

**The 2014 Pittsburgh Hill District Redevelopment in the News: Frames,
News Values and Sources**

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Declaration

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Many of the ideas in this thesis were the product of discussion with my supervisors, Professor Uta Papen and Dr Dimitrinka Atanasova.

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Abstract

The Hill District of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is known for its rich cultural history that has been heavily influenced by its historically Black population. After years of disinvestment, in 2014, public and private investors announced plans to redevelop the area in an attempt to revitalise the community and its economy. With the announcement, Hill District residents were concerned that the planned redevelopment could lead to gentrification in the area. Although the redevelopment received significant attention in the news, little research has been devoted to analysing the views and voices in the news coverage.

This study is the first to analyse how the Hill District redevelopment was reported in Pittsburgh news outlets, specifically online newspapers. It focuses on how the redevelopment was reported in Pittsburgh news media in the important early stages of its announcement. It draws on theories from across linguistics and media and communication studies, specifically, frame theory, news values, sources (what types of sources are quoted and how their statements are introduced when quoted). The study also examines the role of visual images within the different frames and elaborates the types of news values that visual images construe.

Through examining a data set of seven news articles, which were published at key points in the redevelopment timeline, the close textual analysis exposes that the analysed newspapers incorporate two frames that work together to present the redevelopment in a positive light and a counter-frame which positions the redevelopment not as a solution, but as the problem. Two frames offer positive representations of the redevelopment, voiced by conventionally authoritative sources such as politicians and business representatives, while the counter-frame is representative of grassroots organisation leaders' voices. Fears about displacement and gentrification are part of this counter-frame. When community group voices and views are not represented in the news, attitudes about redevelopment deals become one-sided, naturalised and overall, they exclude voices of those most directly affected, the community.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	IV
LIST OF TABLES	X
LIST OF FIGURES	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 PITTSBURGH'S HILL DISTRICT: ITS PAST WITH URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND GENTRIFICATION	1
1.2 THE MEDIA	3
1.3 FRAMING THEORY	5
1.4 STUDY SIGNIFICANCE	6
1.5 STUDY AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	7
1.6 THESIS OUTLINE	8
CHAPTER 2: URBAN DEVELOPMENT, GENTRIFICATION, AND THE MEDIA: LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 OVERVIEW	11
2.2 ACADEMIC RESEARCH ABOUT GENTRIFICATION	11
2.3 RACE AND GENTRIFICATION	13
2.4 DISPLACEMENT AND GENTRIFICATION	14
2.5 URBAN POLICY AND POSITIVE GENTRIFICATION	15

2.6 GENTRIFICATION AND THE MEDIA	19
2.6.1 <i>Urban Development and Gentrification: Sources</i>	20
2.6.2 <i>Urban Development and Gentrification: Representations</i>	21
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	26
3.1 ORIENTATING THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDIES	27
3.2 NEWS DISCOURSE	30
3.2.1 <i>Frames</i>	31
3.2.1.1 Frames, Reasoning Devices and Framing Devices	34
3.2.1.2 Frame Identification	35
3.2.1.3 Frames in News images	37
3.2.1.4 Co-existence and counter-frames	39
3.2.2 <i>News Values</i>	41
3.2.2.1 News Values in news images	44
3.2.2.2 News Values and Frame Analysis	46
3.2.3 <i>News Sources, Frame Sponsors, and Reported Speech</i>	47
3.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK SUMMARY	51
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY	53
4.1 DATA SAMPLE AND SELECTION	53
4.2 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA AND METHOD	58
4.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS	59
4.3.1 <i>Frame Analysis – Inductive Analysis</i>	59
4.3.1.1 Open Coding and Constant Comparison of the News Articles	60
4.3.1.3 Colour coding procedure to identify co-existence of frames	63
4.3.1.4 Identification of Frames in News Images	64

4.3.2 Discursive News Values Analysis	65
4.3.2.1 News Values in Language	65
4.3.2.2 News Values in News Images	68
4.3.2.3 Incorporation of News Values in Summary Frame Table	70
4.3.3 News Sources and Reported Speech Analysis	72
4.3.3.1 Identification of Source Types	72
4.3.3.2 Analysis of Reported Speech	73
4.3.3.3 Incorporation of Sources & Reported Speech in Summary Frame Table	73
4.4 METHODOLOGY SUMMARY	76
CHAPTER 5: HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF THE HILL DISTRICT	77
5.1 THE HILL DISTRICT NEIGHBOURHOOD	77
5.2 HISTORY OF THE GREATER HILL DISTRICT	79
5.3 LOWER HILL DISTRICT CONTEXT	83
CHAPTER 6: ECONOMIC BENEFITS FRAME	89
6.1 SUMMARY OF THE NEWS ARTICLES FEATURING THE <i>ECONOMIC BENEFITS</i> FRAME	90
6.2 THE <i>ECONOMIC BENEFITS</i> FRAME: PROBLEM DEFINITION, CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND SOLUTIONS	94
6.3 NEWS VALUES	101
6.3.1 Impact	101
6.3.2 Negativity	110
6.3.3 Positivity	112
6.3.4 Prominence	119

6.4 SOURCES AND REPORTED SPEECH	122
6.4.1 <i>Politicians and Private Investors</i>	124
6.5 SUMMARY OF THE <i>ECONOMIC BENEFITS FRAME</i>	128
CHAPTER 7: COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME	130
7.1 SUMMARY OF THE NEWS ARTICLES FEATURING THE <i>COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME</i>	130
7.2 THE <i>COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME</i> : PROBLEM DEFINITION, CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND SOLUTIONS	134
7.3 NEWS VALUES	140
7.3.1 <i>Impact</i>	140
7.3.2 <i>Negativity</i>	147
7.3.3 <i>Personalisation</i>	150
7.3.4 <i>Positivity</i>	152
7.3.5 <i>Prominence</i>	154
7.4 SOURCES AND REPORTED SPEECH	159
7.4.1 <i>Politicians and Private Investors</i>	161
7.4.2 <i>Ordinary People: Community Residents</i>	166
7.5 SUMMARY OF THE <i>COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME</i>	168
CHAPTER 8: GENTRIFICATION FRAME	170
8.1 SUMMARY OF THE NEWS ARTICLES FEATURING THE <i>GENTRIFICATION FRAME</i>	170
8.2 THE <i>GENTRIFICATION FRAME</i> : PROBLEM DEFINITION, CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND SOLUTIONS	172
8.3 NEWS VALUES	177

8.3.1 <i>Impact and Negativity</i>	177
8.3.2 <i>Prominence</i>	184
8.4 SOURCES AND REPORTED SPEECH	187
8.4.1 <i>Grassroots Organisation Leaders</i>	188
8.4.2 <i>Politicians</i>	192
8.5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	193
CHAPTER 9: FRAME CO-EXISTENCE	195
9.1 CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING FRAME DOMINANCE	196
9.1.1 <i>Word Count</i>	196
9.1.2 <i>News Structure</i>	196
9.1.3 <i>Visual-Verbal Repetition</i>	199
9.1.4 <i>Source Type</i>	199
9.2 FRAME CO-EXISTENCE	200
9.2.1 <i>News Article 1 (2014) ‘Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site’</i>	200
9.2.2 <i>News Article 2 (2015) ‘Governor Joins to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District’</i>	205
9.2.3 <i>News Article 3 (2016) ‘Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents’</i>	209
9.2.4 <i>News Article 6 (2019b) ‘Welcome to the “Centre District” – or the former Civic Arena site’</i>	212
9.2.5 <i>News Article 7 (2019c) ‘Righting a wrong: New Park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District’</i>	216
9.3 CONCLUSION	221

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION	227
10.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS	227
10.2 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	228
10.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO WIDER RESEARCH	240
10.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH AND FURTHER RESEARCH	241
10.5 FINAL REMARKS	243
REFERENCES	244
APPENDIX 1	267
NEWS ARTICLE 2014	267
NEWS ARTICLE 2015	270
NEWS ARTICLE 2016	272
NEWS ARTICLE 2017	275
NEWS ARTICLE 2019A	277
NEWS ARTICLE 2019B	282
NEWS ARTICLE 2019C	285
APPENDIX 2	290
APPENDIX 3	330

