Representation of Race and Gender
in *News-Gazette* Crime Coverage

A Student Research Project from the Fall 2015 "Junior Honors Seminar" (PS 494)
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Summary

This study set out to analyze demographic characteristics of criminal suspects included in crime reporting published by the Champaign (Illinois) *News-Gazette* newspaper, and to compare the demographics of suspects in the news to the demographics of suspects arrested or jailed in Champaign County. To our knowledge, no such study has previously been performed for any news outlet in Champaign County. Examining newspaper coverage over a three-month period from June 1, 2015 to September 1, 2015, we found differences between the demographic characteristics of Champaign County crime suspects in the news and those of suspects in county arrest and jail booking records from the same time period. Black suspects were overrepresented in news coverage relative to arrest and jail booking records, while White suspects were underrepresented. Our analysis of suspect imagery in the news found that White suspects were underrepresented while Black suspects were overrepresented in news photographs of crime suspects, relative to their proportions in arrest and jail booking records. In addition, males were overrepresented as suspects in crime stories and females were underrepresented, relative to arrest and jail booking records.

Project URL
Downloadable copies of this report and links to the data used in this report can be found at:

http://www.clinecenter.illinois.edu/research/undergrad/

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Introduction

Recent events in the United States have led to an increased focus on racial equality and how the media portray different racial groups. In today's society, the majority of information that people process comes from news sources such as newspapers, magazines, and television programming. These news media have the ability to influence people's perceptions about race and gender, especially pertaining to crime. Because the media hold this power to inform perceptions regarding links between demographic characteristics and likelihood of engaging in criminal behavior, it is important to know whether media sources are reporting accurate information regarding the demographic characteristics of criminal suspects. Previous research into racial stereotyping shows that misrepresentation of race in news coverage of local crime can lead the public at large to form inaccurate beliefs about different racial groups that may further complicate achieving racial equality in the United States.

Given longstanding tensions in Champaign County regarding race, equality, and the local justice system, we believed it would be worthwhile to analyze local news media coverage in the Champaign-Urbana area to see if we could gain any insight into how race is reported with regard to crime. In order to achieve this, we conducted a content analysis of the Champaign *News-Gazette* from June 1, 2015 to September 1, 2015. Utilizing a carefully refined codebook and the Scout coding system, we coded crime articles to gather information about crime type, location, stage in the criminal justice process, and demographic information about criminal suspects. Our data provide a variety of insights that are among the first of their kind in the Champaign community. They provide a useful starting point for meaningful discussions about the representation of race and crime in Champaign County.

Methodology

Identifying Crime Stories in News-Gazette Coverage

Before beginning the research, we needed to define what a crime story was. In our definition, we determined that a crime story is any story from any location in the United States that deals with violations of the law, encompassing violent and nonviolent crimes, including felonies and misdemeanors. The crime stories we identified focused on the criminal justice system, including arrests, court proceedings, and appeals. Editorial and opinion pieces about criminal activity were not included because they did not contribute original reporting about local crime events or the criminal justice process.

We analyzed news coverage published in the Champaign (Illinois) *News-Gazette* that appeared between June 1, 2015 and September 1, 2015 to compile a database of crime stories. Every crime story within this period was included in our data. In this database, we included the section number, page number, title, and noted whether any images of crime suspects were included with the article. Two student analysts were assigned to each date within the period and independently enumerated crime stories from their assigned editions. After compiling a list of stories, each coder paired up with another coder in order to reconcile the list of stories for incorrect coding and to make final determinations on whether a story fit our definition of a crime story.

This analysis of news coverage excludes "Crime Reports" items but includes "Crime Stoppers" reports. Crime Reports are brief listings of typically minor, non-violent crimes that appear in many editions of the *News-Gazette*. Because Crime Reports mention no suspect information, and

because they are not formally composed as news stories, they were excluded from our analysis. However, Crime Stoppers notices were included in our analysis because they featured more detailed information about crimes and suspects (including suspect images) even though they are not formally stories written by *News-Gazette* reporters.

After the data enumeration was completed, we created a codebook to help us accurately code the articles we determined to be crime stories. Guidelines developed for a related study by former University of Illinois doctoral student Chris Josey were the starting point in developing our codebook. Our codebook included rules for coding crime type, jurisdiction of the crime, stage of the criminal justice process, and suspect information (see Appendix A for complete coding rules). Once the codebook was created and students were trained in its use, the analysis of news articles began. Two coders were randomly assigned to independently analyze each article. A pair of trained analysts working together later resolved any disagreements. Student researchers used Scout text annotation software developed by the Cline Center for Democracy at the University of Illinois to conduct their analysis.

After each analyst independently completed coding of an assigned set of articles in the Scout system, tests of intercoder reliability were conducted to assess coding accuracy. Overall, the intercoder reliability was strong, which means that the independent coders usually agreed on how to code content variables in the crime stories. Average rates of agreement between pairs of coders ranged from a low of 71% for whether a suspect in the news had been arrested (agreement rates were much higher for stories about initial crime incidents or arrests, but lower for stories about court process elements, where descriptions of initial arrests were less consistently offered), to a high of 98% for whether a suspect was pictured (See Appendix B for additional intercoder reliability statistics from this stage of the coding process). A pair of expert analysts, working together, later reconciled all disagreements between independent analysts regarding crime type, stage of the criminal justice process, location, and suspect information. These expert analysts were assigned to reconcile particular variables based on attaining especially high intercoder reliability ratings for those same variables during the independent coding phase.

We categorized crimes as either violent or nonviolent using U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) definitions. Violent crime included personal assaults, robberies, sexual assaults, rapes, and homicides, whether threatened, attempted, or completed. Following BJS definitions, all other crimes were categorized as nonviolent, including drug charges, weapons violations, arsons, thefts, and burglaries (see Appendix C for more details on how crimes were categorized).

Merged Arrest Data from Major Law Enforcement Jurisdictions in Champaign County

In addition to analyzing the Champaign *News-Gazette* for crime stories, we also analyzed arrest data from the Champaign County Sheriff's Office, the City of Champaign, the Village of Rantoul, the University of Illinois Police Department, and the Urbana Police Department. Although our comparison period for the analysis that follows is any arrest that occurred between May 31, 2015 and August 31, 2015, we had access to a complete set of arrest data from January 1, 2015 through mid-September of 2015 that we used to match suspect names in the news to arrest record data.[2] We requested arrest data using Freedom of Information Act requests. According to our analysis of jail bookings data from the Champaign County Satellite Jail, these five major departments were

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[2] The date range for arrest and jail bookings data are offset by one day from the date range of the news coverage to consider arrests that occurred the day before we started coding, which would be reported in the news on the next day.

responsible for 92% of the jail bookings in Champaign County during the period of analysis. For this reason, no arrest data was requested from smaller law enforcement agencies representing Parkland College, Mahomet, Tolono or other outlying towns beyond the Champaign-Urbana area.

The arrest data contained suspect demographic data that we attempted to match to crime suspects mentioned in the news. We used a fuzzy matching algorithm to link names of suspects in the news with the names of suspects in arrest records. After running the algorithm, two student analysts verified all matches and attempted to find matches for suspect names in the news where the algorithm had found none. Of the 335 Champaign County suspects covered by the News-Gazette, 161 names (48% of the total) could be matched to arrest record data. Of the remaining 174 suspects, 72 (22% of the total) were unnamed in news coverage. This left 102 named suspects (30% of the total) who could not be matched to arrest data covering the period January 1, 2015 to the date of the news article. These named but unmatched suspects could come from any of three categories: those who had been originally arrested at some point prior to the January 1, 2015 start date of our arrest record request, those had been arrested by one of the smaller jurisdictions that was not included in our FOIA request, or juvenile arrestees, whose names were not released with the arrest data. Juvenile arrestees made up 4.1% of those arrested during the study period—205 arrestees total—but because they were not identified by name in the arrest records they could not be matched to the names of news suspects. Although the matching process was unable to produce a complete record for the race of suspects appearing in news coverage, matching these two data sets allowed us to clarify many cases where a suspect's race had originally been coded as "unclear/other" based on news coverage alone. This allowed us obtain a clearer picture of the underlying racial distribution of suspects appearing in *News-Gazette* coverage even when a suspect's race was not identified in news coverage.

