to communities by people of color of all age groups.
- For audiences of different races, these perceptions presented by local media outlets can help foster an undeserved sense of fear, which could in turn lead to other negative outcomes such as bias or discriminatory behaviors and actions. Further, by excluding positive contributions made by African American members of the community in stories about issues like business, education and government, perceptions can potentially be formed that African Americans “take” more from the community than they “give.” In addition, white newsmakers identified in coverage were far more likely to be seen in positions of power or decision-making capacities, such as police officers, business leaders or elected officials.

Social media and improved personal technology have altered the media landscape. It is now both accepted and common practice for local news outlets to obtain and feature audio or video captured from the mobile devices of non-news people. Whether it be cellphone video from a neighbor, bodycam footage from a police officer, or surveillance footage from home security systems or cameras in public places, events that were once only relayed by eyewitness accounts are increasingly available for people to view for themselves. Because of the proliferation of public social networks and the associated communities within them, events are coming to light and spreading without the filter of mainstream media. As a result, the media are increasingly influenced by members of the local community to cover the issues most important to them.

One direct result of cellphone video and social media technologies is the rise of conversation about the issue of racial or social justice versus just straight reporting about crime. In February 2012, just a few months after the original 2011 Pew Research Center study was completed, 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was shot and killed in Sanford, Fla., by George Zimmerman. Police did not arrest Zimmerman at the time, but public pressure through online petitions and millions of Twitter and Facebook posts forced a trial. In August 2014, Michael Brown was shot and killed by police in Ferguson, Mo. Fury over the killing was driven in part by video of the crime scene that appeared to show Brown's body lying uncovered in the street for hours. Three months later, surveillance video showed two Cleveland, Ohio, police officers shooting 12-year-old Tamir Rice as he played with a toy gun. In the eight years between the original 2011 Pew report and this current study, the deaths of unarmed black men and boys gave rise to a new social justice movement. Since 2011, there has been a rise in community-led campaigns to fight for the rights of victims. Today, altercations between police and people of color are automatically put through the lens of racial justice in a way that was not commonplace in 2011.

Incidents in Pittsburgh demonstrate how new technologies are the drivers of discussion in mainstream media. Two of the most visible legal cases that played out during the target time frame this year were against officer Michael Rosfeld and Allegheny County Controller Chelsa Wagner. Both of these cases fueled public opinion by way of video shot and shown during broadcasts. In the Rosfeld case, video was shown from the cellphone camera of a neighbor. In Wagner's case, video came from bodycams of Detroit police while taking Wagner into custody in front of her hotel room door, as well as Wagner's own cellphone video of the incident. Newspapers (with the exception of the New Pittsburgh Courier) and local TV newscasts went out of their way to avoid explicit mention of the racial aspects of the stories. But the implications of racial injustice are what made these two cases relevant to the community and worthy of the extensive airtime and column inches allotted. They weren't just crime stories.

Elected officials were prominent newsmakers in 2011 and 2019, with the president topping the list in both years. During both sample periods, the president in office at the time was the most visible individual newsmaker. President Trump was more visible in 2019 than President Obama was in 2011, due mainly to his comments about the Mueller investigation and the hate-motivated shootings in New Zealand, two non-local stories that nonetheless were covered extensively in Pittsburgh media outlets. At the state level, former Governor Tom Corbett was the second most visible newsmaker in 2011, whereas in 2019, Governor Tom Wolf was not in the top newsmaker list. Conversely, at the local level, Mayor Bill Peduto was the fourth most visible white newsmaker (fifth total, behind Antwon Rose II, who topped the list of African American newsmakers), while former Mayor Luke Ravenstahl was not in the top newsmaker list from 2011. Peduto was very visible in justice coverage, particularly in stories about gun control. During both time frames, State Representative Ed Gainey was the only local politician of color to be a top newsmaker. He was also visible in stories about justice.

9

RECOMMENDATIONS

34 FOR LOCAL MEDIA

Learn from African American-run news media what fuller narratives of black life can be. This study found that race, gender, education, entertainment, and business were the leading topic categories covered in the New Pittsburgh Courier. All of these topics are central to the lives of many African Americans and other people of color in the Pittsburgh area. It is of the utmost importance that these underserved populations are featured prominently in coverage of these issues. Whether it is through profiles done to address the unique needs of these groups, or photographs in the stories depicting them, media coverage in both print and broadcast media must do more to be inclusive and tell more diverse stories of both hardship and triumph.