List of Tables

<i>TABLE 1.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA, AND METHODS</i>	8
<i>TABLE 1.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA, AND METHODS</i>	59
<i>TABLE 3.1 OVERVIEW OF FRAMING DEVICES: QUALITATIVE NEWS FRAME ANALYSIS [ADAPTED FROM GAMSON & MODIGLIANI, 1989; KITZINGER, 2007; TANKARD, 2001; VAN GORP & VERCRUYSSEA, 2012]</i>	34
<i>TABLE 3.2 OVERVIEW OF FRAMING DEVICES IN IMAGES [ADAPTED FROM MACHIN, 2007; MACHIN & MAYR, 2012; ROSE, 2007]</i>	39
<i>TABLE 3.3 NEWS VALUES IN TEXTS [BEDNAREK & CAPLE, 2012A, P. 41]</i>	44
<i>TABLE 3.4 NEWS VALUES IN IMAGES [ADAPTED FROM BEDNAREK & CAPLE, 2017, PP. 110-125]</i>	45
<i>TABLE 3.5 REPORTING VERBS [ADAPTED FROM CALDAS-COULTHARD, 1994]</i>	50
<i>TABLE 4.1 DATA SET</i>	56
<i>TABLE 4.2 EMPTY FRAME MATRIX</i>	61
<i>TABLE 4.3 CODING FRAME COEXISTENCE—APPENDIX 2</i>	63
<i>TABLE 4.4 ADAPTED NEWS VALUES FRAMEWORK (TO INCLUDE ‘GOOD NEWS’/‘POSITIVITY’)</i> [ADAPTED FROM BEDNAREK & CAPLE, 2012A, P. 41; HARCUP & O’NEILL, 2001, PP. 278–279]	65
<i>TABLE 4.5 A SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC DEVICES THAT CONSTRUE NEWS VALUES (BEDNAREK & CAPLE, 2012A, P. 41)</i>	66
<i>TABLE 4.6 SEMIOTIC DEVICES THAT CONVEY NEWS VALUES IN IMAGES (FROM CAPLE, 2013, PP. 52-53)</i>	68

TABLE 4.7 CO-OCCURRENCE OF NEWS VALUES WITH FRAME(S) IN INDIVIDUAL NEWS ARTICLES –

APPENDIX I _____ 71

TABLE 4.8 CO-OCCURRENCE OF SOURCE TYPES WITH FRAME(S) IN INDIVIDUAL NEWS ARTICLES –

APPENDIX I _____ 73

TABLE 6.1 FRAMES PER NEWS ARTICLE _____ 89

TABLE 6.2 ECONOMIC BENEFITS FRAME TABLE _____ 100

TABLE 6.3 BREAKDOWN OF SOURCES QUOTED IN ECONOMIC BENEFITS FRAME IN THE NEWS

ARTICLES _____ 123

TABLE 7.1 COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME TABLE _____ 139

TABLE 7.2 BREAKDOWN OF SOURCES QUOTED IN COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME IN THE NEWS

ARTICLES _____ 159

TABLE 8.1 GENTRIFICATION FRAME TABLE _____ 176

TABLE 8.2 BREAKDOWN OF SOURCES REPORTED IN GENTRIFICATION FRAME IN EACH NEWS

ARTICLE _____ 187

TABLE 9.1 FRAME DOMINANCE NEWS ARTICLE 1 (2014) _____ 201

TABLE 9.2 FRAME DOMINANCE NEWS ARTICLE 2 (2015) _____ 206

TABLE 9.3 FRAME DOMINANCE NEWS ARTICLE 3 (2016) _____ 210

TABLE 9.4 FRAME DOMINANCE NEWS ARTICLE 6 (2019B) _____ 213

TABLE 9.5 FRAME DOMINANCE NEWS ARTICLE 7 (2019C) _____ 217

TABLE 9.6 EXTRACTS FROM 2019C NEWS ARTICLE SHOWING GENTRIFICATION FRAME ENFOLDED
IN COMMUNITY BENEFITS FRAME AT END OF ARTICLE _____ 221

TABLE 9.7 DOMINANT FRAME IN THE NEWS ARTICLES THAT EMPLOY MORE THAN ONE FRAME _____ 222

List of Figures

<i>FIGURE 3.1 VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</i>	52
<i>FIGURE 5.1 SECTIONS OF THE HILL DISTRICT AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOODS IN GREY</i>	78
<i>FIGURE 5.2 THE GREATER HILL DISTRICT IN BLUE AND THE LOWER HILL IN YELLOW AS PART OF THE CBD AREA (I.E., CONSOL ENERGY CENTER)</i>	78
<i>FIGURE 5.3 (LEFT) LOWER HILL DISTRICT BEFORE WIDESPREAD DEMOLITION FROM 1960S URBAN RENEWAL PLAN; (RIGHT) LOWER HILL DISTRICT FEATURING CIVIC ARENA, PARKING LOTS, AND HOTELS.</i>	81
<i>FIGURE 5.4 THE CROSS-TOWN HIGHWAYS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CBD LOOKING NORTH</i>	82
<i>FIGURE 5.5 AERIAL VIEW OF LOWER HILL FEATURING CIVIC ARENA</i>	84
<i>FIGURE 5.6 AERIAL VIEW OF LOWER HILL FEATURING DEMOLISHED CIVIC ARENA AND SUBSEQUENT PARKING LOTS</i>	84
<i>FIGURE 5.7 VISUAL DEPICTION OF THE 2014 REDEVELOPMENT PLAN PROPOSED BY THE CITY AND PRIVATE INVESTORS</i>	88
<i>FIGURE 6.1 2014 NEWS ARTICLE</i>	91
<i>FIGURE 6.2 2015 NEWS ARTICLE</i>	92
<i>FIGURE 6.3 2017 NEWS ARTICLE</i>	93
<i>FIGURE 6.4 2019A NEWS ARTICLE</i>	94
<i>FIGURE 7.1 2016 NEWS ARTICLE</i>	131
<i>FIGURE 7.2 2019B NEWS ARTICLE</i>	132
<i>FIGURE 7.3 2019C NEWS ARTICLE</i>	133
<i>FIGURE 9.1 NEWS ARTICLES' INVERTED PYRAMID STRUCTURE (TUCHMAN, 1972)</i>	198

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Pittsburgh's Hill District: Its past with urban development and gentrification

This thesis is an analysis of the way the redevelopment of the Hill District neighbourhood in Pittsburgh is discussed in newspapers, using frame analysis. The neighbourhood is geographically and historically significant; in that it is in a popular area and that the area has a difficult past with urban development and private and public (dis)investment. Historically and culturally, the Hill District is renowned for its past as an epicentre of arts and culture for Black people (Jones et al., 2016). At its height of economic prosperity in the years leading up to the First World War (WWI), the Hill District was known for its popular jazz nightclubs (e.g., The Crawford Grill) and minority owned restaurants, the neighbourhood was often compared to Harlem in New York City. It is important to note however that economic prosperity for an area does not necessarily equate to adequate conditions for infrastructure, housing, and utilities. As an area populated with immigrants and people of minorities, the Hill District was often left to support itself (Anderson et al., 2001; Hill Community Development, 2021; Jones et al., 2016).

Geographically, the area is significant because it is positioned north of the central business district (CBD) area, the CBD area is primarily filled with offices (e.g., businesses such as law firms and property developers; government buildings such as the courthouse, etc.), loft conversions, and a cultural area with theatres and galleries. Therefore, the Hill District was offering a place of entertainment for white-collar workers outside the CBD where they worked but not in the suburbs, where they lived. The Hill District became idealised as a place for relaxation (Anderson et al., 2001; Mansharamani, 2016). The approximately 28-acre area of the lower Hill District was a perfect area to service white-collar workers and middle-class patrons.

The 2014 redevelopment plan was not the first development to be proposed to occur in the Hill District, for in the 1960s the area saw major development. Pittsburgh politicians and private investors decided to follow other U.S. cities with the help of federal funding and enact an Urban Renewal Plan, in an attempt to boost the city's economy and modernise infrastructure, all while shifting the city's industrial reputation to something more progressive related to technology and arts. The Pittsburgh 1960s Urban Renewal Plan included the building of a crosstown highway between two ends of Pittsburgh (north side and south side) and a sports arena (Civic Arena), which benefitted white-collar workers working in the CBD needing better commutes and middle-class patrons looking for leisure and entertainment, which the Hill District area could offer. The placement of these developments was the lower Hill District (just north of the Downtown area), cutting the rest of the Hill District, inhabited by predominantly Black people, off from the central business district by the development of a sporting arena and highways. An aspect important to this thesis, is that the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan spurred the displacement of about 8,000 people—mainly low-income renters—and hundreds of small businesses (Jones et al., 2016). In the years since the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, investment was directed to the development of the Pittsburgh surrounding areas, rather than to any businesses and residents left in the Hill District area. This set the foundation for decades of neglect and disinvestment in the neighbourhood. Poor conditions still held after the turn of the century, supporting the belief that the Hill District needs redevelopment which came about in 2014. Plans were put forward by grassroots groups in the Hill District and by politicians who represent the community like Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, with the aims to reconnect the Hill District to the downtown area, to better the living conditions, and to provide amenities and opportunities (such as grocery stores and loans for Black-owned businesses).

When the plans became known, the need to redevelop the area was not contested because housing conditions in the area were poor, infrastructure and utilities needed repair, and much of the land was unusable. However, questions were raised as to who would dictate the redevelopment and who would benefit from it—so to not repeat the failings of 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, namely the

displacement of thousands. Overall, the 2014 plans presented a potential major change to the area and accordingly the plans were announced and discussed in the media. The news was a major source of information about the redevelopment for the area's inhabitants and non-locals alike, but news is not a mirror representation of reality.

