LOCAL MEDIA RESPONDS TO GEORGE FLOYD

HOW PHILADELPHIA NEWSROOMS COVERED A WEEK OF PROTESTS

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In the days after George Floyd was murdered by Derek Chauvin on May 25, 2020, cities across the U.S. broke out in protests and local and national media raced to cover the events as they unfolded. This study seeks to illustrate how the breaking news reporting of Philadelphia's media ecosystem presented these protests and related events to the city's residents in their immediate aftermath. To do so, this report analyzes articles related to the protests from 19 of the news partners of the Broke in Philly collaborative during the week of May 30 through June 7, 2020. The headlines, images, and article content in the corpus were examined through the lens of existing media scholarship on protest coverage. The results point towards how such events might be covered by local news outlets going forward, with an eye towards solutions, solidarity, and collaboration.

Key Findings

- The headlines of protest-related articles during the time period analyzed focused more on responses to protests (i.e. counter-protests, public officials’ statements, the future of two local symbols of former mayor Frank Rizzo) than on the source of the unrest or protesters’ demands.

- Of the people quoted or directly paraphrased in the articles, 37.5% were either public officials or members of law enforcement, while 15.8% were protesters. By contrast, 43.8% of images analyzed showed people protesting.

- Images included with the articles most frequently framed the unrest in legitimizing ways, emphasizing non-violent protests and written demands more than images of fires, looting or violence.

- The majority of coverage coded (71.4%) was episodic in nature, focusing on individual events and behaviors rather than systemic or thematic context.
Keywords related to systemic reforms sought by protesters (such as “defund the police” or “abolish the police”) were found infrequently among the corpus compared to those that describe the protests themselves and responses to them, including “looting” and “Target,” a retail store where counter-protesters gathered.

Key Recommendations

- Most importantly, newsrooms should look to provide ample context for the systemic causes of and solutions to a protest’s root issues during early reporting. In cases of protests against racist violence and police brutality, thematic context is abundantly available in U.S. history and the inclusion of such historical and contemporary context should be a standard in related breaking news coverage.

- Protester perspectives on the causes of and solutions to the issues they’re raising through protest should be included with more frequency and more prominence in breaking news coverage.

- Assigning editors must reimagine traditions of reporting on official statements from public figures and celebrities. Amplifying the words of those in positions of authority without significant context shifts focus away from the protests themselves, participants’ goals and demands, and the perspectives of other community members.

- This analysis shows a clear opportunity for local news collaboration. The publications studied often covered the same response-focused events in similar ways (i.e. the removal of the Rizzo statue or release of a statement by Mural Arts). Local newsrooms, especially those that already collaborate elsewhere should share resources for episodic, response-focused coverage in order to free up reporters for coverage that highlights thematic context and meets additional information needs.
In late May and early June 2020, people around the world took to the streets and organized protests in response to the May 25 murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In some U.S. cities, this initial wave of protests continued late into the summer. Early on, in addition to peaceful marches and demonstrations, looting and property destruction were part of this response. In many cases, police responded violently to protesters, contributing to the history of police violence which partially inspired the rallies for racial justice.

Philadelphia saw its first mass protest in response to George Floyd’s murder on Saturday, May 30 with another even larger protest following on Saturday, June 7. In between and for weeks after, smaller protests cropped up in neighborhoods around the city in response to racism, police brutality, and a variety of related issues (including housing, incarceration, and school funding). Some of these were led by pre-existing activist organizations and coalitions like local chapters of Black Lives Matter or the Party for Socialism and Liberation, while many sprang more spontaneously from individual activists, community groups, or neighborhoods.

In the weeks that followed the initial national protests, the public conversation — from mainstream and social media to the words of politicians, celebrities, and corporate brands — focused on systemic racism and police brutality. During this time, many industries faced their own cultural reckonings as stakeholders spoke up about racism they faced internally or that was perpetuated by their institutions. The news media was one of these and both journalists and non-journalists alike raised questions about objectivity and how a disproportionately white industry could accurately cover topics like these protests and their origins (Lowery).

Though demonstrations supporting the Black Lives Matter movement and denouncing systemic racism have been held throughout the U.S. for years, the events of May and June 2020 marked a
clear shift in the public discourse at a crucial time for a nation engulfed in a devastating pandemic, economic strife, and political polarization.

Goals & Research Questions

Journalism is often called “the first rough draft of history.” The way the news is reported has an undeniable impact on how the public understands and remembers events they do not experience firsthand. It’s the first way we, as a society, begin making sense of collective events. What is included in this “first rough draft” is not natural or inevitable. It is constructed and created through countless decisions made by the recorders of history, including journalists and their editors, and what they think is or will be newsworthy enough to record and share. Within the framing theory of media effects, the way that history is framed in coverage — as David Tewksbury describes it, how reporting “directly or implicitly suggests what the problem is about, how it can be addressed, and who is responsible for creating and solving it” — has the potential to shape the audience’s perception of those events (Scheufele 1999). When it comes to unrest, research has also shown that the framing of protests in the news can affect an audience’s opinions of the groups involved (McLeod & Detenber 1999; McLeod 1995). This research focuses on the true “first rough draft” of Philadelphia’s reactions to George Floyd’s murder: the written breaking news coverage of the first week of local protests following his death.

This research also focuses on a diverse set of news outlets as news consumers often utilize a variety of sources, and brand recall of those sources varies (Mitchell; Shearer). The goal of this report is to examine what local news offered to the city of Philadelphia during this history-making event and establish what, if any, patterns and narratives emerged between them so the results might inform how local media ecosystems operate in future similar situations.

The way this research project was constructed inevitably has a certain point of view. The Resolve Philly organizational ethos demands that the best news should, of course, be fair, rigorous, and independent. But it should also serve the information needs of communities and privilege the perspectives of those communities by raising their voices (not just the voices of
those with power) and reflecting them accurately. The best journalism should answer the question: what do “the people” want and need to know in this moment, about this moment, beyond what journalists traditionally feel is “newsworthy”? The research questions selected and the scholarship that informed this work were chosen with that ethos in mind.