Jail Bookings Data from the Champaign County Sheriff's Department

Additionally, we obtained data on all persons booked through the Champaign County Satellite Jail. This provides another comparison point in addition to the arrest data. The bookings data allow a comparison to suspects whose crimes were serious enough to warrant being put behind bars. Additionally, the online edition of the *News-Gazette* has a "Mugshots" feature that posts county jail booking photos and crime data on their website.[3] Since the *News-Gazette* obtains this information from the sheriff's department in order to post it on their website, it is possible that these bookings data might help inform which cases the newspaper chooses to cover. As with the merged arrest data, our jail bookings data cover the period of May 31, 2015 through August 31, 2015. We also had access to a complete set of jail bookings data from January 1, 2015 through mid-September of 2015, but the longer range of bookings data was not used in this analysis. In this dataset, some arrest records by the Champaign County Sheriff's Department were marked "Book N Release" in a field listing reasons for incarceration. Since these cases did not result in incarceration, we drop them from the jail bookings dataset.[4] We employ BJS definitions to determine whether a crime was "violent" or not.

Combined, the crime stories from the Champaign *News-Gazette,* the arrest data, and the jail bookings data allow us to provide credible conclusions about our research questions.

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[3] http://bookings.*News-Gazette*.com/bookings
[4] These "Book N Release" cases were retained in the merged arrest dataset.

Findings

Suspect Characteristics in News-Gazette Coverage

We collected and coded *News-Gazette* articles from June 1, 2015 through September 1, 2015. The newspaper published 501 crime stories meeting our definition over this time span, in which 663 suspects were identified or otherwise mentioned. Based on information supplied in news coverage alone, our coders determined that 21.3% of all suspects appearing in news coverage were Black, 19.6% were White, while 59.1% were categorized as "unclear/other". However, these suspect characteristics varied considerably by crime location. Among suspects in crimes that occurred somewhere else in the United States besides Champaign County, 7.1% were Black, 27.1% were White, and 65.8% were categorized as "unclear/other".

If we exclude stories about crimes that occurred outside Champaign County (these stories will be ignored for the rest of this report), we find that the *News-Gazette* published 254 stories about crimes in Champaign County and reported on 327 suspects associated with those local crimes (throughout this report, "local" is defined as occurring within the boundaries of Champaign County). Of these 327 local crime suspects, newspaper stories detailed the arrests of only 63. This means that only 1% of the 5,016 total arrests for the study period were described in the news soon after they occurred. One consequence of the newspaper's limited capacity to cover arrests is that violent crimes tend to be overrepresented in news coverage relative to the ratio of violent to nonviolent crimes in the arrest and jail bookings data. Looking only at crimes that occurred in Champaign County, 49.2% of local crime stories dealt with violent crimes, compared to only 22.6% of suspects booked into the county jail and 7.3% of suspects arrested by major law enforcement agencies (Figure 1). Since violent crimes will be more interesting and potentially more important to news audiences than non-violent crimes, it makes sense that violent crimes should be overrepresented in news coverage. Our analysis reveals the degree to which violence is overrepresented: the *News-Gazette*'s coverage gave the impression that local crime was seven times more violent than suggested by local arrest data, and over twice as violent as shown in local jail bookings data.
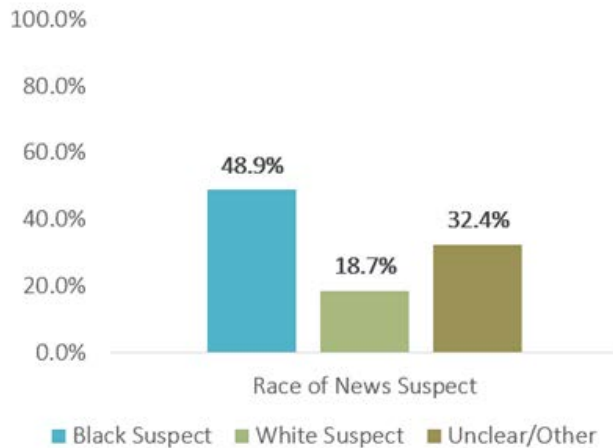

Figure 1: News is 7 Times More Violent than Arrest Data and Over Twice as Violent as Jail Booking Data
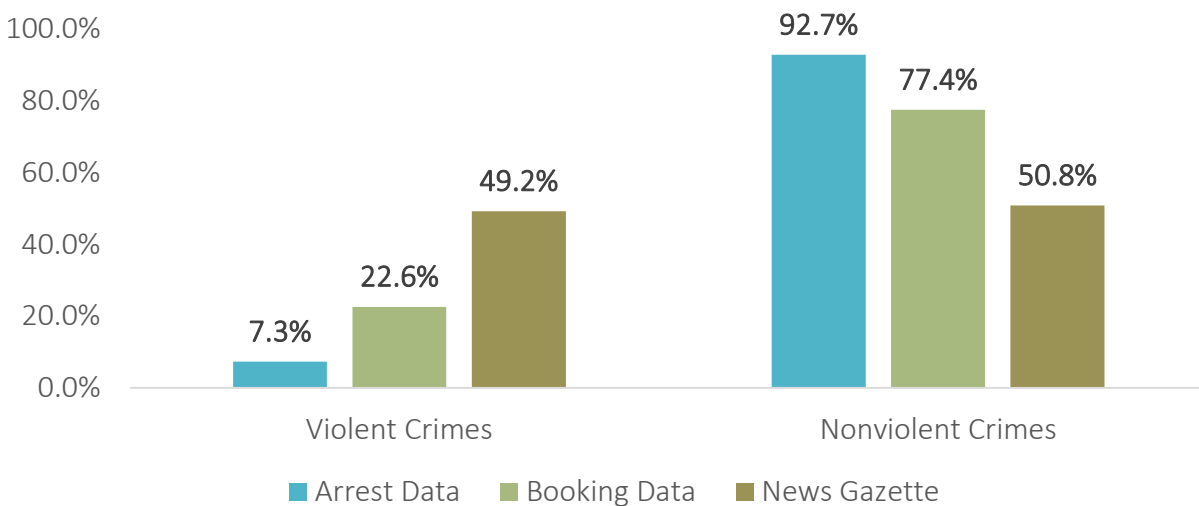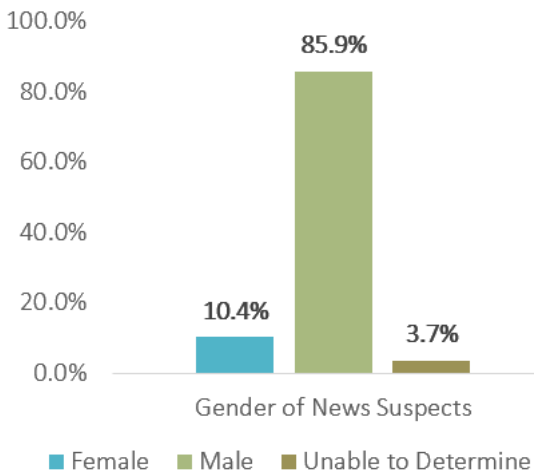
Using only information appearing in news coverage, our coders were able to determine that of the 327 Champaign County crime suspects described in the news, 35.8% were Black (n = 117),

and 11.9% were White (n = 39). News stories contained too little information to determine the race of the remaining 52.3% of suspects (n = 171), who were assigned the catchall category "unclear/other." [5] Although this category conflates "other race" with "unclear race," our analysis of merged arrest data show that 88.5% of suspects arrested in Champaign County are identified as either Black or White.[6] This means that nearly all of the news suspects categorized as "unclear/other" are properly interpreted as "race unclear."