Expand coverage of women and children. Females are underrepresented in news media regardless of race. Black women and girls in particular are less likely to see themselves in the news, appearing less than one-fourth of the time, while white women and girls appear less than one-third of the time. In some cases, such as in business news, African American females are not present at all. The presence of infants and children in local news media borders on invisible. Just 2.4% of stories with a newsmaker present included a child or infant. Black girls/female infants are present in just 16 stories. Black boys/infants appear in only 11 stories.

A greater representation of children in the news may be unlikely to increase children seeing their particular stories reflected on the evening news or in the newspaper sitting on the kitchen table. But a greater focus on children will drive an increase in news coverage on a wider variety of topics, particularly those where African Americans are underrepresented currently, such as education and health. In addition, there is more homogeneity in the topics in which black and white women appear compared to the topics in which black and white men appear. Focusing more content on women may indirectly increase the level of racial equity in news media coverage.

Promote informative and engaging conversations about health. The topic of health was one of the less visible topic categories across all groups and media outlets. It was tied for seventh of the top 10 topics for TV coverage while it was not in the top 10 categories for newspaper coverage at all (including in the New Pittsburgh Courier). The concept of health potentially ties into many other subjects, including financial issues, public policy and lifestyle. As coverage of these health issues begins to increase, there will be a great

opportunity to make sure the conversation stays balanced and reporting focuses on how to improve circumstances for all groups, including those that might be more vulnerable than others. It also opens up opportunities to focus on children of all races, who are barely present in the media on any topic, and African American men, whose health needs are all but invisible in coverage.

FOR FUNDERS AND NONPROFITS

The findings in this report support the need for the Pittsburgh regional community to continue working with local media outlets directly, as well as avenues outside the media establishment, to help African Americans' stories be told.

In the time since the original 2011 “Portrayal and Perception” report on Pittsburgh media was conducted, The Heinz Endowments has taken steps to invest in media initiatives designed to improve representation of African Americans locally. Programs that the Endowments supported in recent years include PublicSource, a nonprofit online news outlet devoted to journalism as a public service. Last year, PublicSource did a series on black girls, dedicating a platform for telling their stories “about how they feel they are perceived and treated, what their hopes and fears are and what they think would better their lives.”² The Endowments also is involved in the Bridge Pittsburgh Media Partnership, an organization working to bring news organizations in Western Pennsylvania together for collaborative reporting on issues important to the region.

² [https://blackgirlspgh.
publicsource.org/](https://blackgirlspgh.publicsource.org/)

These initiatives have dual roles of filling in the gaps where African Americans — particularly women and girls — are underrepresented in mainstream media, and presenting a more well-rounded portrait of the people, culture and concerns that are part of the greater Pittsburgh community. Given the findings in this report, such efforts by the Endowments and other funders continue to be necessary.

Increase support of technology education to develop new digital media creators who can help address ongoing issues like racial and gender equity and social justice. Whether it is through supporting STEM Education or specific initiatives, local funders and nonprofits can encourage increased access to new and more effective tools in the continuing fight for social justice. In so doing, the most underrepresented members of the community can learn to create and use new technologies to provide the support that often goes missing from existing social networks. This investment will help spark creativity, community-based solution development and encourage potential growth in a variety of economic and educational spheres.

Encourage proactive use of social media to organize, promote and engage. Since the original 2011 report was produced, there is no denying the increased influence of social media on communities, the news cycle and reporters themselves. During broadcast segments, reporters and anchors promote content on their various branded social media accounts to provide additional information and engage with community members about stories. This has revealed opportunities to coordinate or amplify the voices of the underrepresented who need it the most.

Funders and nonprofits can use social media to pitch new story ideas, provide or serve as experts on issues facing communities, and help keep the news media honest in covering important issues. As previously noted, the stories that media outlets choose to cover were traditionally set by those in the newsroom based on their own experiences and points of view, which may or may not speak to the community at large. With social media, there are more opportunities to influence the conversation to better reflect the priorities and information needs of underrepresented populations.