The four research questions we thus sought to answer with this analysis were:

**RQ1:** What proportion of written coverage was dedicated to various angles of the unrest, like peaceful protests vs. police brutality vs. looting?

**RQ2:** What words were most frequently used in that coverage to describe these events and those participating in them?

**RQ3:** How much of that coverage contained actionable information for those participating in or connected to the protests, and how much focused on raising awareness of the events for those not participating?

**RQ4:** Who was quoted in and photographed for these stories?

**Theoretical Influences**

This analysis is grounded in two frameworks that are often used by researchers to study news coverage of protests. In 1999, scholars James Hertog and Douglas McLeod identified a pattern among news coverage they called the protest paradigm. They found that coverage often delegitimizes protest movements via reporting that focuses on the most violent or dramatic aspects of a protest, features an over-reliance on official sources and definitions, fails to explain the context of the movement at hand, and exaggerates the negative consequences of those protests (McLeod, 1999). This, in turn, influences public perception of protests and protesters. As McLeod wrote in 2007, “protest groups often find themselves in a double-bind: be ignored by the media, or resort to drama and risk that these events might be used to delegitimize the
This paradigm has been a touchstone for research on protest coverage in the years since; Danielle Kilgo and Summer Harlow further developed this framework to analyze protest reporting in Texas in 2017, categorizing news articles under the following frames (Kilgo, 2019):

- **Riot**: Emphasizing disruptive behavior and the use or threat of violence.
- **Confrontation**: Describing protests as combative, focusing on arrests or “clashes” with police.
- **Spectacle**: Focusing on the apparel, signs, or dramatic and emotional behavior of protesters.
- **Debate**: Substantially mentioning protester’s demands, agendas, goals, and grievances.

Within the protest paradigm, the Riot, Confrontation, and Spectacle frames are considered to delegitimize protests, as they shift focus away from the causes of protest movements and the solutions proposed by organizers and participants. The Debate frame is considered to be the most legitimizing of theses (Mourão).

For this report, an additional category was added to Kilgo’s 2019 research framework: Response, which characterizes response to protests, i.e. amplifying official statements from public officials and celebrities, changes in policy, or events as a direct result of protests and counter-protests.

To explore both the framing of coverage and what types of information they contain, Shanto Iyengar’s 1991 work on episodic and thematic coverage is useful. He defines episodic coverage as reporting that “takes the form of a case study or event-oriented report and depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances (for example, the plight of a homeless person or a teenage drug user, the bombing of an airliner, or an attempted murder).” Thematic coverage, on the other hand, is that which “places public issues in some more general or abstract context and takes the form of a ‘takeout’ or ‘backgrounder,’ report directed at general outcomes or conditions. Examples of thematic coverage include reports on changes in government welfare and expenditures, congressional debates over the funding of employment training programs, the
social or political grievances of groups undertaking terrorist activity, and the backlog in the criminal justice process” (Iyengar).

The significance of this framework is its impact on audiences. Previous research has shown that episodic and thematic framing can have different effects on how audiences perceive the cause of societal issues and who or what is responsible for solving them (Iyengar). Iyengar’s research on TV news and its impacts on audiences found that, “episodic framing of poverty increased attributions of individualistic responsibility, while thematic framing increased attributions of societal responsibility.” (Iyengar, 67) From the same experiments, he concluded that “episodic coverage of black poverty in particular increases the degree to which viewers hold individuals responsible for racial inequality. News coverage of racial discrimination has the opposite effect” (Iyengar, 67).

Finally, to categorize actionable information within the corpus, this analysis turned to the Service Journalism Model code developed by The Journalistic Role Performance Project, which sought to “explain how different dimensions of professional roles materialize in the news in different organizational, institutional and social settings.” That framework was adapted for this analysis.

This study focuses on news coverage produced by Resolve Philly’s Broke in Philly partners, whose 27 newsrooms make up a significant share of Philadelphia’s news ecosystem and include a variety of outlets that reflect the diversity of the local media landscape. For reasons of feasibility and data availability, this analysis focuses on English-language online text context and accompanying images. Coverage from some of the Broke in Philly partners, including those
whose stories were audio/visual only, unavailable in archives (including local TV and radio broadcasts) and/or produced in Spanish, were excluded from this analysis.

The 19 outlets examined and their respective articles included in this analysis are¹:

- Al Día News (15)
- Billy Penn (part of WHYY) (15)
- Generocity (10)
- Germantown Info Hub (1)
- Green Philly (2)
- Kensington Voice (1)
- Metro Philly (14)
- NBC10 Philadelphia (42)
- Next City (4)
- Philadelphia Citizen (11)
- Philadelphia Gay News (5)
- The Philadelphia Inquirer (172)²
- Philadelphia Magazine (20)
- Philadelphia Weekly (4)
- PlanPhilly (part of WHYY) (11)
- Technically Philly (14)
- The Notebook (now Chalkbeat Philadelphia) (4)
- WHYY (46)
- WURD (1)

The analysis focuses on stories published between May 30 and June 7, 2020. This time frame allows us to deeply explore how newsrooms covered a number of significant dates during the first sweep of protests (Figure 1), providing insights into how this breaking news event was initially framed. The findings do not speak to newsrooms’ coverage of protests outside of this time frame, nor their coverage more broadly.

**Data Collection**

Articles for this study were collected via LexisNexis NewsDesk, using a search for the desired outlets during the time period in question that contained any of a list of keywords relevant to the events at hand. This included “George Floyd,” a variety of synonyms and variations of “protest,” “riot,” and “looting” as well as keywords that spoke to the goals of the protests and public conversations around systemic racism and policing, like “Black Lives Matter,” “police brutality,”

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¹ ecoWURD and FunTimes Magazine were checked for eligible data but did not publish any work meeting the analysis criteria. Philadelphia Weekly is no longer a Broke in Philly partner but was at the time of data collection.
² Though the Inquirer makes up a plurality of the articles by volume, the patterns of the results below do not notably change if their work is excluded, suggesting this imbalance did not skew or shift the results in any major way.
and “defund the police.” (See appendix for full list.) Outlets within scope but not included in NewsDesk’s database were searched manually. Articles outside the scope of this analysis, including wire stories, video- and audio-only posts, aggregate blogs, and articles unrelated to the protests, were removed from the corpus. In the end, the text content of 392 articles was analyzed. Of those, 41 articles were found to have headlines and content that were not predominantly about the protests, and thus their photos and sources were excluded from further analysis.  