Figure 2: Race of Champaign County Crime Suspects in the News

While there are a limited number of cases where one can infer a suspect's race from suspect name, generally the suspect was marked "unclear/other" by the reconciliation pair when no clear racially-identifying information about the suspect could be found in the suspect's description (see Appendix A for details on how suspect race was determined). It is evident from these findings that "unclear/other" occurs at a very high rate in crime stories without suspect images. The *News-Gazette* often reports on a crime and shares the suspect's name without saying anything about the suspect's race. For example, in a story featured in the July 3 edition of the *News-Gazette* called "Incident Before April Election: Misdemeanor counts filed" the text identified the suspect as Toby Sirois but did not indicate his race.[7] Therefore, suspect race was initially coded as "unclear/other." The arrest data for Toby Sirois identifies him as White.

Figure 3: Gender of Champaign County Crime Suspects in the News

The racial characteristics of local suspects reported in the news became clearer after matching suspect names to the merged arrest record dataset, which includes racial information about each suspect. We refer to race information derived from both sources as "race-enhanced" data. The additional racial information provided by fuzzy-matching arrest records to news suspects revealed that of the 327 Champaign County crime suspects in the news, 48.9% were Black (n =160), 18.7% were White (n = 61), and only 32.4% were still categorized as unclear/other (n = 106) (Figure 2).

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[5] Coders were usually unable to identify the race of Champaign County suspects when no suspect picture was shown. Coders could identify a suspect's race in only 19% of the 204 local suspects appearing in stories without suspect images. Among the 123 local suspects shown in published images, coders could identify a suspect's race 96% of the time.

[6] Of the remainder, 5.6% are identified in arrest data as Asian, 5.4% as Hispanic, and less than one percent as Indian or race unknown.

[7] Schenk, M. (2015, July 3). Misdemeanor charges filed against Gerard campaign worker. *News-Gazette*, A1.

Our analysts found that the race of suspects appearing in the news was most easily determined when an image of the suspect was included with a crime story. When only considering stories where an image of the suspect appeared, 67.5% of pictured suspects were Black (n = 83), 30.1% of pictured suspects were White (n = 37), and 2.4% were unclear/other (n = 3). When considering stories where no image appeared, 37.7% of suspects were Black (n = 77), 11.8% were White (n = 24), and 50.5% (n = 103) were unclear/other (see Appendix E for news suspects data tables).

Figure 4: Race of Champaign County Crime Suspects in Arrest Data
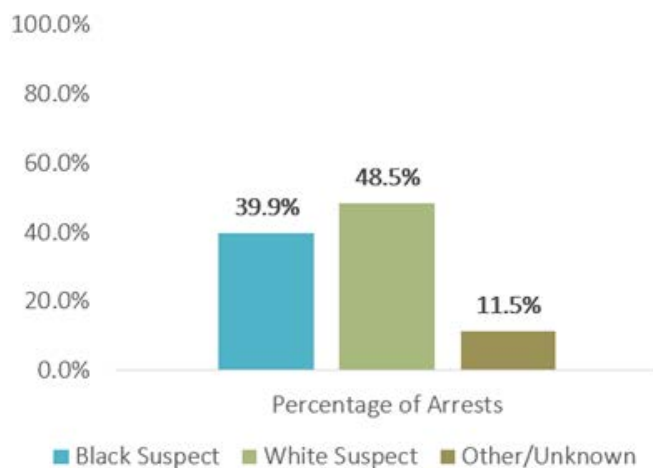
Figure 5: Gender of Champaign County Crime Suspects in Arrest Data

One final interesting piece of data is the gender of Champaign County suspects in the *News-Gazette* stories. We find that 10.4% of these suspects are female (n = 34), 85.9% of suspects are male (n = 281) and gender for 3.7% of the suspects could not be determined (n = 12, see Figure 3).

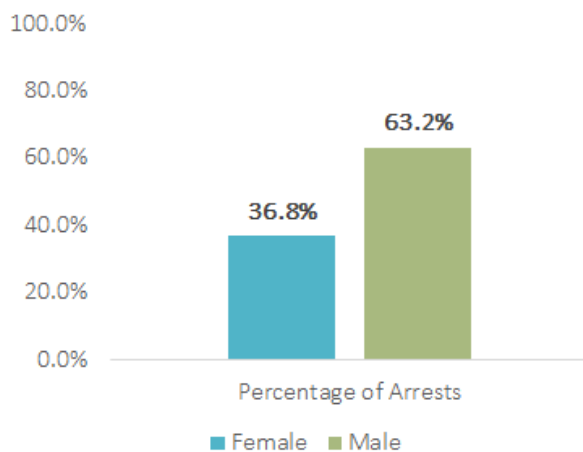*Suspect Characteristics in Merged Arrest Data*

The merged arrest data file includes 5,016 individuals arrested from May 31, 2015 through August 31, 2015. The merged arrest data show that 39.9% individuals arrested were Black (n = 2,003), 48.5% were White (n = 2,435), 11.1% were another race (n=557), and 0.4% were of unknown race (n = 21) (see Figure 4). When looking at gender, 36.8% of arrested suspects were female (n = 1,848) and 63.2% were male (n = 3,186; See Figure 5).

Suspect Characteristics in Jail Bookings Data

The jail bookings data includes 1,497 individuals who were booked from May 31, 2015 to August 31, 2015. The jail bookings data shows 55.6% of those booked were Black (n = 833), 37.7% of those booked were White (n = 564), 6.0% were of another race (n = 90) and 0.7% were of an unknown race (n = 10; see Figure 6 below). Looking at gender shows that 25.3% of those booked were female (n = 378) and 74.7% were male (n = 1117; see Figure 7).[8]

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[8] There are two cases where gender was not coded by the sheriff's office; see Appendix F

Figure 6: Race of Champaign County Crime Suspects in Bookings Data
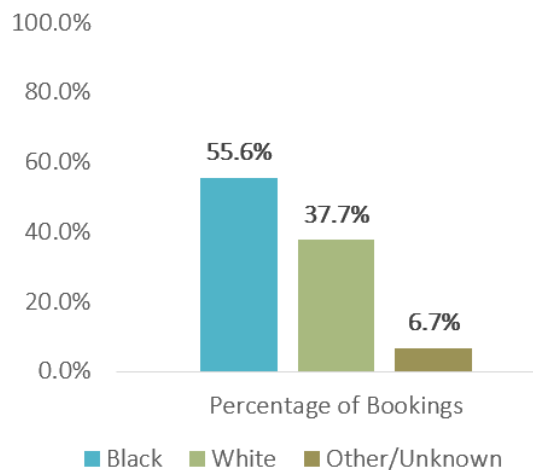
Figure 7: Gender of Champaign County Crime Suspects in Bookings Data
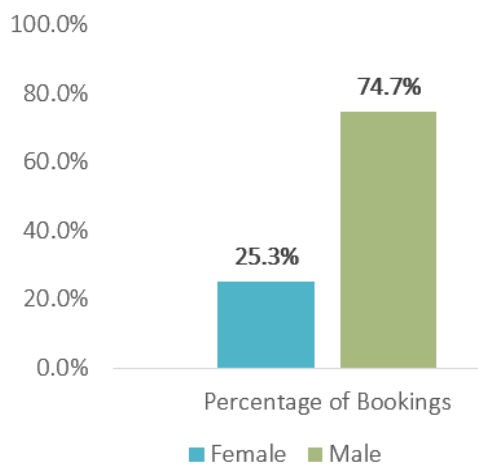
Comparing Gender Characteristics of Suspects in the Three Data Sets

With the data now collected and organized, we can compare the three data sets and ascertain how similar the *News-Gazette*'s reporting is to the actual arrest and bookings data. In Figure 3 we showed the gender breakdown of all Champaign County suspects. But this includes suspects in court proceedings stories as well as those mentioned in initial incident reports, which makes it an inexact comparison to the arrest and jail bookings data that capture suspects only at the time of initial entry to the criminal justice process. A more appropriate comparison is therefore provided by limiting the news suspects to only those mentioned in stories describing crime events and arrests that occur in Champaign County. These "early stage" crime stories exclude all Champaign County suspects mentioned in "later stage" crime stories about court proceedings, judicial verdicts, and sentencing hearings.[9]

Looking first at gender, we see that only 8.2% of Champaign County suspects mentioned in "early stage" *News-Gazette* crime stories were female, compared 25.3% of those booked and 36.8% of those arrested. Three times as many female suspects are arrested, and twice as many are booked into the county jail, as appear as local suspects in "early stage" *News-Gazette* crime stories. Male suspects are therefore overrepresented in the *News-Gazette*. Fully 86.1% of local crime suspects mentioned in "early stage" crime stories are male, compared to 74.7% of those booked into the county jail and 63.2% of those arrested by a major law enforcement agency (Figure 8). It is clear that the *News-Gazette*'s description of local crime suspects diverges from patterns in arrests and jail bookings when it comes to gender.