1.2 The Media

The media is an integral part to informing our views and shaping our lived realities. We consume the media through a myriad of ways: (online and print) newspapers, blogs, social media, television, and more. Due to its ubiquitous nature, studying media discourse is critical to understand how it may shape our perceptions of events and issues. Newspapers have historically played and continue to play a particularly important role in the social construction of daily life for they are readily available (online and in print) and cover a range of topics from different political and ideological perspectives (O'Keeffe, 2011). Further, O'Keeffe (2011) notes that news discourse is manufactured consciously and done so in certain ways to shape public perceptions (O'Keeffe, 2011) and as such, discourse analysis scholars have been concerned with analysing how the media helps to maintain power and social structures (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1993, 1995).

As a topic that is of interest to many, urban development is discussed frequently in the media. In contemporary highly urbanized societies such as the U.S., many people live or work in cities and are affected by urban development policies. Studies have shown (Lavy et al., 2014; Logan & Molotch, 1987) that news media on urban development tend to focus on the positives associated with a development, and that although news media claims impartiality, local media have a clear economic stake in encouraging urban growth and redevelopments for urban growth means increased readership and newspaper circulation (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Depending on how urban development plans are presented – or framed, as I will explain later, the media may shift conversation away from public concerns like gentrification. This is referred to as the agenda-setting effect of the

media. For instance, the agenda-setting effect is understood in terms of quantity of coverage – whether something is covered in the news and how often in comparison to other issues. If the media simply write more news stories about urban development than about climate change for instance, people will consider urban development to be a more important issue than climate change. News framing is sometimes referred to as second-level agenda setting (McCombs, 2004) for it is concerned with how the news covers an event or issue - and especially what problem definitions, moral evaluations, causal explanations, and solution recommendations are being promoted (Entman, 1993).

Topics such as culture, place, urban revitalisation, displacement, and gentrification are found in Pittsburgh news media surrounding redevelopments that have or are happening around the city, like the areas of Lawrenceville, East Liberty, East End, and Braddock. Prominent local news sources like, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and *The Tribune Review*, among others have covered these redevelopments and continue to cover the progress occurring in these areas, in terms of new retail and restaurants, new housing, and discuss their positive and negative impacts. The same has been true for media representations of the Hill District area.

In this thesis I focus on the announcement of the Hill District redevelopment and the years that followed in the news. As explained above, the Hill District has a history of redevelopments (e.g., 1960s Urban Renewal Plan). The Hill District leaders spent years (2011-2014) putting together their own redevelopment plan (*Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011), one that would benefit their community and avoid displacement of its residents and gentrification of the area. Although their redevelopment plan was created, only portions of it have become part of the formal 2014 redevelopment deal supported by politicians and private investors and promoted in the media. This history and the existence of different aspirations for the area, expressed by different groups, make the 2014 plan for the Hill District a specifically interesting case to examine in terms of news coverage and how the plans are being presented.

1.3 Framing Theory

Framing theory is a widely used theory in media and communications research (Bryant & Miron, 2004) and it has also been used to study social representations of phenomena like that of urban development and gentrification (Gin & Taylor, 2010; Liu & Blomley, 2013). The act of framing in mass media involves the representation of a social phenomenon in a specific way, as I will explain in more detail now and in Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework.

Goffman (1974) suggests that a frame enables readers to better understand issues by turning 'meaningless' aspects 'into something meaningful' (pp. 21-22). Framing theory is used in my thesis to analyse how popular Pittsburgh news media creates salience for topics like the Hill District redevelopment and fear of gentrification. As will be explained in detail in the thesis, an integrative framing approach is utilised.

In regard to media content, this study agrees with views that argue that by seeking to identify frames that highlight a certain definition of what the problem is, what causes it, its consequences and proposed solutions (Entman, 1993), 'the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text' (Entman, 1993, p. 51) and of a communicating visual (Coleman, 2010). This assumes that the media, by way of framing social phenomena, seeks to influence how these phenomena are seen and assessed by their readers.

In this thesis, I draw on known approaches to analysing frames (Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010) and complement these with analytical tools taken from news research, specifically news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017), and the analysis of how specific sources are used in the context of framing (Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). In this way, I have developed and applied (to a selection of news texts) a comprehensive approach to examining how the Pittsburgh media represented the Hill District redevelopment plan of 2014 and significant steps in the area's redevelopment in the years following 2014.

1.4 Study Significance

This research makes unique contributions in two key areas - the study of urban development and gentrification communication in the media and framing research more generally.

In this thesis, redevelopment frames are inductively identified through the analysis of both text and image. While inductive frame analysis (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; van Gorp, 2007, 2010) is not novel in itself, my thesis combines inductive frame analysis with the analysis of news values and news sources through a critical discourse lens. Critical discourse studies is the orienting theoretical perspective of this thesis for it is an interdisciplinary approach not confined by specific methodologies and is interested in analysing social phenomena from a discursive perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). This approach provides a comprehensive analysis of the redevelopment frames and the journalistic practices used to employ those frames. For it is believed that the aim of framing research should be to investigate how journalistic practices (e.g., news values) and the interaction with external actors (e.g., sources) lead to the construction of frames (van Gorp, 2007, 2010).

In addition to the novelty of my comprehensive approach, my study is significant in that it researches urban development and gentrification in news media. As Chapter 2 will explain, urban development, gentrification, and power of news media have been widely studied—however, little research has looked closely at the intersection of urban development/gentrification and news media, or more specifically conducted a discourse analysis of urban development and gentrification, and how news media influence views about urban development.

Researchers who have studied news media on urban development and gentrification (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011; Gibson, 2004; Gin & Taylor, 2010; Hyde, 2014; Kaniss, 1991; Lavy et al., 2016; Liu & Blomley, 2013; Logan & Molotch, 1987; Modan & Wells, 2015; Tolfo & Doucet, 2020) suggest that the media creates ‘a largely symbolic, but nonetheless effective, sense of local consensus around ambitious—and often publicly subsidized—downtown redevelopment projects’ (Gibson, 2004, p. 285). If we follow Gibson’s (2004) claim here, then we can

presume that news media have a role to play in debates about urban development and that the views they put forward may be biased (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Gibson, 2004).

Moreover, we can assume that some 'members of society [have] greater access and control' (Hallin, 1994, p. 43) that permeates into institutions of information, like news media. Accordingly, looking at sources used in news media about the Hill District development will be an important part of my study, as researchers like Manning (2001) suggest there is a hierarchy of sources based on their credibility. I assume that some voices, for example those of local politicians in positions of authority or investors key to the success of the plan may be given a prominent role in how the redevelopment is framed in Pittsburgh newspapers. Thus, my thesis examines how the local media have portrayed the redevelopment plan and the discussions surrounding it by investigating how the media frame the plan, or more specifically what frames are employed to describe the 2014 redevelopment of the Hill District.

1.5 Study Aims and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore how the 2014 Hill District redevelopment is represented in news articles published at key points during the redevelopment timeline (from 2014 when the redevelopment was announced to 2019 when this study commenced). The analysed data is from daily broadsheet newspapers representing a range of perspectives; left-centre (*The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*), right-centre (*The Tribune Review*) and a nonaligned liberal viewpoint (*New Pittsburgh Courier*). These papers are widely read in Pittsburgh.

The four research questions below and repeated in Chapter 4 question the Hill District redevelopment representation in the local news, where research question one refers to the overall focus of this study, and research questions two and three require a closer textual analysis to understand how the journalists form and employ the media frames in the news articles. Research question four expands the analysis by closely examining the co-existence of frames.

Table 1.1 Summary of research questions, data, and methods

Research Questions	Data	Methods	
1. How is the Hill District redevelopment framed in prominent Pittsburgh news media at key points in the redevelopment timeline?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Inductive frame analysis	(see Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010; Dan, 2018; Atanasova & Koteyko, 2012)
2. What are the news values within the redevelopment news coverage, and do certain news values tend to co-occur with certain frames?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Discursive news values analysis	(see Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Caple, 2013)
3. What are the sources quoted in the news articles and do certain sources and quotation strategies tend to co-occur with certain frames?	Analysis of text of seven news articles	Analysis of source types and reported speech	(see Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994)
4. How do frames that co-exist in one news article relate to each other?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Analysis of co-existence of frames via frequency, news structure, visual-verbal repetition, and source hierarchy	(see Entman, 1993; Hall, 1978; Manning, 2001; Reese, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Powell et al., 2018; Tuchman, 1972)

1.6 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into ten chapters, which address the different parts mentioned in the research questions above. In this introductory chapter I have set out the rationale for this research study, briefly outlining the conceptual framework and methodology as well as provided the research aim and questions of the thesis.

Chapter Two explores urban development, gentrification and the media through a literature review. The chapter begins by defining terms like gentrification. The chapter then examines research studies of gentrification through different lens, i.e., race and ethnicity, urban policy, etc. The chapter also discusses the representation of gentrification and development in the media. This will then be followed by a discussion of the gap in research pertaining to the theories and methodologies used in this study.