**Codebook**

The corpus was analyzed using a set of 24 coding variables informed by the media scholarship noted above. The codes focus on recording which sources were included in each story’s text and

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3 During data collection, any articles that were found in our keyword search but that only referenced the George Floyd-related protests in one sentence or less were excluded from our corpus. However, three crime briefs that would have been excluded using this rule had headlines that were related and codeable under the protest paradigm, and thus they were included in the final corpus. Additionally, four articles that would have been either excluded based on the rule listed above or excluded from voice and photo analysis due to insufficiently-related content were included in the full analysis. Each of these articles were “listicles” that explicitly noted they were being published in reaction to the protests in order to highlight the voices of Black business owners, health professionals, and writers.
images and what kinds of frames and angles were used to cover the protests. See appendix for full codebook.

Aubrey Nagle, Reframe project editor, and Lucia Geng, Resolve Philly intern, engaged in an iterative process to refine and clarify the codebook, and then independently coded a sample of 80 articles to formally assess inter-coder reliability. Codes for which acceptable (Krippendorf’s alpha ≥ .80) or tentative (Krippendorf’s alpha .67-.80) inter-coder reliability levels were achieved are included in the report below (Krippendorf).

**RESULTS**

**RQ1: What proportion of written coverage was dedicated to various angles of the unrest, like peaceful protests vs. police brutality vs. looting?**

Headlines, ideally, present audiences with the most salient aspects of the article within. Four in ten U.S. adults report scanning headlines of many stories throughout the day, meaning they serve a critical role in the public’s media diet and offer a clear place to begin this analysis (The Media Insight Project). The headline of each article in the corpus was examined considering the protest paradigm and assigned one of five codes which best fit the headline as a standalone text or marked “No Code Applied” (α = .79) (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Assigned</th>
<th>Example Headlines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Confrontation  | • More than 200 civilians arrested after Saturday's protests  
|                | • Protesters tear-gassed in Philly after blocking highway traffic |
| Debate         | • For Black Philadelphians, centuries of injustices come to a head in George Floyd protests |
A plurality of the headlines from this critical first week focused on responses to the protest (Figure 2). Response-framed headlines (33.2%) included references to statements from Philadelphia’s Mayor, Police Commissioner, community leaders, and local professional athletes as well as news of the removal of two prominent symbols of former mayor and police commissioner Frank Rizzo, among other events.
Rizzo was known for his own brand of police brutality and harassment of Philadelphia’s Black and brown people and LGBTQ+ community. The Frank Rizzo statue that once stood at the city’s Municipal Services Building was removed on June 3, 2020 after being vandalized by protesters and then cleaned by city workers. A mural depicting Rizzo in Philadelphia’s iconic Italian Market was also decommissioned and then painted over that week. While Rizzo was a prominent figure in the city’s history, the continued presence of his image was seen as “a symbol of oppression” as one resident noted (Adelman). Many, including protesters who attempted to tear it down, wanted it removed; as noted in some of these articles, activist Deandra Jefferson at Philly for REAL Justice had called for its removal since 2017. Throughout the week in question, similarly significant monuments were vandalized and/or taken down across the country.

There were many chapters to the Rizzo story in the week of coverage analyzed, which may partially explain the predominance of the Response framing among the headlines. But, as City Councilmember Cindy Bass said at the time, its removal was a “psychological need,” as opposed to one of the “life-sustaining needs that the community has” (Walsh).

Additionally, when Response is combined with the frames that delegitimize protests by emphasizing violence or unusual behavior (Riot: 16.8%, Confrontation: 7.9%, and Spectacle 4.9%), these outweigh the Debate frame (19.1%) by a significant margin, suggesting the headlines analyzed fell into the classic protest paradigm identified by Hertog and McLeod. While some of the headlines analyzed did emphasize the systemic roots of the protests and solutions sought by protesters and organizers, this was not the major storyline audiences would have encountered in headlines that week.

To understand what images audiences would have seen alongside these headlines and stories, a set of codes developed by Kilgo for analyzing news images within the protest paradigm were applied to accompanying images, again adapting the framework to include a response-focused category (Kilgo 2017). Each image was assigned one of five codes (Table 2) which best fit the image or marked “No Code Applied” (α = .79) (Figure 3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Assigned</th>
<th>Example Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation</td>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image2.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image3.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debate</td>
<td><img src="image4.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image5.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image6.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td><img src="image7.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image8.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image9.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riot</td>
<td><img src="image10.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image11.jpg" alt="Image" /> <img src="image12.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to selecting a predominant frame that best fit each photo, each image was coded for what related activities were depicted in the image, regardless of salience (Figure 4). Multiple activities could be coded for each photo ($\alpha = .73-.92$).
The Debate frame (29.5%) was the frame most often assigned in our image coding and a plurality of images showed Debate frame-related activities (255 of 696). Many of the images audiences would have seen with the articles we analyzed were images of non-violent protest and written demands on signs or clothing. However, a majority of the images analyzed either did not depict the protests (25.7%) or depicted them through delegitimizing frames (Riot, Confrontation, or Spectacle; 33% total). There was also one significant dataset in which the Riot frame was assigned more than all other categories: in “duplicate” images that appeared more than once in the corpus because they were included in multiple articles, 35.3% of which were Riot-framed.

**Figure 4: Number of Photos vs. Activities Shown**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities Shown</th>
<th>Number of Photos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent Protest</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Demands</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaos</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Activity</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Response</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense Confrontation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionable Use of Force</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordial Confrontation</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of Force</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ode</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Activities</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RQ2: What words were most frequently used in that coverage to describe these events and those participating in them?