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[9] Formally, the "early stage" news suspect data that we compare to arrest and jail bookings data considers only those suspects whose crimes occurred within Champaign County and who are mentioned in news stories about initial incidents only, initial incidents with arrests, or arrests at some point after initial incidents occurred. This definition excludes "later stage" crime stories about court proceedings, about suspects being cleared of charges, and about other aspects of the criminal justice process.

Figure 8: Comparing Gender of Champaign County Crime Suspects across Datasets (Early-Stage News Stories Only)
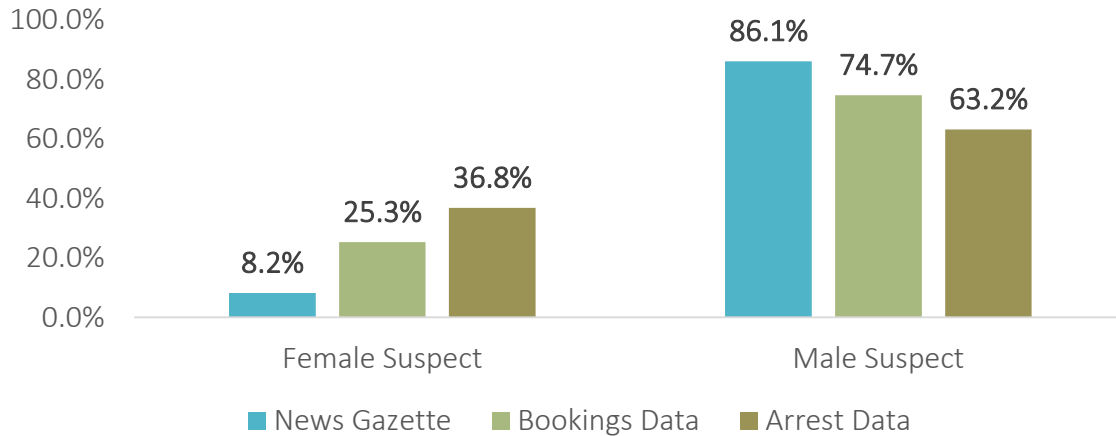
Comparing Racial Characteristics of Champaign County Suspects in the Three Data Sets

We have already seen that Black suspects outnumber White suspects more than 2 to 1 in newspaper coverage of local crimes where suspect race can be identified, but that typical suspects are described in ways that offer no clear information about race. If there is no image and a suspect's race is not specifically mentioned, a reader would be hard-pressed to draw a conclusion as to which race the suspect might be. Most of the cases where our coders were able to determine a suspect's race from news coverage alone turned out to be stories that included photographs of suspects. Since most of the racial information about local suspects is conveyed through published photographs of crime suspects, and since this imagery creates an especially visible racial cue for readers of the newspaper,

Figure 9: Comparing Race of Champaign County Crime Suspects in All News Images to Arrest and Booking Data (Using Race-Enhanced News Data)
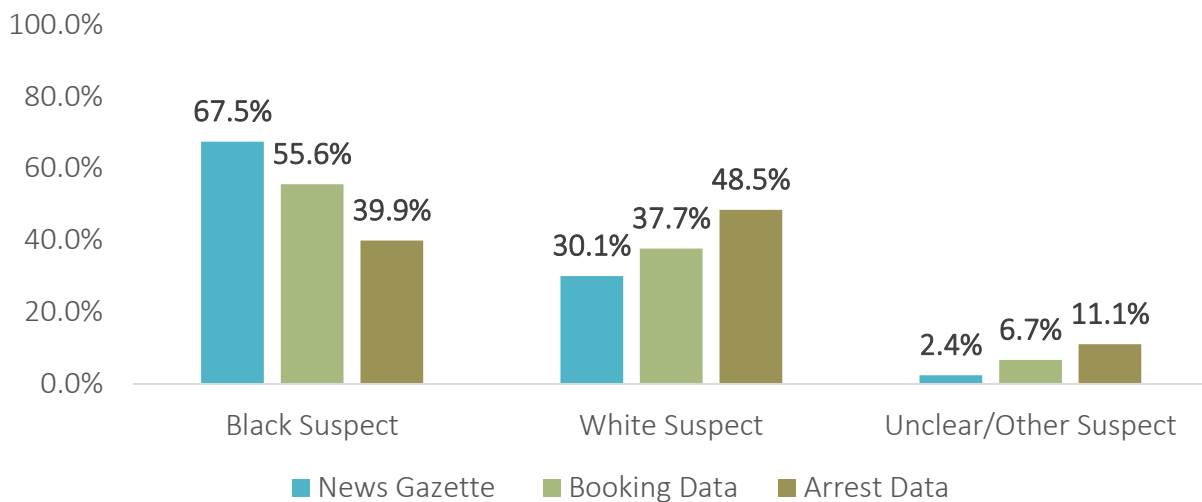
we believe that the racial mix of suspect images offers the clearest and most important comparison to arrest and jail bookings data.

We see a clear trend in the suspect image data: while the typical local crime suspect pictured in the newspaper is Black, the typical crime suspect arrested in Champaign County is white. Although only 39.9% of suspects arrested in Champaign County and 55.6% of those booked into the county jail were Black, African-Americans comprise 67.5% of local news suspects with an image. Whites account for 48.5% of those arrested and 37.7% of those booked into jail, but only 30.1% of news suspects with an image (Figure 9).

Yet this comparison of all suspects pictured in the news is too broad, for it compares suspects arrested and booked with news suspects appearing across the entire span of the criminal justice process from initial incident reports to court proceedings and sentencing decisions. Focusing only on local crime suspects appearing in news stories mentioning initial incidents and arrests offers a much better comparison to patterns in the arrest and jail bookings data.

If we filter the news stories to include only "early stage" stories (meaning initial incidence reports, incidence reports with arrests, or later arrests, and excluding anything during the court process or beyond) the pattern becomes even clearer. In this subset of news stories that offers the best comparison to arrest and bookings data, 80.4% of suspects pictured are Black even though African-Americans comprise only 55.6% of those booked and 39.9% of those arrested. In contrast, only 19.6% of pictured suspects are White, compared to 37.7% of those booked and 48.5% of those arrested in Champaign County (Figure 10).
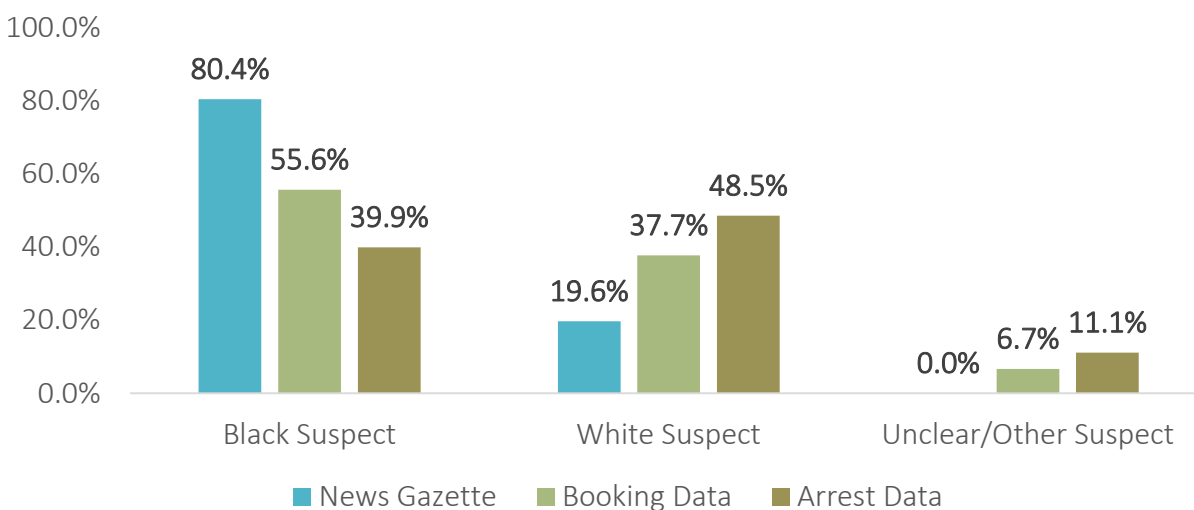
Figure 10: Comparing Race of Champaign County Crime Suspects in Early-Stage News Images to Arrest and Booking Data (Using Race-Enhanced News Data)

This discrepancy is significant. In the best "apples-to-apples" comparison our data allow—early stage crime reports from Champaign County to arrest and bookings data from Champaign County—we see twice as many images of Black suspects in the news as are actually arrested. Whites are arrested nearly two-and-a-half times as often as they are pictured as suspects in the *News-Gazette* (See tables in Appendix E).