10

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study was designed to mirror as closely as possible the methodology used by the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism in compiling the 2011 report. To that end, we reached out to one of the staff members at Pew who worked on the original study and was still with the organization, and we were able to obtain crucial methodological information, including the original code book. Times have changed, however, and some aspects of the methodology, such as source data availability and topic definitions, had to change as well.

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The sample for this study was made up of news coverage mostly from March 1 through April 30, 2019, the same two-month period examined in 2011. Keeping these dates the same allowed us to maintain consistency for certain events tied to the calendar, such as the St. Patrick’s Day Parade and the NCAA “March Madness” men’s basketball tournament. If the time frames were different, the media coverage would reflect different holidays and events, making it harder to conduct an apples-to-apples comparison between 2011 and 2019. Stories from this March–April time frame were captured from newscasts of three major TV network affiliates and from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and the New Pittsburgh Courier.

Coverage from the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, which transitioned to an online-only format since the original 2011 report was written, was collected in real time for the dates of April 18 through June 19, 2019. This 63-day period matched the 61-day period of the other two newspapers because, for technical reasons, two editions of the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review were not captured.³

³ The Pittsburgh Tribune-Review editions for April 21 and June 2 were not available.

OUTLETS AND STORY INCLUSION

For television, all stories airing as part of the 30-minute newscasts beginning at 11 p.m. were included. For newspapers, all stories on the front page and all stories on the first page of the local sections were included. The entirety of each article was coded, even if the story continued onto another page. The outlets coded were as follows:

KDKA (Pittsburgh CBS affiliate)	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
WTAE (Pittsburgh ABC affiliate)	Pittsburgh Tribune-Review
WPXI (Pittsburgh NBC affiliate)	New Pittsburgh Courier

All seven days of the week of the two daily newspapers — the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review — were part of this study. The New Pittsburgh Courier is a weekly publication, and each edition during the March 1–April 30 time frame was included.

For the television broadcasts, every evening that the station aired an 11 p.m. newscast was included in this study. There were some evenings when KDKA pre-empted or delayed their newscast due to other programming such as sporting events like the NCAA Division I Men’s Basketball Tournament (“March Madness”). Those days were included in the sample when available, but in some cases the broadcasts were truncated in the video database or simply unavailable. Due to technical problems or the inability to access content, some days were excluded from the sample.⁴

In total, analysts coded 179 television broadcasts and 130 newspaper editions. That resulted in a sample of 5,870 total stories (1,438 daily newspaper stories, 55 weekly newspaper stories and 4,377 television stories).

CAPTURE PROCESS

The primary method for capturing local Pittsburgh media was to use online tools. For all the television programs, analysts used the media monitoring service Critical Mention, which allows users to view local broadcasts from all media markets nationwide.

Each of the newspapers was collected in a different way. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette was collected via PressReader, an online service that displays exact replicas of the hard-copy editions, allowing analysts to see photos and graphics along with full article texts. The Tribune-Review, which is an online-only publication, did not have an online archive that displayed photos or graphics during the time that data collection for this report was underway. Therefore, upon the launch of this project, analysts captured screen-grabs for the Top News page, to represent the equivalent of “front page” stories in a hard-copy newspaper, and the Allegheny News page to approximate what would otherwise be considered the front of a “local news” section of a printed newspaper. For the New Pittsburgh Courier, hard copies of each week’s edition were obtained via mail order direct from the publisher.

⁴ Broadcasts were not available for KDKA on March 21 and 28, and for WTAE on April 25 and 26. Only portions of broadcasts were available for WPXI on April 14 and 21, and for WTAE on March 31, April 14 and 15, and 27 and 28.