Patterns found among word choices made by reporters during a breaking news event can reveal narratives shared among outlets and journalists that can't be understood by analyzing individual
stories. Our analysis used an online program called Sketch Engine to look for patterns among the words used throughout the 392 articles in our corpus.

**Table 3: Words Used to Describe Protest-Related Events**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Total Appearances in Corpus</th>
<th>Percent of Articles Where the Word Appears</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>1,526</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looting</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March⁴</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrest</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rally</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clash</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language that described the protests and related events in neutral terms (i.e. “protest,” “march,” “unrest,” and “demonstration”) was used more frequently than terms relating to Riot, Confrontation, or Spectacle-framed coverage (i.e. “riot,” “clash”) (Table 3). However, though they appear in a similar number of articles, that a term like “looting” was used more times than “peaceful” in the corpus is significant, considering many more residents were represented in mass non-violent protests that took place over multiple days, in multiple communities, than participated in the looting.

The corpus was also analyzed for the frequency of a number of keywords, including the search terms used to collect data as well as other related terms of interest that appeared during the coding process (see appendix for full list).

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⁴ This includes some mentions of the month of March.
When removing "protests," "protesters," and variations thereof, which were significantly more popular than all other keywords in the corpus, the analysis shows distinct differences between the top keywords used within articles depending on how their headlines were framed (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headline Frame</th>
<th>Top Five Keywords</th>
<th>Article Frame</th>
<th>Top Five Keywords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Debate         | 1. Floyd  
2. Racist/s/ism  
3. March/es/ed/ing  
4. Violent/ce  
5. Rizzo | Thematic | 1. Floyd  
2. Racist/s/ism  
3. Rizzo  
4. Violent/ce  
5. Statue/s |
| Riot           | 1. Loot/s/ed/ing & Looter/s  
2. Curfew/s  
3. Floyd  
4. Fire/s/ed/ing  
5. Violent/ce | Episodic | 1. Floyd  
2. Loot/s/ed/ing & Looter/s  
3. Statue/s  
4. Rizzo  
5. Vote/s/ed/ing & Voter/s |
| Confrontation  | 1. Arrest/s/ed/ing  
2. Tear gas  
3. Floyd  
4. Crowd/s & Demonstration/s & Demonstrator/s (Tied)  
5. Fire/s/ed/ing | Neither | 1. Arrest/s/ed/ing  
2. Floyd  
3. Racist/s/ism  
4. Loot/s/ed/ing & Looter/s  
5. Violent/ce |
| Spectacle      | 1. March/es/ed/ing  
2. Floyd  
3. Demonstration/s & Demonstrator/s  
4. Crowd/s  
5. Violent/ce |  |  |
| Response       | 1. Statue/s  
2. Rizzo  
3. Floyd  
4. Racist/s/ism  
5. Mural/s |  |  |
| None           | 1. Vote/s/ed/ing & Voter/s  
2. Election/s  
3. COVID-19  
4. Pandemic  
5. Floyd |  |  |
For instance, “racist/s/ism” is a top keyword for both thematic articles and those with headlines assigned the Debate frame. Articles with Riot-framed headlines used more words like “curfew/s” and “looting” whereas those assigned Confrontation used “arrest/s/ed/ing” and “tear gas” more frequently. This is significant because it illustrates a connection between how a headline frames a protest story and how the story inside can reflect that framing in its word choices. All of these contribute to how audiences interpret protest events and their opinions of those involved.

When looking at the corpus as a whole, the clearest trend found in the analysis of keyword frequencies is that terms related to systemic reforms sought by protesters (terms like “defund the police” or “abolish the police”) were found infrequently in these articles compared to those that describe the protests themselves and responses to them. For instance:

- “Defund the police,” which became a popular issue of discussion in the weeks following protests around the U.S., was mentioned eight times in this corpus. Relatedly, “police abolition” was mentioned twice and “abolish the police” appeared zero times.

- Target, the store “protected” by a group of Philadelphians in response to looting elsewhere on May 31, 2020, was mentioned 30 times in the corpus, compared to the term “police reform” which was mentioned 22 times.

- “Black Lives Matter” is mentioned in 90 articles whereas “Rizzo” is mentioned in 91. “Rizzo” appears in over four times as many articles as “police reform” (22).

- “Police brutality” was mentioned in 156 articles, but “looting,” “looters,” and variations thereof were mentioned in 190 articles.

This analysis points again to a lack of context for and focus on protester demands beyond the removal of the Rizzo statue in the early reporting on these mass protests. The emphasis on response-related stories is again present when examining the most frequently used words in headlines. “Rizzo” appears a similar number of times in headlines (32) as “Floyd” himself (35).

**RQ3:** How much of that coverage contained actionable information for those participating in or connected to the protests, and how much focused on raising awareness of the events for those not participating?
To analyze the corpus for actionable information, the framework of episodic versus thematic newswriting which contrasts day-to-day reportage with that which emphasizes context and history, was applied to each article as a whole. Using Iyengar’s definitions, each article was coded as either predominantly episodic or thematic in their framing ($\alpha = .76$). Of the 392 articles coded, 71.4% were deemed primarily episodic, whereas 20.9% were deemed thematic, and 7.7% had no applicable code.\(^5\)

The disparity between the two frames is significant, if not unexpected; the first week of a history-making breaking news event will necessitate daily updates on a range of topics. However, research suggests differences between episodic and thematic coverage can shift how audiences assign responsibility for systemic issues (Iyengar).

The U.S. has a long, well-documented history of systemic racism and white supremacy, which has fed a long history of police brutality (Nodjimbadem). The social movements to overturn all of these are similarly long and deeply rooted in our nation’s history. Particularly in the past decade, the protest movement against the killing of Black men, women, and children by police has been growing, making victims like Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, and Sandra Bland household names. In other words, George Floyd’s murder and the subsequent outrage felt and expressed by many across the country unfortunately fell into a familiar pattern. Thus, when the protests of late May and early June 2020 broke out across America, context was both readily available and yet also required for audiences to make complete sense of the protests that followed. But what this study shows is an emphasis on the day-to-day details of protests rather than the history and context required to put these events into perspective and understand the systemic nature of their causes and potential solutions. Such a complete story would have been especially important during the first days of these events.