Overrepresentation of Black Suspects in Imagery Comes from News Selection Process Rather than Image Selection Process

We employed multiple regression logistic models to analyze the effect of certain crime characteristics on the likelihood of a crime story to be reported in the *News-Gazette*. We specify a model with a dichotomous response variable, "news coverage," which takes a value of "1" when a suspect in the merged arrest data is mentioned in a news story and a value of "0" otherwise. "Success" for this logistic regression model is the presence of a match between a suspect in the arrest data and a suspect in the news. First, we regress "news coverage" on violence to see whether violent crimes are more likely to be reported in the news. Violent crimes have a 6.9% chance of being selected for a crime story whereas nonviolent crimes have a 1.8% chance of being selected. We regress "news coverage" on race and find that a Black arrestee has a 3.6% likelihood of getting news coverage while a White arrestee has only a 1.3% likelihood of getting news coverage.

To analyze the effect of crime and suspect characteristics on the likelihood of a crime story carrying a suspect image, we switch from the arrest data to the news data and predict the values of a dichotomous variable, "image." "Image" takes a value of "1" if a suspect mentioned in a news story is also pictured and a value of "0" otherwise. Regressing "image" on the type of crime shows that there is no significant difference in the likelihood of a violent or nonviolent news suspect being pictured with an image. Regressing suspect race on "image," we find that the likelihood that a Black suspect's news story carries an image of the suspect is 51.9%, while a White suspect's probability is 60.7% (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Predicting the Probabilities that Champaign County Crime Arrestees Appear in News Stories and the Probabilities that News Suspects Are Shown in Images, Using Suspect Race and Type of Crime (Logistic Regression Results)

Crime Occurs
- Violent: 6.9%
- Nonviolent: 1.8%
- Black: 3.6%
- White: 1.3%

Crime Stories
- Violent=Nonviolent
- Black: 51.9%
- White: 60.7%

Image

We repeat this statistical analysis to find the effect of gender on arrestee selection for news coverage and suspect image selection. We find that a male arrestee has a 3.2% probability of being selected for a crime story while a female has only a 0.4% probability of being selected. Once selected for news coverage, we find that male suspects in the news have a 38.4% chance of being pictured. Female suspects in the news have a 44.1% chance of being pictured (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Predicting the Probabilities that Suspect Gender Champaign County Crime Arrestees Appear in News Stories and the Probabilities that News Suspects Are Shown in Images, Using Suspect Gender (Logistic Regression Results)

Crime Occurs
- Male: 3.2%
- Female: 0.4%

Crime Stories
- Male: 38.4%
- Female: 44.1%
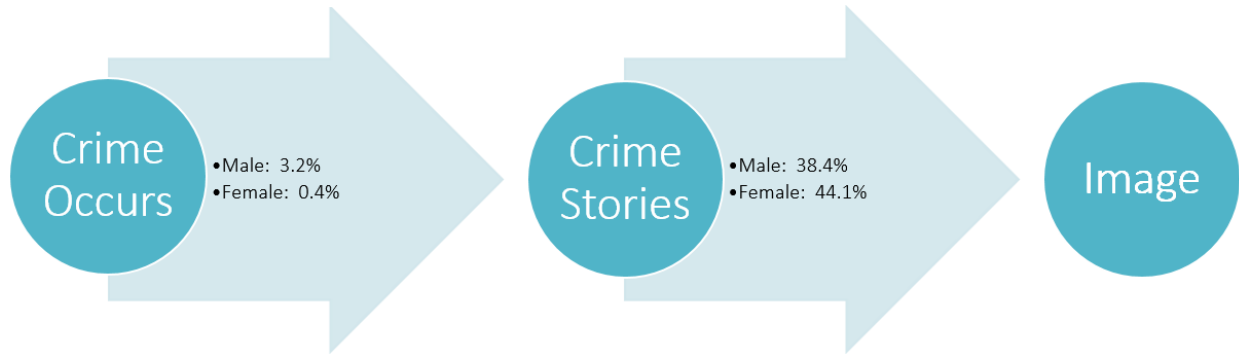
Image

At first glance, the finding that a White suspect is more likely to have an image appear in the newspaper seems to contradict our previous finding that many more images of Black suspects appear than of White suspects. It also appears odd, at first glance, that female suspects in the news are more likely to have images appear than are male suspects, when we also find that images of male suspects far outnumber those of female suspects. However, these apparent discrepancies disappear when we consider the two pieces of the logit model together. Black arrestees are about three times more likely to have a crime story written about them in the first place. This feeds into the next step of the story-making process where a story is either assigned an image or not. The fact that Black suspects are more likely to get a story in the first place explains why there are more images of Black suspects, even though the smaller number of White suspects in the news have a greater probability of being shown in an image. Beyond that, violent crime suspects are more likely to appear in the news than are non-violent crime suspects. However, this effect does not carry through to the image-selection stage.

To summarize, in stories where a picture of a suspect appears, Blacks are overrepresented by the *News-Gazette* while Whites are underrepresented. This overrepresentation is quite large: Blacks make up two-thirds of the suspects with images, whereas they account for only slightly over one-third of those arrested. Whites make up slightly less than one-third of suspects with images, whereas they are actually one-half of those arrested. Further, a disparity in gender representation also exists. Men comprise just over three-fifths of those arrested, whereas over four-fifths of *News-Gazette* crime stories feature male suspects. Nearly two-fifths of those arrested are female, but female suspects show up in *News-Gazette* reports only one-tenth of the time. When statistically estimating the effect that certain crime or suspect characteristics have on either the likelihood of an arrestee getting news coverage, or of a news suspect appearing in an image, we find a logically consistent result. Violent crimes are much more likely to make the news than non-violent crimes, and Black arrestees are more likely to have a story written about them than are White arrestees. However, simply given one Black news suspect or one White news suspect, the White news suspect is statistically more likely to be pictured. The fact that more stories are written about Black suspects in the first place explains why there are so many more African-American than White faces appearing in news pictures of local crime suspects.

Conclusion

Comparing the *News-Gazette*'s coverage of local crimes to arrests and jail bookings over a three-month period reveals that newspaper coverage of local crime offers a very different picture of suspect characteristics than found in the official records of law enforcement agencies. The proportion of White suspects in arrest data is considerably higher than the proportion of White suspects appearing in the *News-Gazette*. Accordingly, readers of the *News-Gazette* are more likely to see pictures of Black suspects than White suspects in local crime stories, and these Black suspects appear far more frequently in newspaper images than they appear in local arrest and jail bookings data. Additionally, there is a disparity between the proportion of male suspects arrested and the proportion of male suspects reported in the *News-Gazette*.

This study has some important limitations. First, the study's three-month window is long enough to clearly identify general patterns in news coverage, but cannot be used to generalize about longer-term trends in *News-Gazette* coverage. We cannot say whether these patterns are typical for the *News-Gazette*, only that they were a distinctive feature of the period under study. A more expansive and extensive analysis would be required to determine longer-term trends in news coverage. Nevertheless, despite the narrow three-month window of this study, we believe that our research demonstrates a need to look deeper into the causes of racial and gender misrepresentation in *News-Gazette* coverage of local crime.