Chapter Three presents the framework of my study and begins by examining the overarching approach of discourse analysis that informs my research. The remaining sections of the theoretical framework chapter are devoted to frame theory and media theory, including, news values, sources and reported speech.

Chapter Four focuses on the design of this study and describes the methodological framework, which seeks to analyse the framing of the 2014 redevelopment of the Hill District in popular Pittsburgh newspapers. The chapter outlines the data set and collection, as well as the analysis procedures. It identifies the qualitative methods selected as the most appropriate approaches to analyse the verbal and visual data set, which are frame analysis, news value analysis, and source and reported speech analysis.

Chapter Five focuses on the history of the Hill District, and a detailed description of the 2014 redevelopment deal. The chapter provides the historical and political information required to contextualise the analyses in Chapters 6-9. A particular focus of the chapter is on the Hill District's vibrant past and subsequent downfall in the 1960s, to set the groundwork for the importance of analysing the 2014 redevelopment.

Chapters Six through Eight describe the identified frames. Each chapter is devoted to a single frame to provide enough space for analysis, description, and discussion of the findings. Each frame chapter (i.e., *economic benefits* frame, *community benefits* frame, and *gentrification* frame) starts with summaries of the news articles where the frame is employed before moving on to present the frame as it was communicated through text and image. Next in each chapter, I examine the news values associated with the frame and the sources used (e.g., quotes from

sources and source types and strategies for incorporating these sources) in the news articles that are associated with the frame.

Chapter Nine describes the co-existence of the three frames in the news articles. In this chapter I identify how the three frames discussed in Chapters 6 to 8 co-exist in each news article, particularly examining what frame is represented as dominant based on word count, news structure analysis, visual-verbal repetition, and sources.

Chapter Ten relays the results of the various analysis chapters. The chapter discusses the findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions of Chapter 4 and the broader theoretical framework of Chapter 3. The chapter also considers the implications of the findings and their contribution to the existing scholarship. Limitations of this thesis are also discussed before concluding by providing recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Urban Development, Gentrification, and the Media: Literature Review

2.1 Overview

Gentrification is a common and controversial process that is part of urban planning and development – and a phenomenon that has started to receive increasing attention in terms of media analysis studies, and within the wider literature on urban development. This is why this chapter focuses on gentrification research more generally and on research on gentrification in the media more specifically.

While discussing how the research topics have and are being theorised, I refer to and briefly summarize main studies on urban development and gentrification, including a more focused look at how research on gentrification has been developed since its beginnings in the 1960s until today. As urban studies and human geography disciplines are growing and becoming more interdisciplinary fields, studies can range from strictly economical to ethnographic in nature. But as I will show, research that uses theories and methods from linguistics to study urban development is scarce. I argue that linguistic studies are needed to more fully understand how the media report on urban development and what potential impact such reporting might have on public perceptions and support for urban development initiatives.

2.2 Academic Research about Gentrification

Urban development is an interdisciplinary field of research cutting across urban planning, (urban and human) geography, sociology, history, and linguistics. As part of research into urban development, gentrification has been discussed and studied in much depth. Gentrification, as will become clear, is a controversial phenomenon, a consequence of urban development. In the Hill District in

Pittsburgh, concerns for gentrification are part of the debate about the plans to redevelop the area.

In the 1960s, sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term *gentrification* to describe the urban change occurring in Islington, London. The term was created to capture the link between class struggle and housing, more specifically the influx of middle-class homeowners, the increases in rent and property prices, as well as the displacement of working-class occupiers (Glass, 1964; Slater, 2002).

Since the 1960s, little has changed in the use of the term. Literature on the topic has continued to grow primarily in the 1980s and now more recently in the 2000s. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the focus of gentrification studies has been on the urban environment being changed, reinvested in, and revitalized by the 'gentry' or more commonly referred to as the middle-class (Lees, 2010). Over time some scholars' focus has shifted from the process to its effects on the gentrifiers and the displaced communities. More specifically research initially focused on who are those responsible for gentrification and then shifted towards the displacement of families and the segregation of/within communities that resulted from it (Davidson, 2011; Laska & Spain, 1979; Palen & London, 1984; Schill & Nathan, 1983; Smith & Williams, 1986). This shift in focus has led to the word's politicisation in academia and in the public sector. In public non-academic, as well as in most academic contexts, the term gentrification has a negative connotation, as it is used as an overarching term to describe the 'type' of 'incomers' or 'gentrifiers', and how these incomers displace the previous residents, who, often are less economically privileged than the newcomers. However, it is important to note that not all academics believe that gentrification results in displacement and some instead refer to the phenomenon as regeneration or positive gentrification (see section below on positive gentrification; Cameron, 1992; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Chaskin, 2013). For the purposes of this thesis, I will rely on Clark's (2005) definition of gentrification:

Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built

environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital. The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process, not least because the more powerful the new users are, the more marked will be concomitant change in the built environment. It does not matter where and it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification (Clark, 2005, p. 263).

Due to the varied academic understandings about gentrification, there have been many debates in the academic and public sphere on whether gentrification is something that should be controlled or prevented. Politicians and private investors may believe the process is positive and cost-effective for a “deteriorating” area, and the media too may present the process as positive. Residents, however, may experience greater costs of living, and ultimately risk having to leave the area which then results in a breakdown of previous community ties.

In the following sections, I will review research regarding gentrification and topics that are relevant to the Hill District such as: race, displacement, urban policy, and positive gentrification. In the final section of this chapter, I will cover literature that researches urban development, gentrification, and the media in more depth.

2.3 Race and Gentrification

Academic studies generalise gentrifiers as ‘white’ middle class people, however it is important to note that the ‘type’ of gentrifier is dependent on the area and the ‘stage’ of gentrification the area is in. One of the most interesting cases of non-white gentrifiers can be found in Harlem, New York. In this case many of the gentrifiers are middle class black families who find the neighbourhood appealing for they are moving ‘back to’ Harlem because they are in search for community and culture. The idea of the ‘appealing neighbourhood’ tends to be absent from the gentrification literature that has a stronger focus on monetary reasons for gentrification. In the case of Harlem, many of the first gentrifiers were drawn to the area due to its historic Black culture, but because of the economic growth in

the area and in some cases the ‘white-ification’ of the area, economic incentives continued the gentrification into present day (Schaffer & Smith, 1986; Smith, 1987). As such, gentrification does not just occur in places that have the ‘deepest’ rent gap (see Smith, 1987), but in places where gentrifiers feel comfortable to settle. As Schaffer and Smith (1986) found, in Harlem, New York, a white influx did not occur until the gentrification process of the area was almost completed, where the initial gentrification process came from Black gentrifiers. Schaffer and Smith (1986) describe this gentrification conflict as a ‘Catch 22’ because ‘without private rehabilitation and redevelopment, the neighbourhood’s housing stock will remain severely dilapidated; [however] with it, a large number of Central Harlem residents will ultimately be displaced and will not benefit from the better and more expensive housing’ (p. 363). This is a conflict that is also common to the Hill District, as historically it has been the most prominent Black neighbourhood in Pittsburgh and has seen little investment over the years, contributing to dilapidated housing, low employment rates, and high crime and therefore has lacked investment (see Chapter 5 for the Hill District’s history).

2.4 Displacement and Gentrification

Critiques of urban development and gentrification from a human rights perspective emerged in the mid to late 1980s, (Laska & Spain, 1979; Schill & Nathan, 1983; Palen & London, 1984; Smith & Williams, 1986). The focus of such research was on the repercussions of urban development, namely the displacement of the people who originally inhabited the newly gentrified spaces. Scholars either conducted systematic analyses that sought to quantify the numbers of people affected by gentrification (e.g., numbers of displaced families), or ethnographic studies of communities and people who lived there (see Laska & Spain, 1979; Schill and Nathan, 1983; Palen & London, 1984; Smith & Williams, 1986).

Finding demographic data to compare who lived versus who is currently living in a gentrified area has proved difficult, as information on people leaving neighbourhoods has not been easily accessible (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Researchers (e.g., Newman & Wyly, 2006) have however been successful in documenting the reasons for displacement for instance, families leaving an area voluntarily due to circumstances of identity. This may be seen in cases when gentrified locations start to bring in businesses that do not cater to the people who already live there, i.e., expensive organic groceries, restaurants, and clothing boutiques. The changes in the neighbourhood begin to clash with the identity of the original inhabitants, and a move takes place that is based more on culture and identity than economy. As pertaining to this thesis, the Hill District area was a target of the 1960s Urban Renewal (see Chapter 5 for more information) which caused mass displacement through large scale demolitions of housing and businesses. In their place, a sporting arena was erected which not only alienated many remaining residents but also changed the economic landscape of the area encouraging further displacement.