CODING VARIABLES

In addition to housekeeping variables, such as date, source and media type, each story was coded for the following variables:

- Geographic Focus — captures whether the story was local to the greater Pittsburgh region, non-local but still in the U.S., national or international.
- Topic — captures the general subject matter of the story, based on a predetermined list of 26 potential topics.
- Presence of African American Explicit Mention — refers to whether an African American is a significant part of the story (at least 25%) and their race is explicitly discussed in the story. If there was an explicit mention, a determination was made as to whether it focused on a male, a female, a group or a combination of those. As an additional level of analysis for 2019, male and female mentions were further categorized by age group: Infant/Child, Teens/Youth or Adult/Senior.
- Presence of African American Visual Reference — refers to whether an African American is a significant part of the story (at least 25%) and their race is not discussed in the story. It is impossible to tell with certainty an individual's race just by visual depiction, but analysts were instructed to use their best judgment. If a consumer of the news story would make a reasonable assumption that the subject was an African American, analysts were to select “yes” for this variable. If there was such a reference, a determination was made as to whether it focused on a male, a female or both genders if more than one person was mentioned. As an additional level of analysis for 2019, male and female mentions were further categorized by age group: Infant/Child, Teens/Youth or Adult/Senior.
- Caucasian/white Presence — The 2019 research team determined that tracking when Caucasian/white individuals were present would provide context when drawing conclusions about African Americans' presence. Therefore, data for Caucasians/whites in media coverage were recorded using the same criteria as for African Americans but, for simplicity, without distinguishing whether a reference was explicit or visual. They were also categorized by gender and age group.
- Lead Newsmaker names a person who is the central focus of the story (at least 50%). Stories can have up to two lead newsmakers.

UPSTREAM ANALYSIS AUDIT TEAM

Staff members from Upstream Analysis who assisted in the production of this report were Randall D. Evans, project co-director; Janet Harris, project co-director; and Annalisa Morton, data entry assistant.

40 *Upstream Analysis* (www.upstreamanalysis.com) is a media measurement and research firm that applies training in public opinion research and statistical analysis with a deep understanding of the media environment. Looking at the media landscape from the communications professional's perspective, Upstream Analysis shows companies and nonprofits how their portrayal in the media influences their image and ability to achieve business and policy goals.

Janet Harris, M.P.Aff., founded Upstream Analysis in 2006 and brings to the firm nearly 30 years of experience in media relations, politics and public policy, public opinion research, content analysis, and media measurement. She has a master's degree with a specialization in research methodology and statistical analysis from the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. Her media analysis has been featured in USA Today, NBC's Today.com, The Daily Beast, the New York Post, HuffPost, BuzzFeed and the Hollywood Reporter, among others. Recent clients include the United States' largest philanthropy focused solely on health, a consultancy focused on corporate diversity and inclusion programs, and an international public relations agency developing communications strategies in consumer products, pharmaceutical, insurance, technology and retail industries.

Randall D. Evans has more than 20 years of experience in media and content analysis. He has worked with clients across multiple industries, ranging from large corporate to small advocacy work. His background is in secondary research, with extensive experience in traditional and social media analysis, competitive intelligence and benchmarking methodologies using a wide variety of technology platforms, both proprietary and open source. Prior to becoming an independent consultant, Evans worked in the strategic research practice arm of Edelman in its Washington, D.C., office. There, he focused on reputation management, harnessing the power of online communications tools and conducting secondary research for a number of Fortune 500 clients.

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The Heinz Endowments was formed from the Howard Heinz Endowment, established in 1941, and the Vira I. Heinz Endowment, established in 1986. It is the product of a deep family commitment to community and the common good that began with H.J. Heinz, and that continues to this day.

The Endowments is based in Pittsburgh, where we use our region as a laboratory for the development of solutions to challenges that are national in scope. Although the majority of our giving is concentrated within southwestern Pennsylvania, we work wherever necessary, including state wide and nationally, to fulfill our mission.

That mission is to help our region become a just and equitable community in which all of its citizens thrive economically,

ecologically, educationally, socially and culturally. We also seek to advance knowledge and practice in the field of philanthropy through strategies that focus on our priorities of Creativity, Learning and Sustainability.

In life, Howard Heinz and Vira I. Heinz set high expectations for their philanthropy. Today, the Endowments is committed to doing the same. Our charge is to be diligent, thoughtful and creative in continually working to set new standards of philanthropic excellence. Recognizing that none of our work would be possible without a sound financial base, we also are committed to preserving and enhancing the Endowments' assets through prudent investment management.