A second limitation of our study is the difficulty we encountered matching suspect names in arrest data against suspect names covered in the news. We could be even more confident of the results of our statistical predictions regarding which arrests made news coverage if these named but unmatched suspects could somehow be included in the analysis. However, this limitation does not affect the results of our statistical predictions regarding which news suspects appeared in images.

Third, the arrest and jail bookings data are partial records of criminal activity in Champaign County. They include the names of innocent people who were arrested by mistake. They omit the names of guilty people who were never caught. These records omit criminal acts that are never discovered or reported by victims. These records also reflect existing power disparities in society that bring some segments of our local community more than others into closer and more routine contact with the criminal justice system. For all of these reasons, the arrest and jail bookings data are potentially misleading benchmarks for "real world" crime in Champaign County. However, they remain the most credible and best available data for use as a comparison against the picture of local crime that is painted by local news outlets.

Finally, while our study shows that the racial and gender characteristics of local crime suspects was often misrepresented to varying degrees in *News-Gazette* coverage, the reasons for such disparities are beyond the scope of this report. Our study does not delve into journalistic processes for crime story selection or any other potential explanation for these discrepancies, nor could any analysis of news output alone hope to do so. Academic research on similar mismatches between news coverage and "reality on the ground" strongly suggests that these distortions are almost certainly unknown to, and unanticipated by, the news organizations that produce this coverage. In other words, such coverage is usually unintentional. Typically, misrepresentations like those described in this study are an unintended outcome of common work processes and resources constraints that influence how news stories are selected and constructed by journalists. Academic research also suggests that such patterns in news coverage can often be remedied by the news organizations that produce this coverage, once the underlying causes are identified.

With these limitations in mind, our study nonetheless has clear implications for our community. News coverage of local crime is an important source of raw material that helps people

draw inferences about the association between certain groups and certain types of behavior. If an individual's beliefs about local crime were informed to any significant degree by suspect imagery appearing in the *News-Gazette,* that person's understanding would be quite different from the version of reality that is represented in arrest and jail bookings data. People using *News-Gazette* suspect imagery to draw inferences about the racial distribution of criminal suspects in our community will tend to overestimate the likelihood that Black suspects commit local crimes. If the patterns revealed for this three-month period turn out to be an accurate reflection of general tendencies in *News-Gazette* coverage, then this misrepresentation of racial characteristics of local crime suspects may be an important source of racial stereotyping in our community. Such distortions in local crime coverage serve as raw material for initially developing stereotypical beliefs about the associations between race and crime. Such distortions in news coverage also sustain and support existing stereotypes that residents might hold about the racial characteristics of criminal perpetrators. By stimulating and sustaining stereotyped beliefs about the connections between race and crime, this type of news coverage can also help perpetuate systemic forms of racial injustice that take root in other societal institutions. For all of these reasons, developing a better understanding how these distortions come about and how they might be remedied could have a significant long-term impact on improving the racial climate of our community, and on enhancing the prospects for just outcomes within our community's criminal justice system.

Appendix A: News Content Coding Rules

General Rules/Guidelines:
- Name input: last, first, middle initial.
- If you come across a story that for some reason is not a crime story, select "Skipped" and add a note as to why you skipped the story.
- Whatever you do, do NOT click, "Irrelevant". Switch to "Completed" when you are finished.
- General advice: Don't code for more than an hour or so at a time. You will lose your ability to concentrate if you try to code for hours at a time and this will create lower quality results.

Crime Type Coding Rules:
- Information on how to code crime type will come from either the title of the article or the body of the article itself.
- The most important part is accurately coding whether a crime was violent or nonviolent; the precise violent or nonviolent crime is secondary to accurately coding violent/nonviolent, i.e. labeling a specific violent crime (such as rape) is less important than designating a crime as violent.
- Violent crime shall include any crime which causes or threatens harm to victim, whether this harm be the end of the crime itself (murder), the means to an end (personal robbery), or the intent to end (attempted murder/homicide/manslaughter).
- Violent crime shall be coded as : Murder/Homicide/Manslaughter, Rape, Domestic Violence, Robbery, Attempted, Murder/Homicide/Manslaughter, Sexual Assault, Assault, Other
- Nonviolent crime shall be coded as: Arson, Child Abuse, Theft, Harassment, Weapons Violation, Embezzlement, Fraud, Forgery, Vandalism, Burglary, Drug Possession, Prostitution, Conspiracy, Larceny, Bribery, Other
- When coding a story where only a violent crime has occurred, it is necessary that the coder select "Not a nonviolent crime" under the nonviolent crime section. Similarly, in a story with only a nonviolent crime the coder must select "not a violent crime" under the violent crime section.
- Conversely, it is important that when a violent/nonviolent crime is committed that the coder select the specific crime(s) that were committed.
- If a crime is described in a story but not named then the coder shall defer to the definitions listed in the appendix to find the best match

Jurisdiction Coding Rules: List the jurisdiction the suspect was arrested/tried/appealing in. There will be four options: City of Champaign, City of Urbana, Elsewhere in Champaign County, and Elsewhere in the United States. Remember: Crimes occurring outside of US jurisdiction do not count. If there is no arrest, select whatever jurisdiction the crime occurred in.

- List of areas considered "Elsewhere in Champaign County"
  - Villages: Bondville, Broadlands, Fisher, Foosland, Gifford, Homer, Ivesdale, Longview, Ludlow, Mahomet, Ogden, Pesotum, Philo, Rantoul, Royal, Sadorus, Savoy, Sidney, St. Joseph, Thomasboro, Tolono
  - Townships: Ayers, Brown, Champaign, Colfax, Compromise, Condit, Crittenden, Cunningham, East Bend, Harwood, Hensley, Kerr, Ludlow, Newcomb, Ogden, Pesotum, Philo, Rantoul, Raymond, Sadorus, Scott, Sidney, Somer, South Homer, St. Joseph, Stanton, Tolono, Urbana

Criminal Justice Process Coding Rules: List which phase of the criminal justice process is mentioned in the article. You will have options for two main categories: Crime documentation (with or without arrest), and Court Process. Court Process shall be defined as anything occurring during the

trial of the accused. This is including (but not limited to): arraignment, pre-trial motion, trial, verdict, sentencing, or post-trial/post-sentencing motion.

Suspects Coding Rules: List person getting arrested/convicted as a suspect. Anyone listed in the article for any sort of charge is listed with a hierarchy: if the article is mainly about one singular person, then list them first. In the case of many suspects make sure all of the crimes they committed are checked off in the document. If there is no mention of an arrest date, pick a date in year 2020. Consult BJS and Josey definitions of race to determine what to enter for a suspect's race. If a suspect is Hispanic, list them as "unclear/other". If a name is not listed, code as "Unknown"

<u>*Determining race (rules borrowed verbatim from Chris Josey):*</u>

Explicit race – In order to be considered an explicit mention, the actual race or some synonym must be present. <u>Any photo is explicit race.</u>

For classifying characters or groups into a racial category, we will be using two elements of the US Census Category system, which describe race in the following manner with regard to Whites/Caucasians and Blacks/African-Americans:

White: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe. It includes people who indicate their race as "White" or report entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish. General references to western Russia or Russia in general may be coded as White.

Black or African American: A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "Black, African Am., or Negro," or provide written entries such as African American, Afro American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian. In this category you may assume from location of Africa.

Special Note: Only at the Character level is one allowed to infer race from other levels of analysis. Meaning, one may not infer or mark inference of race on Image or Headline level from story or from each other. Also, at each level, mark all inference used for determining race. Example: On Image level, only use image attributes for classifying race and only mark those used on that level. Same for Headline. Yet on the story level, you may use the document as a holistic measure of race and are required to mark all such inferences at the character and group level.