Scholars like Paton (2014), Cahill (2007), and Schaffer and Smith (1986) take a more ethnographic approach to the study of displacement of working-class people through interviews and case studies. These studies seek to unveil working-class inhabitants' feelings (both positive and negative) about the gentrification happening. Surprisingly, many of the interviews showed hope about bettering the community with the incoming businesses and opportunities—as many believe that without investment the community would continue to deteriorate. This also can relate to the 'Catch 22' situation where a community can start to become gentrified from within, by people from the community, or by people who have close ties to the community through race and ethnicity (see also Taylor, 1992; Smith, 1987b). This relates to the Hill District area for there is an overall agreement that the area needs revitalisation and economic stability (*Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011).

2.5 Urban Policy and Positive Gentrification

Lower-income areas may tend to be associated with homelessness, squatting, and relatively high crime rates. When faced with high statistics of crime, death and dilapidated housing within a neighbourhood, city governments typically perceive

these areas as being in need of 'transformation' and 'reform' (Smith, 2002). In some cases, it is in conjunction with community leaders that areas are revitalized, whereas in others, governments impose policies to begin the process to redevelop an area. This is similar to the Hill District area for the community and the local government recognise the need to revitalise the area to provide better amenities and infrastructure to not only make it economically stable but also economically successful (*Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011; see Chapter 5).

Wyly and Hammel (2005) argue that 'more than ever before, gentrification is incorporated into public policy—used either as a justification to obey market forces and private sector entrepreneurialism, or as a tool to direct market processes in the hopes of restructuring urban landscapes in a slightly more benevolent fashion' (Wyly & Hammel, 2005, p. 35). Researchers (Howell, 2008; Smith, 1987a, 1987b) have found that city government policies have significant impact on gentrification and are pushed forth in the development stages of gentrification furthering the segregation of lower-class and middle-class individuals, and in some cases in the United States they are constructing deeper racial divides (Adelman, 2004; Adelman & Gocker, 2007; Massey & Denton, 1993).

Globalization can be seen as another way to describe processes of 'neoliberal economic restructuring' (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Newman & Ashton 2004; Smith, 2002) where local governments provide tax breaks, grants, and other opportunities to transfer economic public power to the private sector. This has invited academics to study the key factors of gentrification and how it may be shaped by neoliberal policies (van Weesep, 1994).

Researchers consulted studies of economics and public policy to begin to identify the key factors in explaining gentrification—what is referred to as production and consumption of land and housing in these areas (Harvey 1973; Beauregard and Holcomb 1981; Schaffer & Smith, 1986; Smith, 1987). Academics who focused on production as the main driver for gentrification were influenced by Marxist teachings, while a socio-cultural/humanist perspective primarily influenced those who focused on the consumption side. Distilled down, researchers who position themselves on the production-side of the equation believe that people moved back

to/to other parts of the city based entirely on economic values and incentives (i.e., tax-related incentives, rent gap, land value, etc.). Smith (1987) argued that not only are people coming back to cities to consume properties, but they are also coming as producing properties, spurring this gentrification process. Smith's (1987) theories spurred research into *who* is considered the 'gentrifier'; for him 'gentrifiers' were not just the people moving in, but also those who are investing capital into the area by buying old houses and renovating them for the new middle-class community. Production-side explanations emerged as a way to understand the process of formerly working-class inner-city areas being redeveloped and gentrified.

Similarly, academics attribute the production-side of gentrification to the neoliberal ideas, such as a society functions better under a market-led logic, than a state-directed logic (Gunder, 2010), and as such this may influence urban policies that support the process of gentrification. The neoliberal ideology is argued to regulate our economic realities (Gunder, 2010) and as such supports neoliberal policies in local governments that fuel entrepreneurial ventures (Billingham & Kimelberg, 2013; Marquardt & Fuller, 2012; Prior & Kemper, 2005). Thus, academics who attribute gentrification to production, argue that government policies intentionally encourage redevelopment in an attempt to revitalise areas that were neglected prior (Marquardt & Fuller, 2012; Prior & Kemper, 2005) but as they have to bring in private investors to do so, governments then have less control over, for example, the kind of new housing being built. In many cases these efforts are parts of 'urban renewal programs' (Lavy et al., 2015; Prior & Kemper 2005). For instance, the case examined in this thesis is one where the government planned an urban renewal and development strategy relying in part on private investment and, as I will show later in the thesis, the media mostly described these efforts as revitalisation and redevelopment. However, policies to support urban renewal can create gentrification (Chaskin, 2013; Davidson, 2011; Fullilove & Wallace, 2011; Howell, 2008; Mathema, 2013; Modan, 2008).

Just as the production-side explanation of gentrification is theorised by economic incentives, a consumption-side believes that people moved because arts and culture already resided in the city areas, so that is where people naturally wanted

to be. Initially the theories behind production and consumption as drivers of gentrification created a lot of debate amongst scholars, but eventually many academics have come to the consensus that production and consumption are complimentary factors both contributing to gentrification (Lees, 2000; Clark, 2005).

While many social scientists argue that renewal policies potentially spur gentrification, city governments believe that their policies for 'regeneration' will create social mixing (Davidson, 2011; Huning et al., 2015; Lees, 2008; Rose, 2004; Smith, 1987). For example, the HOPE VI plan by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development was intended to revitalize the worst public housing projects into mixed-income developments (Chaskin, 2013). This is similar to positive gentrification as urban renewal plans have the expectation to increase 'social mixing' and in some cases is a 'cure' for segregation of race and wealth in inner cities (Chaskin, 2013; Huning et al., 2015; Rose, 2004). Blomley (2004) states that, 'the problem with "social mixing" however is that it promises equality in the face of hierarchy' (p. 99). Further, social mixing is said to often lead to further segregation and isolation, as programmes that support social mixing often support economic self-reliance and home ownership, which encourages the displacement of non-property owning and marginalised residents (Blomley, 2004; Smith, 2002).

The theory of positive gentrification (Bryne, 2000; Chaskin, 2013) emerged in reaction to the primary focus of much research on the negative impacts of gentrification. Cameron (1992), Cameron and Coaffee (2005), Atkinson and Bridge (2005) and Chaskin (2013) argued that gentrification creates a flow of wealth from the middle-class downwards. For instance, due to gentrification, property in the area finds new and significant uses and a creation of service jobs (though typically low-income) are created in businesses such as restaurants, cleaning, and home renovations (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). However, Lees (2008), Davidson (2011), Ley (2009) and others critique positive gentrification by stating that the decrease in affordable housing in central areas of the city that results from urban redevelopment programmes leads to increased polarization in society.

‘Regeneration’ is another term for positive gentrification. Regeneration has similar policies supporting it but is meant to have a better outcome for the community than gentrification. The community is meant to fuel regeneration efforts, where new services, like shops, owned by community members are targeted towards the existing community (i.e., hair salons specialising in Black hair types, or ‘ethnic’ food shops) (Lees, 2008). With regeneration, people in the community are believed to see an increase in their income due to the new services available (by being entrepreneurs or workers) and thus the community benefits as a whole. Therefore, it is argued that regeneration does not lead to displacement, but instead helps the existing community thrive (Lees, 2008). However, as we see with case studies like Harlem (see above; Smith & Williams, 1986; Smith, 1987a), this is the ‘Catch-22’ situation which can result in regeneration leading to gentrification (see also Marcuse, 1985). As Chapter 5 will explain in detail, the Hill District community leaders’ primary aim is to regenerate the area and make it a liveable, historically respectful, and economically successful area for the current residents—to do so they are very clear about the need for enough affordable housing for lower-income residents (*Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011).

2.6 Gentrification and the Media

When urban development plans, policies and projects are discussed in the media, the term gentrification is used when the content of the reporting focuses on the negative aspects of the redevelopment, reflecting the perspective of those who oppose it and consider the redevelopment a form of gentrification (Lavy et al., 2016). So, the word gentrification appears to be used in news media only when opposition to the phenomenon is talked about or quoted. Otherwise, the media often chooses terms such as ‘transformation’, ‘regeneration’, ‘urban (re)development’, ‘sustainable development’, to be used in its place (Lavy et al., 2016). While research found at the intersection of urban development and media studies and linguistics is relatively sparse compared to the study of urban development and gentrification as general phenomena, there are still seminal

studies, such as studies that 1) analyse the use of sources in media texts, and 2) analyse the representations of urban development and gentrification in the media.

2.6.1 Urban Development and Gentrification: Sources

Some of the first studies found at the intersection of news media and urban development focus on media representations of urban development. For instance, Kaniss (1991) explored how urban developments are legitimised in news media by way of analysing news coverage and journalistic sources, particularly privileged sources like government officials. She found in the local media coverage of Philadelphia politics that the media tended to represent and support redevelopment projects positively while ignoring potential social and economic problems in favour of presenting a symbolic unity and the cultural potentials of an area (Kaniss, 1991). Furthermore, in Kaniss's (1991) research, she found that journalists often seek out known sources with insider or privileged knowledge, such as politicians and government officials.