This episodic/thematic framework has extra significance when paired with the protest paradigm, which posits that context-rich coverage on the origins and goals of protest movements is often

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\(^5\) Those that did not have either code assigned included, for example, open letters, FAQ-style content, and list-based articles or “listicles.”
set aside in favor of dramatic daily reportage of protest events (McLeod 2007; Kilgo 2019). So, categorizing coverage as episodic or thematic not only helps illustrate what types of information audiences were served, but can also help enrich understanding of whether that material legitimized the protests. In this case, the corpus content is majority episodic and the headlines leading that content were mostly either response-focused or framed as delegitimizing (Riot, Confrontation, and Spectacle).

To further understand how much of this corpus included actionable information or raised awareness of the events, each article was examined for if and how it performed the roles of service journalism and/or opinion journalism. Of the 392 text articles analyzed, 20.4% were coded as featuring service-oriented content ($\alpha = .73$). This included descriptions of actions an audience member might take to support a cause; recommendations of things to buy, do, contribute to, or participate in; or tips and advice for navigating an event or experience. Of these service-coded articles, the two most popular protest paradigm frames assigned to their headlines were No Code Applied (35%) and Response (23.8%), which often included advice on how to navigate the intersection of the protests and the COVID-19 pandemic and/or the June 2, 2020 Pennsylvania primary election. Service-coded articles with Debate-framed headlines (18.8%) often included guidance on fighting systemic racism or supporting the protests themselves. Service-coded articles with Riot-framed headlines (15%) often included advice on avoiding traffic, road closures, or business closures caused by the protests.

Articles that were coded as performing the role of opinion journalism — including those explicitly labeled “opinion,” “editorial,” “column,” “commentary,” or “letters to the editor”; content that was solely a first-person account or narrative; or content that is solely stand-alone reproduced public statements or open letters — made up 20.9% of the articles analyzed ($\alpha = .86$). Of the articles that were coded as serving an opinion role, 46.3% of headlines were Debate-framed and 52.4% were thematic, both of which are in distinct contrast to the corpus as a whole (19.1% Debate-framed and 20.9% thematic). Though more abstract, context-rich content might be more expected of opinion journalism than daily reportage, this suggests that those who were sought
by publications to have their voices heard or sought publication of their opinions were more focused on the issues, demands, and source of the protests than the coverage as a whole.

**RQ4: Who was quoted in and photographed for these stories?**

To determine the balance of public figures versus “everyday” people represented visually and textually, images and voices cited in each article were coded based on whether they showed or were identified as public figures (which included subcategories of public officials and law enforcement) or civilians (which included subcategories of protesters, community leaders, and journalists).

The following categories of people appeared in the respective proportion of 696 images ($\alpha = .88-.94)$:

- Protester: 43.8%
- Law enforcement: 22.6%
- Civilians: No subcategory applied: 22.1%
- No People Appeared: 10.2%
- Public figures: No subcategory applied: 7.0%\(^6\)
- Public official: 6.6%
- Community leader: 4.6%\(^7\)

Considering the mass protests of local residents, it makes sense that a significant number of the images included in the articles from this week would show people visibly protesting.

In examining the voices cited in each article, an expansive view of “sources” was used: those who were paraphrased or directly quoted in a story were included in this analysis with the

\(^6\) Many of the voices coded as Public Figures who were not assigned a subcategory were celebrities and professional athletes.

\(^7\) One article collected statements from 14 nonprofit leaders and provided a headshot for each one. Of the 33 photos in the corpus show community leaders, and this article contributed 14 of those.
exception of historical quotes or writings. To get a full understanding of whose voices were loudest in this coverage, it was crucial to highlight the publication of formal statements even if a journalist didn’t speak with the author directly and to highlight when the final words of George Floyd were published. This broader definition allowed for consideration of the many ways a voice might be heard in journalism beyond being featured in a one-on-one interview.

In the 351 articles analyzed for voices, 879 unique people were cited 1,294 times.\(^8\) They were assigned the following categories (\(\alpha = .84-.91\)):

- Civilians: 55%
  - No subcategory applied: 26.4%
  - Protester: 15.8%
  - Community leader: 8.9%
  - Journalist: 4.0%
- Public figures: 44.8%
  - Public official: 26.8%
  - Law enforcement: 10.7%
  - No subcategory applied: 7.2%

The balance of these voices within articles was fairly mixed: 37.5% of the total corpus cited both public figures and civilians, 24.0% of articles cited only public figures and 20.4% of articles cited only civilians.

Many individuals were cited in more than one article. Two figures, Philadelphia’s mayor and its police commissioner, were featured most frequently due to their prominent role in the city’s unrest and the many public statements the two made during this week. Contrastingly, the social movement behind these protests is decentralized by design; there are no singular individuals who speak for all of those protesting as the police commissioner speaks for the