Explicit Mentions:
Synonyms and Derogatory Slang Words for Blacks and Whites

Black: African American, African (other countries?). Colored, Negro (and variations)

White: Caucasian, European American, (other countries?), Pale

<u>Potential ways to infer a character/group's race:</u>
Reporters Descriptions – Caucasian male
Famous Individual – Tiger Woods, Whitney Houston, Oprah
Surname – Martinez, Guerrero
Family Association – Infer from a family member with a known race
First Name – Molik, Juan, Tyronne

EXAMPLES:
What counts as a mention of race?
Explicit mention of both the White and the Black characters-
"In that case as well, it was an African-American man convicted of killing a white farming couple."
Implicit mention of Black character-
"The house where US Secretary of State Colin Powell's father, Luther, spent his early years…"
What does NOT count as a mention of race (unclear)?
We cannot determine the race of this individual-
"Mr. Harrison, who had just recently moved here from South Africa, was found guilty of…"
GENDER – Character
Determining gender can be inferred or explicit. If the gender of a character is mentioned explicitly, it will usually be mentioned specifically by the author (see table for marking words for explicit and Implicit gender reference). Many times gender will have to be inferred by the coder. This can be based on the name of an individual.
Explicit: photo and personal pronouns are explicit mentions of gender.

Explicit: Man, Woman, Girl, Boy, Grandfather, Mother, Grandmother, Father, Son, Daughter, Mr. Mrs., Ms., Proper Pronoun Use (He/She)

Inferred: Donald, Rosie, Simon, Paula, Randy, NBA Point Guard, NFL Great, Member of the LPGA
EXAMPLES of Explicit
"She said, "You simply don't know when you do any kind of rational assessment as to whether or not it is worth paying for, because it is expensive, and the older you get, the more expensive it is" (Markley, *Houston Chronicle*, 1/15)."
"One suspect was described as a white male, 30 to 33 years old, with black hair, dark eyes, dark complexion, thin build and wearing a black work jacket with white letters. He was said to be 5 feet 5 inches tall."
"She said detectives learned in interviews with the men that Rodreick convinced Stiffler and Snow that he was a boy after meeting him two years ago over the Internet. Rodreick apparently shaved his body hair and used makeup to keep up the guise."
Examples of Inferred-
"Robert James Snow, 43, "were very upset when the detectives told them they had been having a sexual relationship."
"A state judge has ordered O.J. Simpson to limit his spending to "ordinary and necessary living expenses" after the family of murder victim Ron Goldman raised concerns the former football star was shopping another book deal."
"U.S. President George Bush plans to travel to Williamsburg, Va., to speak at the House Democrats' annual issues conference. Bush previously addressed the Democratic retreat in 2001, his first year in office, The New York Times reported. Rep. Rahm Emanuel of Illinois, chairman of the House"

Appendix B: Intercoder Reliability Statistics from Pre-Reconciliation Stage of News Content Coding

Variable	# of Categories	Type	Avg. % Agreement	Krippendorff's Alpha	Coefficient S
Violent Crime	2	Nominal	0.8898	0.7798	0.7797
Nonviolent Crime	2	Nominal	0.8581	0.7069	0.7161
Location of Crime	4	Nominal	0.8475	0.7744	0.7966
Stage of the Criminal Justice Process	6	Nominal	0.7394	0.5907	0.6873
Suspect Gender	3	Nominal	0.9500	0.8526	0.9250
Suspect Race	3	Nominal	0.8286	0.7110	0.7429
Suspect Arrested	3	Nominal	0.7071	0.4968	0.5607
Suspect Pictured	2	Nominal	0.9750	0.9380	0.9500

Appendix C: Crime Classifications as taken from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' Statistical Tables Index

Note: Crimes appearing in brackets (e.g. [Murder]) were added by us and do not appear in the BJS Statistical Tables Index. The rest of the text that follows is taken verbatim from the following BJS webpage: http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/html/cvus/definitions.cfm

Crime classification

Victimizations and incidents are classified based upon detailed characteristics of the event provided by the respondent. …. If an event can be classified as more than one type of crime, a hierarchy is used which classifies the crime according to the most serious event that occurred. The hierarchy is: [murder], rape, sexual assault, robbery, assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, theft.

Violence, crimes of: [Murder], Rape, sexual assault, personal robbery or assault. This category includes both attempted and completed crimes. It does not include purse snatching and pocket picking. … Completed violence - The sum of all completed rapes, sexual assaults, robberies, and assaults. See individual crime types for definition of completed crimes. Attempted/threatened violence - The unsuccessful attempt of rape, sexual assault, personal robbery or assault. Includes attempted attacks or sexual assaults by means of verbal threats. See individual crime types for definition of attempted crimes.

Property crime: Property crimes including burglary, motor vehicle theft, or theft. This category includes both attempted and completed crimes.
==========

Aggravated assault: An attack or attempted attack with a weapon, regardless of whether an injury occurred, and an attack without a weapon when serious injury results.
With injury - An attack without a weapon when serious injury results or an attack with a weapon involving any injury. Serious injury includes broken bones, lost teeth, internal injuries, loss of consciousness, and any unspecified injury requiring two or more days of hospitalization.
Threatened with a weapon - Threat or attempted attack by an offender armed with a gun, knife, or other object used as a weapon that does not result in victim injury.

Assault: An unlawful physical attack or threat of attack. Assaults may be classified as aggravated or simple. Rape, attempted rape, and sexual assaults are excluded from this category, as well as robbery and attempted robbery. The severity of assaults ranges from minor threats to nearly fatal incidents.

Commercial crimes: Crimes against commercial establishments of any type are not included in the survey. Commercial establishments include stores, restaurants, businesses, service stations, medical offices or hospitals, or other similar establishments. For victimizations occurring in commercial establishments, the crime is included or not included depending upon whether the survey respondent was threatened or harmed in some way or personal property was taken.

Domestic violence: Refers to violence between spouses, or spousal abuse but can also include cohabitants and non-married intimate partners.
Drug possession: Includes possession of an illegal drug, but excludes possession with intent to sell.

Electronic vandalism or sabotage: The deliberate or malicious damage, defacement, destruction or other alteration of electronic files, data, web pages, or programs.

Embezzlement: The unlawful misappropriation of money or other things of value, by the person to whom the property was entrusted (typically an employee), for his or her own purpose. Includes instances in which a computer was used to wrongfully transfer, counterfeit, forge or gain access to money, property, financial documents, insurance policies, deeds, use of rental cars, or various services by the person to whom they were entrusted.

Fraud: The intentional misrepresentation of information or identity to deceive others, the unlawful use of a credit or debit card or ATM, or the use of electronic means to transmit deceptive information, in order to obtain money or other things of value. Fraud may be committed by someone inside or outside the business. Includes instances in which a computer was used to defraud the business of money, property, financial documents, insurance policies, deeds, use of rental cars, or various services by forgery, misrepresented identity, credit card or wire fraud. Excludes incidents of embezzlement.

Human trafficking: The commerce and trade in the movement or migration of people, legal and illegal, including both legitimate labor activities as well as forced labor.

Identity theft: Includes one or more of three types of incidents: (1) unauthorized use or attempted use of an existing account, (2) unauthorized use or attempted use of personal information to open a new account, (3) misuse of personal information for a fraudulent purpose. Person level identity theft is captured in the Identity Theft Supplement (ITS) to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Household level identity theft is captured by the main NCVS.

Larceny: The unlawful taking of property other than a motor vehicle from the possession of another, by stealth, without force or deceit. Includes pickpocketing, nonforcible purse snatching, shoplifting, and thefts from motor vehicles. Excludes receiving and/or reselling stolen property (fencing), and thefts through fraud or deceit.

Motor vehicle theft: Stealing or unauthorized taking of a motor vehicle, including attempted thefts.

Murder: (1) Intentionally causing the death of another person without extreme provocation or legal justification or (2) causing the death of another while committing or attempting to commit another crime.

Nonnegligent/voluntary manslaughter: Intentionally and without legal justification causing the death of another when acting under extreme provocation. The combined category of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter excludes involuntary or negligent manslaughter, conspiracies to commit murder, solicitation of murder, and attempted murder.

Rape: Forced sexual intercourse including both psychological coercion as well as physical force. Forced sexual intercourse means vaginal, anal or oral penetration by the offender (s). This category also includes incidents where the penetration is from a foreign object such as a bottle. Includes attempted rapes, male as well as female victims, and both heterosexual and homosexual rape. Attempted rape includes verbal threats of rape.