Gibson (2004) comes to similar conclusions about the use of sources in news media—he explored representations of redevelopment in Seattle's local media, where there were local disputes over the land use of the downtown area. The study covers a two-year period where the city's role in a redevelopment in Seattle was strongly contested. Gibson (2004) analysed a data set of 154 news articles from two local newspapers to analyse news sources and reported speech. Gibson (2004) examined whether sources were directly quoted or paraphrased in the texts, and he identified categories of sources, such as Downtown Business, Public Officials, Non-profit/Advocacy Organizations, Citizens/Academics. Drawing on Hallin's (1994) work on journalistic bias which looks at how the media make particular arguments using the support of particular sources, Gibson (2004) found that local reporters privileged 'official voices' (e.g., business leaders and pro-development public officials) over dissenting voices to legitimise the urban development. This echoes Logan & Molotch's (1987) earlier work who also found that although news media claim neutrality, news media have a clear economic

stake in supporting urban growth and redevelopments and, accordingly, privilege voices that support such developments.

Lavy et al. (2016) researched media portrayals of urban development and gentrification in the metropolitan area of Austin-San Antonio, Texas –a once low-income and disinvested Hispanic neighbourhood. For instance, they examined the actors in the articles, both quoted and mentioned, if the article stated any ‘impacts of gentrification’, as well as whether the impact that was stated was done in a positive, negative, or unbiased way (Lavy et al., 2016, p. 200). Included in their study 48 articles from three local news outlets between 2000-2014, Lavy et al. (2016) examined how different actors are represented in these articles, how present their voices are (i.e., if they were quoted or mentioned) overall, and how the developments are described. The actors identified were the main stakeholders in the redevelopment process, i.e., community residents, community leaders, politicians, and private investors. Lavy et al.’s (2016) also found that the media narratives focused on the impacts of the development, both the positive and negative, the latter for example associated with social costs of the urban plan. Their results indicated that both city officials and residents played a prominent role in the discourse because they were both represented in the media. However, overall, the redevelopment was largely presented in a positive light, disregarding some of the voices disagreeing with the redevelopment. While they identified stakeholders or actors in the news articles, their study was fully based on content analysis. While these studies (Gibson, 2004; Lavy et al., 2016; Logan & Molotch, 1987; Kaniss, 1991) do not utilise the same methodologies used in this thesis, the examination of privileged voices in media texts is of particular interest as it directly relates to a part of this thesis’s methodology.

2.6.2 Urban Development and Gentrification: Representations

Few researchers have analysed representations of gentrification and/or urban development in news media (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011; Gin & Taylor, 2010; Hyde, 2014; Liu & Blomley, 2013; Tolfo & Doucet, 2020). These scholars have

looked at specific cases of urban development and gentrification and how it is represented in news media, both locally and nationally.

Tolfo and Doucet's (2020) research analysed the media's use of frames to represent gentrification, more specifically how three discursive frames changed over time. Tolfo and Doucet's (2020) analysis argue there is not just one interpretation of gentrification in the media, but an interrelation of common themes to frame the phenomena. They came to this conclusion by analysing a Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, over a 37-year period for the term 'gentrification' and its derivatives (e.g., gentrify, gentrified, gentrifier, etc.). Their study showed that the media relied on three consistent narratives or themes: gentrification and tourism, gentrification and consumption, and the consumption of gentrified spaces. Moreover, Tolfo and Doucet (2020) suggested that these acts of framing and their continual shifts in the media affect the interpretations of gentrification and influence readers, as much of the media's writing is done from a middle-class perspective and thus can further marginalise those affected by gentrification even if a critical perspective is shared in the text.

Brown-Saracino and Rumpf's (2011) study identified several representations used by journalists to justify, support, or criticize gentrification. Similar to Tolfo and Doucet (2020), they suggest that media representations of gentrification are 'shifting and fractured' (Brown- Saracino & Rumpf, 2011, p. 307) and constantly changing. Their primary aims were to question how the media's representation of gentrification has changed over two decades and how people and places discussed in the news article were depicted. The study is one of the broadest of its kind, for it analysed very diverse U.S. coverage from multiple locations (instead of a locally concentrated study). Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011) do not specifically name media frames, but instead used a computer-assisted and manually coded approach that found that the representation of gentrification was often negative, likening it to death, a loss of authenticity, or as an injustice to a community. Conversely, they did find few subtle positive representations of gentrification where the focus was on upscale shopping and housing newly available in the area. Thus, they argue 'that newspapers present a range of perspectives on gentrification, from suggesting it

as a solution to urban problems to emphasizing its risks for long time residents' (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011, p. 289).

Studies at the intersection of media framing and gentrification (or broadly referred to as neighbourhood change) are not limited to news articles in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, but also extend to restaurant reviews published within popular news (Hyde, 2014). For instance, Hyde (2014) conducted a frame analysis of restaurant reviews in national Canadian newspapers and found that the frames fell within the themes of culinary authenticity and ethical entrepreneurialism, where the restaurant reviewers 'often frame the attempts of restaurants to do good in the Downtown Eastside as a "win-win" for the ethics and tastes of newcomers, suggesting that consumers can have it both ways by being socially conscious actors as well as savvy and "authentic" foodies' in order to support redevelopment efforts (p. 353). In Hyde's (2014) final remarks, he suggests a more critical analysis of language and discourse in news media that is concerned with urban development and gentrification, for he argues that negative representations of gentrification are becoming more common. He suggests that we cannot make sweeping generalisations that the media fully support urban development, like those arguments that were made in earlier research on gentrification in the media.

Another study that focuses on the representation of urban development and gentrification in the media is Modan and Wells (2015), for they combine theories of critical discourse analysis and urban studies research to question agency, gentrification, and culture. The aim of their study was to identify 'how media representations of gentrification render invisible the place-making efforts of such players by grammatically obscuring their roles in producing the city's current gentrified landscape' (Modan & Wells, 2015, p. 2). More specifically, Modan & Wells (2015) found that gentrification is represented in Washington, D.C. as a process, where the language used to describe it remained agent-less; neither those responsible for gentrification are named, nor the ones affected by the gentrified. For instance, they state that the media represents gentrification as something that simply happens, that has its own agency and thus is outside people's responsibility—and is often identified through nominalizations in the news texts.

Another two analysis studies that I will cover in this section are Gin and Taylor (2010) and Liu and Blomley (2013)—these two studies are most related to the contents of this thesis, Gin and Taylor (2010) conducted a comparative analysis of two communities in San Francisco to examine ‘how activists used the media to disseminate their political message, and to evaluate their effectiveness in doing so’ (p. 5). Their data, which consists of 215 news articles in regional papers, covered the period 1995-2005. Gin and Taylor (2010) relied on a mix-method approach that utilised both quantitative and qualitative analysis, whereby they undertook ethnographic fieldwork (interviews with activists and residents), as well as analysis of the 215 newspaper articles. In doing so, they identified three frames that activists expressed in the interviews that also emerged in the news articles analysed: 1) affordable housing frame, 2) community identity frame, and 3) equitable development frame. First, the affordable housing frame suggests that the shortage of affordable housing is linked to gentrification in the communities—more specifically it covers the activists’ concerns for affordable housing and the community’s culture and identity, as well as notes that redevelopments are often focused on increasing land prices and high-end developments. The second frame they identified is the community identity frame where the media highlights the uniqueness of the neighbourhood and supports activists and residents’ arguments that the neighbourhood’s identity and cultural life should remain untouched. The final frame they identified is the equitable development frame—Gin and Taylor (2010) argue that it is a master frame for it covers the most important aspects of the affordable housing frame and the community identity frame, collectively. For instance, the frame argues that any redevelopment must consider and benefit pre-existing low-income residents, in addition to requiring community involvement in the planning and execution of a redevelopment. As will become clear in the remainder of the thesis, Hill District activists and residents raise similar concerns about the redevelopment deal, for it appears to lack affordable housing and not consider the Hill District’s history and identity.

Another relevant frame analysis is that of Liu and Blomley’s (2013) who primarily focus on identifying frames but also explore the use of sources alongside the frame employment. Liu and Blomley’s (2013) found that Vancouver’s Downtown

Eastside (DES) area was often represented as negative by claim makers (94 percent of the articles) to support the need for a redevelopment—they also identify claim makers (i.e., what I define as frame sponsors in this thesis) and their attempts at framing Vancouver's DES. They identified three prominent frames—medicalization, criminalization, and socialization. These three frames were used as explanations for why the DES area needed to be redeveloped—It was blighted by ill people, had high crime rates, and high rates of poverty and homelessness. While the study explains these three frames, a particular focus of the study is on which claim makers put forward these claims and how claim makers elaborate the frames.

As this review has shown, the analysis of sources and frames have emerged as promising areas of research. However, previous studies have relied on methods that do not involve a close discourse analysis of these media texts. Further, there are other notable aspects that also deserve attention when trying to understand the media reporting of urban developments – such as news values. In addition, existing research has been primarily concerned with analysis of texts, but often neglect of the communicative power of images.