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\(^8\) Of the 392 articles included in the corpus, 41 were found to have content that was insufficiently protest-related and were excluded from the analysis of photos and voices.
police and who might then be cited as frequently. Most significantly here, public officials were represented far more than protesters: 45.9% of stories analyzed cited at least one public official whereas only 18.1% cited at least one protester. Besides George Floyd, whose death sparked the protests and whose final words became a rallying cry, the top voices heard in this work are all public officials (Table 5). Additionally, only 15.8% of the voices cited in the corpus were protesters, whereas 37.5% were either public officials or law enforcement.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Voices Cited in the Most Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jim Kenney Mayor of Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Danielle Outlaw Philadelphia Police Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Donald Trump then President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Larry Krasner Philadelphia District Attorney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tom Wolf Governor of Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jamie Gauthier Philadelphia Councilmember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. George Floyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Joe Biden President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. (Tied) Kendra Brooks Philadelphia Councilmember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. (Tied) Darrell Clarke President of Philadelphia City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. (Tied) Helen Gym Philadelphia Councilmember</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When these results are seen through the lens of solidarity journalism, the imbalance between protester voices and those of authority figures like public officials and police raises questions about the misalignment of journalists with their communities. The ethics of solidarity journalism, as defined by journalism ethicist Anita Varma of the Solidarity Journalism Initiative, “regard communities as newsworthy, and lead journalists in the direction of representing community cohesion and long-term significance instead of flashes of bloodshed, shock, and dismay. ... When covering issues that subjugate marginalized communities, news organizations need to start with marginalized communities—not police officers and politicians whose power relies on the continuation of the status quo” (Varma, 2021). This means “shifting away from purely individualized struggles ... standing with communities affected by not only representing their pain, but also their views on what happened, what their needs are, and amplifying their ideas on how these needs can be served” (Varma, 2020). Though many headlines and images in this analysis did showcase nonviolent protest, the relative lack of protester voices heard in this corpus combined with the high frequency of headlines with delegitimizing frames suggests a dearth of solidarity in this corpus. It also signals to audiences what they should focus on during breaking news coverage; in this case, the overriding theme was not the systemic roots or solutions to the unrest.

The data presented in this analysis illuminate pathways for improving written breaking news protest coverage in the future:

- Most importantly, newsrooms should look to provide ample context for the systemic causes of and solutions to a protest’s root issues during early reporting. In cases of protests against racist violence and police brutality, thematic context is abundantly available in U.S. history and the inclusion of such historical and contemporary context should be a standard in related breaking news coverage.
- Protester perspectives on the causes of and solutions to the issues they’re raising through protest should be included with more frequency and more prominence in breaking news coverage.

- Assigning editors must reimagine traditions of reporting on official statements from public figures and celebrities. Amplifying the words of those in positions of authority without significant context shifts focus away from the protests themselves, participants’ goals and demands, and the perspectives of other community members.

- This analysis shows a clear opportunity for local news collaboration. The publications studied often covered the same response-focused events in similar ways (i.e. the removal of the Rizzo statue or release of a statement by Mural Arts). Local newsrooms, especially those that already collaborate elsewhere, should share resources for episodic, response-focused coverage in order to free up reporters for coverage that highlights thematic context and meets additional information needs.

While we believe this corpus provides a comprehensive look at the diversity of local media during the selected week, it is not exhaustive, because it does not include local TV and radio coverage. This is largely because of the continued inaccessibility of local TV and radio archives, which limits researchers in many fields from a broader analysis.

The scope of this audit was purposefully limited to one week of protests in order to focus on the breaking news element. But questions remain, of course, about what happened in subsequent weeks. The public conversation on police reform, police brutality, and the protests continued and became more developed in the weeks after George Floyd’s murder, and this extended public conversation is not captured in this analysis. However, a Google Trends search for terms like “police reform,” “defund the police,” and “abolish the police” from the end of May 2020 through the end of June 2020 shows that search interest in phrases “defund the police” and “abolish the police” peaked in the final days of this analysis, with “police reform” peaking about 10 days later (Figure 5).
This suggests a lag between the breaking news coverage of events and a more substantive public conversation about the origins of the protests and possible solutions to the issues they raise. Breaking news reporting of protests that took a solutions journalism approach would add significant nuance to the coverage that initially influences public opinion of protesters and their goals. By seeking out solutions proposed by residents, protesters, and organizers from the start, a balance of voices might be reached in early reporting and a deeper public discussion might arrive sooner. Leaning on collaboration for coverage of daily updates on how protests affect city routines could help make this possible.

Furthermore, while protesters and community leaders cited in written protest coverage are noted in this analysis, the content of their contributions was not analyzed. The space allotted to certain sources, the framing of their quotes, or how their quotes compare to those of other sources is a topic for further research. Additionally, this study examined the work of many reporters whose “beats” might not typically intersect with social justice or politics, but who nonetheless found ways to contribute to the public conversation surrounding police brutality and systemic racism at this time. For example, a few articles featured Black creators in
business, health, and food who reporters’ recommended audiences follow to diversify their feeds, and a handful of sports columns dealt creatively with the history of protest and racial inequality in sports. Some of these examples might not have fit neatly into the protest paradigm work, but the way in which feature, lifestyle, sports, and entertainment teams factor into the coverage of an event like reactions to George Floyd’s murder is worthy of additional study.

**DISCLOSURES & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

About the coders: Aubrey Nagle is the editor of Reframe at Resolve Philly. She previously worked as Newsletter Editor at the Philadelphia Inquirer. Lucia Geng is a reporter, is currently a student at the University of Chicago, and was a Resolve Philly intern from September 2020 through May 2021.

The entire Resolve Philly team regularly works with the newsrooms whose content has been analyzed in this report. It is important to note that we have ongoing, closely tied relationships with each partner and their representatives, as well as friendships with reporters that work for these publications, as the media industry is a small one, especially in Philadelphia. Gene Sonn, collaborations editor of Broke in Philly at Resolve Philly, was the news director at WHYY during the May/June 2020 protests analyzed here.

It’s impossible to extract these personal relationships from this analysis, just as it is impossible to extract our coders’ personal life experiences and identities from their work. We have endeavored to apply long-studied paradigms, as well as quantitative analysis, to this corpus to see the content through a more (though still not entirely) objective and rigorous lens. Though our news partners were made aware that we would take on this research and a few
outlets sent us links to their work from this time period to help with our corpus construction, none of the organizations or their representatives saw this report until it was finalized.

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible without the help of the following organizations, coworkers, and scholars who advised us along the way.

The Media, Inequality & Change Center (MIC) acted as a consultant on this research, contributing methodological and editorial guidance. We especially thank Susanna Dilliplane and Briar Smith for their contributions and support.

Special thanks to Resolve Philly Data & Impact Editor Julie Christie, who provided data analysis support, and Social Entrepreneur in Residence Sheryl Kantrowitz, who provided design and editorial support.

Finally, very many thanks to Anita Varma for her inspiring research, moral support, and generous feedback on this report.