Robbery: Completed or attempted theft, directly from a person, of property or cash by force or threat of force, with or without a weapon, and with or without injury.

Sexual assault: A wide range of victimizations, separate from rape or attempted rape. These crimes include attacks or attempted attacks generally involving unwanted sexual contact between victim and offender. Sexual assaults may or may not involve force and include such things as grabbing or fondling. Sexual assault also includes verbal threats.

Simple assault: Attack without a weapon resulting either in no injury, minor injury (for example, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches or swelling) or in undetermined injury requiring less than 2 days of hospitalization. Also includes attempted assault without a weapon.

Theft: Completed or attempted theft of property or cash without personal contact. Incidents involving theft of property from within the sample household would classify as theft if the offender has a legal right to be in the house (such as a maid, delivery person, or guest). If the offender has no legal right to be in the house, the incident would classify as a burglary.

Appendix D: Merged Arrest Data Tables

Arrest Data by Race

	Black	**White**	**Other**	**Unknown**	**Sum**
Number	2,003	2,435	557	21	**5,016**
Percentage	39.9%	48.5%	11.1%	0.4%	**100%**

Arrest Data by Gender

	Male	**Female**	**Sum**
Number	3,186	1,848	**5,016**
Percentage	63.2%	36.8%	**100%**

Appendix E: News Suspects Data Tables (Using Enhanced Race Data Derived from Fuzzy-Matched Arrest Records)

All News Suspects by Race (Stories from Champaign County Only)

	Black	White	Unclear/Other	Sum
Number	160	61	106	**327**
Percentage	48.9%	18.7%	32.4%	**100%**

News Suspects by Gender (Stories from Champaign County Only)

	Female	Male	Unable to Determine	Sum
Number	34	281	12	327
Percentage	10.4%	85.9%	3.7%	100%

News Suspects *with* Image by Race (Stories from Champaign County Only)

	Black	White	Unclear/Other	Sum
Number	83	37	3	**123**
Percentage	67.5%	30.1%	2.4%	**100%**

News Suspects *without* Image by Race (Stories from Champaign County Only)

	Black	White	Unclear/Other	Sum
Number	77	24	103	**204**
Percentage	37.7%	11.8%	50.5%	**100%**

Difference in Arrest and Suspects with Image by Race (Stories from Champaign County Only)

	Black	White	Unclear/Other
Arrest Percentage	39.9%	48.5%	11.5%
News Suspect w/ Image Percentage	67.5%	30.1%	2.4%
Percentage Point Difference (News-Arrest)	27.6	-18.4	-9.1

Appendix F: Jail Bookings Data

Jail Bookings Data by Race

	Black	**White**	**Other Race**	**Unknown Race**	**Sum**
Number	833	564	90	10	**1,497**
Percentage	55.6%	37.7%	6.0%	0.7%	**100%**

Jail Bookings Data by Gender

	Male	**Female**	**Unknown**	**Sum**
Number	1,117	378	2	**1,497**
Percentage	74.7%	25.3%	0.0%	**100%**

Appendix G: Descriptions of Merged Arrest and Jail Bookings Datasets

Compiled by Kylee Britzman

Merged Arrest Data

The merged arrest data file contains arrest data from five law enforcement agencies that that has been merged together to form a single dataset. The merged file contains arrest data from January 1, 2015 to September 15, 2015 from the City of Champaign Police Department, Village of Rantoul Police Department, Champaign County Sheriff's Office Department, University of Illinois Police Department, and the City of Urbana Police Department. Each department was sent a FOIA request between late September and early October of 2015. We received data from each department through the FOIA requests. A sample of the FOIA request is attached at the end of the appendix.

This dataset only contains only initial charges, as we do not have information about each step in the process such as conviction, sentencing, etc. Therefore while we call this "arrest data" the dataset encompasses a range of arrestable charges that could result in a range of outcomes, including immediate release, jail bookings, citations, incidents, misdemeanors, felonies, etc. We do not distinguish the level of the incident or what comes after the initial arrest.

A subset of this data spanning May 31, 2015 to August 31, 2015 was used as a comparison to news coverage of local crime during the study period.

Jail Bookings Data

We also obtained a dataset from the Champaign County Sheriff's Office, which contains information for all arrests in Champaign County originating from any law enforcement agency that result in bookings through the county jail system. Individuals who were arrested by the Sheriff's Department and immediately released after booking were dropped from this dataset. This dataset includes the reason of incarceration. The reasons include items like arrests from a warrant, sentencing, failure to appear, arrests without a warrant, etc. Therefore this file includes arrests that resulted in incarcerations (however brief) at the Champaign County Jail during the period January 1, 2015 to September 15, 2015. In contrast, the merged arrest file includes all arrests by each of the five major law enforcement agencies in Champaign County, including those arrests that did not result in jail bookings.

A subset of this data spanning May 31, 2015 to August 31, 2015 was used as a comparison to news coverage of local crime during the study period.

Variables Common to Both Datasets

Common Variables
The merged arrest and jail bookings datasets contains the following common variables: agency name, booking date, arrestee name, age, sex, race, crime category, charge, any violent, and violent. There are six columns for charges because arrestees could be charged for more than one crime at the time of arrest. No arrestee was found to have been charged with more than six crimes by a single jurisdiction at the time of arrest.

Crime Coding Procedures

The crimes have been categorized according to the coding rules developed by the PS 494 students (originally adapted from the Bureau of Justice Statistics).

Violent crime refers to the following acts, whether committed, attempted, or threatened: Murder/Homicide/Manslaughter, Rape, Domestic Violence, Robbery, Sexual Assault, and Personal Assault.[10] Non-violent crime refers to the following acts, whether committed, attempted, or threatened: Arson, Child Abuse, Theft, Harassment, Weapons Violations, Embezzlement, Fraud, Forgery, Vandalism, Burglary, Drug Possession, Prostitution, Conspiracy, Larceny, Bribery, and all other crimes not specifically enumerated as violent crimes by the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Because there are so many crime categories and different names for the same crime, a category column is included for each charge that simplifies the verbatim charges into the violent and nonviolent crime categories.[11] The charge column provides the original charge information from each police department.

Each charge for the individual arrestee has been coded with a dummy variable of 1 or 0 for violent or non-violent. Additionally we include an "AnyViolent" variable of 1 or 0 if any of the charges for an individual arrestee were violent crimes.

Sample FOIA Request Letter

Below is a sample of the FOIA request sent to each department. Identifying information has been removed.

September 30, 2015

Re: Freedom of Information Act Request

Dear [FOIA Officer]

This is a request under the Freedom of Information Act [5 ILCS 140]. I would like to request access to the [Police Department] arrests from January 1, 2015 to September 15, 2015.

I would specifically like to request the following information: date of arrest, name of offender, age of offender, sex of offender, race of offender, charge, location of arrest, and any additional information available for public release in the arrest data.

I have included an example from the Urbana Police Department public arrest data to illustrate the kind of file I am hoping to obtain (https://data.urbanaillinois.us/Police/Urbana-Police-Arrests-Since-1988/afbd-8beq).

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[10] Additionally battery with assault was included in categorizing violent crime because it was not its own category according to the Coding Rules.

[11] Two additional categories were included for common non-violent charges – traffic violations and failure to appear. Traffic violations include charges like DUI, failure to stop, speeding, expired registration, no driver's license, no vehicle insurance, texting while driving, etc.

I am a PhD student in the political science department at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. This request is made for a scholarly and scientific purpose and not for commercial use. I plan to use these data in conjunction with my advisor's undergraduate honors seminar. The undergraduate students are working on a project that compares crime coverage in the *News Gazette* to objective crime data from the county, city, and university arrest data. This project will help undergraduate students learn how to conduct academic research that also serves local public interest.

I would like to request a waiver of all fees for this request based on 1) the value of this information for the general public, 2) the intent to disseminate this information to the public through academic publications, news media, and communication with local governments and interest groups, and 3) the fact that no commercial benefit will come from this disclosure.

I request that the information I seek be provided in electronic format by whatever means is convenient for your department (e.g. Excel, Microsoft Access, etc.).

Thank you for your help and consideration.