My study seeks to make contributions to research on the media representations of urban renewal, redevelopment, and gentrification, particularly in the shortcomings identified in this literature review—a lack of studies regarding a critical discourse approach to the framing of urban development in the media. Therefore, this thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the representation of the 2014 Hill District redevelopment in text and image in news media, specifically a frame analysis including elements in the framing process, such as how journalistic practices like news values and the use of sources contribute to framing.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter is concerned with the theoretical framework that underpins this study. The chapter surveys Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and its influence in fields such as media studies, as well as the theoretical understandings of media framing, the news value framework, and reported speech and news sources, which inform my methodological framework in Chapter 4.

CDS is best described as a ‘toolbox’ of transdisciplinary text-analytical approaches to critical social research (e.g., Hart, 2014) and is concerned with describing a social problem and examining how it is discussed through discourses, focussing often on what can be considered powerful and elite discourses (such as those found in mainstream media). As such, it is a useful lens to analyse the social problem presented in this thesis: the 2014 redevelopment and its implications for the Hill District community, a historically marginalised group of people. The data analysed in this study is comprised of selected news articles from popular, mainstream Pittsburgh news media (see Chapter 4 for more details). In the analysis of those news articles, the journalistic strategies of framing, news values, and source selection are considered. Thus, CDS’s concern with understanding how social problems are presented through discourses by using varied approaches is foundational to the holistic approach of this thesis.

In this study, I propose an approach to news article analysis that integrates the study of frames, news values and sources to understand how the 2014 Hill District redevelopment is reported in mainstream Pittsburgh media. Such an approach is a novel contribution to CDS and media research, as few researchers have used these analytical tools in tandem despite their connectedness. As part of understanding how frames present issues or events, I consider the role of news values and the importance of external actors (that is, sources and reported speech). News values analysis can help us understand not only why a certain event or issue has been covered but also how it has been covered. The latter is also

addressed by frame analysis – by combining the tools of news values and frame analysis, a fuller understanding of representation can be gained.

Similar connections can be made in relation to the study of sources and frames, for news reporting always involves selection and ‘reporting’ of events, situations, and issues. Frames therefore are a way of thinking about the journalist’s stance or perspective. Frames in news articles are often elaborated by sources, and, again, news media are the product of a selection of sources. Not all sources will be equally present in a news article. Thus, sources and their selection are related to frames and by combining the tools of source and reported speech analysis and frame analysis, another facet of understanding representation of an issue in news media can be gained.

In the first part of the chapter, I explore some of the key theoretical tenets in CDS and the extent to which I draw from them before moving on to the theories that inform my methodology. I conclude with a summary of my theoretical framework.

3.1 Orientating Theoretical Perspective: Critical Discourse Studies

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is a transdisciplinary approach to critical social research (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2003; Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge and Kress, 1993; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2001, 2008; Weiss and Wodak, 2003; Wodak, 2009; amongst others) primarily concerned with textual analyses of power, ideology, and “discourse” (a term that is defined in different ways by different researchers). Since CDS is not ‘confined to any specific methodology or particular area of analysis’ (Hart, 2014, p. 1), it can be characterised as an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented approach, which is interested in understanding and analysing social phenomena from a discursive perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

Critical discourse researchers study the use of social power and how this leads to and sustains inequality through different kinds of semiotic data, which can be written, spoken or visual in social and political contexts (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). CDS researchers explicitly aim to ‘understand,

expose, and ultimately resist social inequality' (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). It is important to note that even with an analysis of social phenomena in terms of power and social inequality, Wodak and Meyer (2016) state that a critical perspective in this context does not mean a negative approach *per se* but that the aim is to demonstrate how discourses play a part in creating and sustaining specific views on social phenomena.

More simply put, 'critical' means starting with a social problem and then examining how it is presented through influential discourses such as those found in mainstream media. A CDS perspective on media texts thus means an analysis that works with the idea that media are not objective but instead present or 'frame' issues and events in certain ways in order to highlight specific positions (O'Keeffe, 2011). Thus, I understand news media to be formulated and contrived, projecting a certain type of perspective that uses what has been called frames (explained in detail below in section 3.2.1). In CDS, power is understood as 'a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members of) a less powerful group' (van Dijk, 1993, p. 10). Power, as explained in the quote, is both social and institutional. Critical discourse researchers believe that power relations are always discursive, meaning that the discourse (re)produces and maintains power relations. Analysts believe that the discourse used to articulate power relations becomes normative because it is rearticulated through individuals and by institutions furthering power divides (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The concept of 'discourse' is conceptualised differently dependent on the field of study and the mode of analysis and is often a contested term. As such, there is no unified method to the study of discourse, for discourse can generally mean spoken or written communications, or it can have more specific definitions. In the interest of studying social practices, the term discourse is often attributed to a codified language attached to a social practice, for instance, media discourse, news discourse, legal discourse, etc. More specifically, Fairclough (2003) suggests this can be described as discourse as an abstract noun, for it sets conventionalised

rules creating genres and abstract expectations (so, for example, studies analyse “media discourse” and “news discourse”).

Discourse can also be conceptualised as the ways we think and talk about a specific subject and how this seeks to influence and reflect on the ways, both others and we think and act (refer to Foucault, 1972, 1980). For instance, a discourse as a count noun, is more specific where certain viewpoints are realised and are used to persuade audiences to think in a certain way about an event or group of people, etc. (Fairclough, 2003). This is related to discourse studies about “anti-immigration discourse”, “anti-obesity discourse”, “redevelopment discourse” and “gentrification discourse”, etc.

For this thesis, I am proposing to use theories of discourse set forth by Fairclough (2003). For example, I will seek to understand the specific “redevelopment discourse” and “gentrification discourse” (count-noun) that can be found in popular Pittsburgh newspapers’ reporting of the development in the Hill District. In examining these specific discourses – using, as I will explain below the idea of frames and frame analysis – I will also examine specific aspects of what can be seen as “newspaper discourse” (abstract noun), for example by looking at the use of reporting verbs in my chosen news articles.

To achieve a critical analysis of discourse (abstract noun and count noun), CDS recognises the need for two levels of analysis (i.e., macro and micro). A macro analysis examines the social and political contexts that give rise to power structures, so pursues sociological type of research. While CDS is primarily a text-based approach, an important aspect of all CDS studies is that context must be considered, understood, and applied to the textual analysis. CDS analysts believe that texts cannot be separated from their context, both their textual context (e.g., paragraphs), as well as situational contexts (events to which a text relates or in which it is used, e.g., a prime minister’s speech as an event) and the wider political, social, and historical context they are part of.

In CDS, the social phenomena are at the study’s heart and how they are manifested in discourse drive the study, thereby considering the text in its contexts (i.e., the interrelation of macro [wider contexts] and micro [more immediate contexts]). A

text is a trace of discourse (Fairclough, 2003) and can be explained through the layers of context surrounding the text. Thus, microanalysis is focused on the understanding of the semiotic features of spoken, written, and visual texts that (re-)produce ideologies and legitimate actions (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001).

Another aspect of CDS that is important to note is the purposeful use of the term “studies” rather than “analysis” (e.g., critical discourse analysis; CDA). Due to the acknowledgement that critical discourse analysis does not provide a unified method to analyse discourse, many researchers (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; van Dijk, 2014) have suggested a move from the term ‘analysis’ to that of ‘studies’ in order to reflect that CDS provides a toolbox, or in other words varied approaches (of theories, methodologies, frameworks, etc.) to choose from. For the purposes of this thesis, the ‘toolbox’ I am utilising consists of three elements, (1) frame analysis – a type of discourse analysis that asks how a problem is defined, what causes, solutions and consequences are identified, (2) discursive news value analysis (DVNA) and (3) source and reported speech analysis. In my toolbox, I bring these three elements together to understand the representation of the 2014 Hill District redevelopment in leading Pittsburgh news media.

3.2 News Discourse

News discourse refers to the conventionalised practices and interactions that occur through the news (e.g., written in newspapers and magazines, or spoken in radio, television, and broadcast news, etc.) (O’Keeffe, 2011). This includes both spoken and written discourse that is ‘oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer’ (O’Keeffe, 2011, p. 441). As the discourse is oriented for the audience, news discourse is not spontaneous but strategic - it ‘is a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction’ meant to inform or persuade (O’Keeffe, 2011, p. 441). From a CDS lens, news discourse is understood as contributing to maintaining the power of specific groups or the influence of particular people by means of how issues or events are represented. But of course, the opposite can occur, and news discourse can function to disrupt or challenge existing power structures (further explained in section 3.2.1.4 co-existence and counter-frames). Thus, news

discourse is persuasive and strategic, and this can be capture through the theory of frames.