Credits

Cover photo by Jeremy Bishop on Unsplash
Appendix

Codebook

Which of the following Best Represents How Protest Events are Framed in this Article's HEADLINE?
Select one category, considering the criteria below and imagining the headline as a standalone text within the context of the events of May 30-June 7, 2020.

Riot Frame
- Presence of the words: riots, vandalism, rioters, vandals, looters, looting, violence, graffiti, chaos, outside agitators
- Description of fires, destruction of property/business, including clean-up
- Description of the interruption of traffic, public transit
- Description of protests as disturbing citizens’ or city's routine (i.e. emergency closures or curfew)

Confrontation Frame
- Presence of the words: clash, clashes, arrests, arrested, tear gas, detained, detaining, pepper spray, rubber bullets, non-lethal projectiles, national guard
- Description of police and protester interactions (including arrests and cordial interactions)
- Description of weapons/forces prepared by police for protests\(^9\)
- Description of the arrests or injury of journalists covering events

Spectacle Frame
- Descriptions of crowd size
- Descriptions of clothing, attire, look of protesters (including masks)
- Description of emotional/dramatic reactions of protesters, like profanity, negative gestures towards police, crying, screaming, laughing,
- Description of oddities or performances, like dancing, singing, climbing public structures or playing games or the appearance of celebrities

Debate Frame
- Presence of the words: Black Lives Matter, racial justice, racism, Say Her/Their/His Name, police reform, defund the police, defunding the police, police abolition, abolish the police, police brutality, civil disobedience, civil unrest, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and the names of other victims of police killings
- Description of protesters' viewpoints and demands
- Description of the social movement driving the protests (i.e. Black Lives Matter)
- Description of historical context for the Black Lives Matter movement

Response Frame

\(^9\) In practice, this included the calling in of the National Guard.
• Descriptions of events being held, changed or cancelled in response to/in light of protests (not because of disruption caused by protests as they’re happening)\(^{10}\)
• Descriptions of public statements (as in, official speech or letters to the public) from celebrities, other public figures, or community leaders/organizations
• Descriptions of policy changes by institutions and organizations\(^{11}\)
• Descriptions of counter-protests\(^{12}\)

No Code Applied

Which of the following aspects of Role Performance do you see present in the ARTICLE?
Select all that apply.

Opinion/First Person
- Explicitly labeled opinion, editorial, column, commentary, or letters to the editor
- Content that is solely a first-person account/narrative
- Content that is solely stand-alone reproduced public statements (as in, official speech) or open letters

Service
- Descriptions of actions an audience member might take to support a cause
- Recommendations of things to buy, do, contribute to, or participate in
- Tips and advice for navigating an event or experience

Which of the following Frames Best Represents this ARTICLE?
Select which of the following frames is most salient in the article, taking into consideration the following descriptions as well as the criteria listed below.

Example: If a story focuses on one event (i.e. a specific confrontation between a police officer and a protester, or a public figure’s release of a statement), the Episodic frame would be its best match. If it focused on arrest rates, the history of police-protester confrontations, or change in public sentiment, that exhibits the Thematic frame.

Episodic:
“Takes the form of a case study or event-oriented report and depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances (for example, the plight of a homeless person or a teenage drug user, the bombing of an airliner, or an attempted murder). ... depicts concrete events that illustrate issues.”

“...focus on individual behaviors, episodes, and singular events, and is often quicker to produce, drawing less attention to systematic or societal problems.”

\(^{10}\) In practice, this included the changing of policies around the June 3 primary election in light of curfews and police presence.
\(^{11}\) In practice, this included the reversal of previous policies in order to remove the Frank Rizzo statue from Thomas Paine Plaza.
\(^{12}\) In practice, this included armed mobs who gathered in response to reports of looting.

- Focus on a singular event that takes place over a discrete day or number of days, or a singular announcement or public statement.
- Focuses on an individual's behaviors or story, instead of their position within a trend or theme.
- Provides a “tick-tock” timeline of the events as they unfolded, like a recap.

**Thematic:**
"Places public issues in some more general or abstract context and takes the form of a "takeout" or "backgrounder," report directed at general outcomes or conditions. Examples of thematic coverage include reports on changes in government welfare and expenditures, congressional debates over the funding of employment training programs, the social or political grievances of groups undertaking terrorist activity, and the backlog in the criminal justice process. ...presents collective or general evidence."


- Connects individual events to explain their context -- the history, theory, or background that impacted how the events unfolded, caused the events, etc.
- Explains how multiple events or instances construct a trend, pattern, or theme.
- Presents additional evidence, data, or information that connects these events.

**IMAGES**

For each IMAGE found in a story, answer the following
"IMAGE" includes the lead image of a story and images embedded within a story, with the exception of galleries and social media posts. The first image of an embedded gallery should be included, but for feasibility, the totality of a gallery or gallery post will not be. Additionally, for feasibility, we will not be coding videos embedded in articles, as they would require a separate codebook.

Mark the checkbox for “LEAD IMAGE” if the image is the top, featured image of the story.

**Who is Visible in the Photo?**
Select all that apply. You may use the caption or article to decipher who is who.

- Public figure: Public officials, politicians, celebrities and those known by the general population
  - Law enforcement: Present in uniform.13
  - Public official: Someone in elected, government, or public office.14

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13 In practice, this included the National Guard, as well as former members of law enforcement if noted as such.
14 In practice, this included former public officials if noted as such.
- Civilian: Not a public figure, someone who is none of the above
  - Protester: Someone shown actively participating in a protest
  - Community Leader: Someone in a leadership position at a community organization which identifies the needs of a particular group & organizes to serve them i.e. Bread & Roses, Juntos, William Way Community Center, or a house of worship.
- No People Visible

**Which of the following Elements/Activities are Shown in the IMAGE?**
Select all that apply.

- **Riot Activities**
  - Chaos (i.e. fires, overturned cars, property damage but without a person caught in the act)
  - Criminal activity (i.e. one caught in the act of criminal behavior, looting, property destruction etc., excluding police)
  - Community Rebuild (i.e. people cleaning up property destruction, cleaning graffiti etc.)
- **Confrontation Activities**
  - Tense Confrontation (i.e. non-controversial arrests, arresting protesters with reasonable use of force, protesters challenging police boundaries, standing face-to-face with police, or provoking officers)
  - Questionable Use of Force (i.e. police using what appears to be excessive force against protesters or journalists, including pepper spraying, hitting, etc. to the point that it appears unreasonable)
  - Cordial Confrontation (i.e. protesters shaking hands with police, taking pictures together, kneeling together)
  - Preparation of Forces (i.e. law enforcement preparing for protests, standing guard etc.)
- **Spectacle Activities**
  - Oddity (i.e. odd or unusual behavior, like nudity or flipping off the police; celebrities at protest)
  - Emotional Reactions (i.e. emotional reactions like laughing, protesters crying or screaming at police)
- **Debate Activities**
  - Written Demands (i.e. images of signs, clothing, etc. with protesters’ demands)
  - Non-violent Protest (i.e. nonviolent crowds, vigils, and candlelight services)
- **Response Activities**
  - A response, post- or counter-protest event (i.e. press conference or community meeting; excluding Community Rebuild, above)\(^{15}\)
- **No Code Applied**

**Which of the following Best Represents How Protest Events are Framed in this IMAGE?**

\(^{15}\) In practice, this included the removal of the Frank Rizzo statue from Thomas Paine Plaza as well as armed mobs who gathered in response to reports of looting.
Select one of the choices, considering the salience (not necessarily the frequency) of the evidence selected above.

Example: If someone shaking hands with police officers is front-and-center of the photo and in focus, but there are written demands in the background, the Confrontation frame would likely be more salient.

- Riot
- Confrontation
- Spectacle
- Debate
- Response
- No Code Applied

VOICES

For each VOICE in the story
A voice is an individual (not a group or organization) who is quoted or directly paraphrased, with the exception of historical quotes or writings.

Record what role or title they are described with in the article.
Roles/titles are typically found near the first mention of the voice, i.e. “president of the NAACP,” “local resident,” “West Philly woman.”

Which of the following roles best describes the VOICE?
Select all that apply.
- Public figure: Public officials, politicians, celebrities and those known by the general population
  - Law enforcement
- Public official: Someone in elected, government, or public office.
- Civilians: Not a public figure, someone who is none of the above
  - Protester: Someone shown actively participating in a protest
  - Community Leader: Someone in a leadership position at a community organization which identifies the needs of a particular group & organizes to serve them i.e. Bread & Roses, Juntos, William Way Community Center, or a house of worship.
- Journalist
- No Code Applied

Note: For the purposes of this analysis, embedded social media posts were ignored in the coding of text, images, and sources. Each outlet used social media embeds in a different way: some would summarize the text or photo within the article itself, using the embed as corroboration, while others would not summarize the contents and allow them to stand alone. For this reason, we felt a separate codebook would be required to analyze social posts and doing so would not be feasible for this project.

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16 In practice, this included the National Guard, as well as former members of law enforcement if noted as such.
17 In practice, this included former public officials if noted as such.
Keyword Query

The following is the query used in LexisNexis for our data collection.

protest OR protests OR protesters OR riot OR riots OR rioting OR looting OR looters OR unrest OR "civil disobedience" OR marches OR marchers OR demonstration OR demonstrations OR demonstrators OR "outside agitators" OR "police brutality" OR "police reform" OR "police abolition" OR "abolish the police" OR "defund the police" OR "police violence" OR policing OR "tear gas" OR clash OR curfew OR vigilantes OR vigilante OR armed OR rizzo OR mob OR "black lives matter" OR "black lives" OR "george floyd" OR "breonna taylor" OR racism OR racist OR "racial injustice" OR rallies OR rally

Reliability Test

As the initial codebook was drafted, Aubrey Nagle conducted a “stress test” by coding 10 randomly chosen articles to experiment with what would be feasible to code for each article. Aubrey and Lucia Geng then went through multiple training sessions and testing rounds on the codebook, which included coding 35 articles — some together and some separately — before comparing the results and refining the codebook further. Once the codebook was solidified, they completed a reliability test using 80 articles. Due to the results of the reliability test, the codebook was narrowed down to 24 variables from 39. The goal had initially been to select a best fit within the protest paradigm for each article and to code for 3 additional role performance categories, but Aubrey and Lucia were not able to meet reliability thresholds on those variables and thus those they were left out of the final coding process (but hence the multiple testing rounds).

After each round of training and testing, Aubrey and Lucia discussed where they had disagreed and reconciled their choices. Thus, the articles used during the testing are part of the final corpus and tagged as such in our database.

The results of the reliability test are below. Krippendorf’s Alpha coefficients in the .67-.80 range are considered to be tentative results, while those in the .80-1.0 range are considered to be reliable (Krippendorf).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Krippendorf's Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest Paradigm Headline Best Fit</td>
<td>0.7938411669</td>
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<tr>
<td>Role: Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Episodic vs. Thematic</td>
<td>0.7560934038</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Figure, Non-Public Figure, Neither visible</td>
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<td>Police visible</td>
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<td>Protester visible</td>
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<td>No people visible</td>
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<td>Riot activities visible</td>
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<td>Community Leader present</td>
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<td>Journalist present</td>
<td>0.9031491384</td>
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<tr>
<td>No subcategory present</td>
<td>0.9604656803</td>
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Keyword Frequencies

The list of all words found in the corpus and headlines, as well as the full list of keywords used to examine frequencies can be found below. The keyword frequencies cited in this report may differ slightly from the document linked below, which represents frequency of all individual words. Some keywords needed to be searched individually in Sketch Engine because they were phrases made up of more than one word.

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Nb53i3Gf6cHGN6AKKRBO9LZlbP9dCMbbdIZiUzGU41w/edit?usp=sharing

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“How Americans Describe Their News Consumption Behaviors.” American Press Institute, The Media Insight Project, 10 June 2018,