3.2.1 Frames

Goffman (1974) suggests that the world cannot be fully understood, especially in situations when confronted with new information—and thus, to understand the world, we apply interpretive ‘frameworks’ (Goffman, 1974, p. 24). As such, a basic understanding of a “frame” is that it enables readers to better grasp issues by turning ‘meaningless’ aspects ‘into something meaningful’ (Goffman, 1974, pp. 21-22). Other general definitions of frames exist in research spanning communication studies, psychology, and other subjects (see e.g., D’Angelo, 2002; Matthes, 2009; Matthes, 2012). Frames can be described as ‘organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world’ (Reese, 2001, p. 11), or as ‘interpretative packages’ (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3) that are formed to understand social phenomena and related events or situations. As it can be seen, these definitions of a frame are not specific enough to offer a way to operationalise and analyse frames, but they provide an overall conception of a “frame” (Matthes, 2009).

Unlike the more general definitions described above, Entman (1993) offers a definition that makes it much easier for researchers to examine how a frame works. Put simply, Entman (1993) suggests that frames are the product of a framing process, which is most concerned with ‘selection and salience’ (p. 52). Entman (1993) gives the following definition that is the most readily quoted in existing research and the definition I adopt in this thesis:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe (p. 53).

Salience can be achieved when certain aspects of an event or issue are more prominent in a text in terms of placement, repetition, or in relating with familiar cultural symbols (Entman, 1933). In achieving salience, the frame focuses attention on particular aspects of an issue or event, and consequently draws attention away from others. This is important because, as Entman (1993) argues, 'the omission of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions' (p. 54).

Since Entman's (1993) more specific frame definition was published, there has been a rise in frame analysis studies—researchers have benefitted twofold; 1) having a definition that can be operationalised, and 2) a growing body of frame analysis research that other researchers in turn, can draw from and build upon, advancing the study of frames. The growing body of frame analysis studies spans various methods, including content analysis and discourse analysis techniques, among others (D'Angelo, 2002; Fowler et al., 1979; Boesman et al., 2015).

Entman's (1993) model, a seminal piece in frame research, emphasises intention in news writing and accepts the idea that frames are adopted strategically in the communicative process. Moreover, Entman (1991, 1993) is clear that the act of news framing can become political, as news producers employ frames that are often sponsored by political actors in order to guide the audience's interpretation of political, social and economic issues.

Furthermore, Entman (1993) describes framing as the journalistic process of selecting, structuring, and reporting news. In this process, the news producers decide how the issue will be approached, offering an assessment of the problem, identifying causes and consequences, and proposing solutions. Entman (1993) refers to problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and solution recommendation as the four frame elements or functions of a frame. Furthermore, Entman (1993) argues that the most influential role is 'the communicator' or in the case of news media, the news producer because they are responsible for organising the information for the audience. Entman (1993) states, 'communicators make framing judgments by deciding what details of a story to tell others; the details communicators choose are guided by the already existing

frames that organise their own belief systems' (p. 52). Nonetheless, the content is selected in an attempt to make it more salient using chosen framing elements and linguistic techniques. Thus, the analysis of frames 'illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location - such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel - to that consciousness' (Entman, 1993, pp. 51-52). It is important to note, however, that Entman (1993) has argued that while the four functional features or elements constitute a frame, they are not all necessarily present in every text. Building upon this, van Gorp (2007) notes that the frame elements may be shared amongst several of the employed frames in a news article –so that a frame can have unique elements, as well as shared elements with other frames.

Frame analysis is among the most common ways of analysing news discourse (Bryant & Miron, 2004; Matthes, 2009) and is often referred to as a "strategic" type of discourse analysis (Bryant & Miron, 2004)—strategic because researchers study texts and images to understand how the problem is defined in the texts and images, how the causes of the defined problem are presented, the subsequent consequences, and how any proposed solutions are presented—thus providing a comprehensive understanding of how the event or issue is presented in the news. Framing theory is a widely used theory in media and communication research (Bryant & Miron, 2004) as well as in areas of linguistics, sociology, human geography, and discourse analysis (Mendes, 2011; Hallahan, 1999). In areas of research focused on studying social movements, scholars rely on frame analysis to expose journalists' underlying evaluations (Benford & Snow, 2000). Thus, framing is a theory for analysing and understanding how social reality is constructed and communicated. In addition to social reality construction, Entman (1993) has written that 'the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text' (p. 51).

Just as news producers employ frames through the language of a news text, frames can also be employed through news images and captions (Coleman, 2010; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hallahan, 2008; Tuchman, 1972; Tuchman et al., 1978). Photographs, captions, and other graphics that accompany the news article often

function as supporting evidence in the presentation of the news (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hallahan, 2008). Therefore, the analysis of news images and captions are important to my overall frame analysis, as the news image may align and support or misalign and contradict the frame from the news article (described further in section 3.2.1.3).

3.2.1.1 *Frames, Reasoning Devices and Framing Devices*

In Entman's seminal description of a frame (1993), problem definition, causal evaluation, solution recommendation and moral evaluation are also known as reasoning devices (also referred to as frame elements). These reasoning devices are part of the frame, where 'the media provide the public not only with information on the event itself but also on how it should be interpreted' (van Gorp, 2007, p 65). These reasoning devices are believed to be 'activated' through framing devices (van Gorp, 2007, p. 65) which can include linguistic and rhetorical tools, such as metaphors, selection of sources, catchphrases, lexical choices, etc. (Gamson & Lash, 1983; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, 2001). Below (Table 3.1) is a table that provides an overview of possible linguistic and rhetorical devices.

Table 3.1 Overview of Framing Devices: Qualitative news frame analysis [Adapted from Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Kitzinger, 2007; Tankard, 2001; van Gorp & Vercruyse, 2012]

Category	Examples
Linguistic and other written/grammatical devices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Word choice; Metaphors; Exemplars; Catchphrases Key words Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgement
Technical rhetorical devices (elements of news-writing, layout)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Layout and Structure: Headlines; Subheadings; Photo captions; Leads Page placement (front page, etc.) All sources of information in the article How are they identified Where is the quote placed in the story Quoting experts to claim empirical validity or facticity Quoting official sources to link certain points of view to authority Quoting a social deviant to marginalise certain points of view

A particularly poignant way to activate a reasoning device is through metaphors (a framing device). Some frame analysis studies find that metaphors are so central to the representation of a particular event or issue that they function as the core around which the rest of the framing and reasoning devices are employed (see e.g., Joris, et al, 2014). Schön (1979) writes about ‘generative metaphors’ and argues that ‘the framing of problems often depends on the metaphors underlying the stories that generate problem setting and set the direction for problem solving’ (p. 138) for generative metaphors produce meaning by carrying knowledge from one domain of understanding to another. An example of how the two domains is linked (i.e., problem-setting and problem-solving) is the example of representing slums as ‘blight’. When slums are represented as blight in terms of problem-setting, the solution is to rid the area of slums. This transition of slum as blight to slum elimination, is due to the metaphor domain ‘blight’, as it is seen as disease and if we carry the knowledge of how diseases work/spread, it follows that the solution to cure disease is to that eliminate slums because otherwise the disease would spread and worsen. Thus, the metaphors of disease set slums as a problem when represented as blight, and thus this sets the direction of the problem solving; the solution is to eliminate slums in the area to cure it from disease or blight. Schön (1979) suggests that ‘metaphors derive their normative force from certain purposes and values, certain normative images, which have long been powerful in our culture’ (p. 147)—which is to say that metaphors have a significant impact for influencing public and political support for different policies.

3.2.1.2 Frame Identification

Within the breadth of frame research, varied approaches to identify frames have emerged. Two such approaches include the deductive approach and the inductive approach—where the latter can be further broken down into a hermeneutic approach, a linguistic approach, and a computer-assisted approach (for a detailed review see Matthes & Kohring, 2008). For the purposes of this thesis, I am utilising the hermeneutic approach for frame identification. I will now explain why.

The inductive approach is noted as capable of capturing change –it can aid in identifying separate frames that discuss the same issue in a single text or in a range of texts published over a period of time, such as the news articles in my data set. In the hermeneutic approach, a sub-category of the inductive analysis, frames are identified through a thorough reading of texts, which are then described in-depth (no quantification of their employment is provided with exception of Chapter 9 which has minimal quantification of frame dominance). Moreover, researchers using this approach rely on their understanding of the context relevant to the text and the issue that is being framed (in my case the redevelopment of the Hill District) to inform their inductive analyses (Boni, 2002; Coleman & Dysart, 2005; Downs, 2002; Haller & Ralph, 2001; Hanson, 1995; Tucker, 1998). Therefore, the hermeneutic approach is often used in CDS as it prioritises close reading of texts (common in CDS) and considers framing in relation to the wider context (social, political, economic, cultural) relating to the text in question (as CDS does too, see above).

Some researchers (Matthes & Kohring, 2008) point out that a weakness of the hermeneutic approach could be transparency as the approach is highly reliant on the researcher describing his/her coding system to identify the emergent frames, and as such the hermeneutic approach could be seen as subjective. However, while the hermeneutic approach may be criticised for subjectivity, it still allows for a wider breadth of linguistic elements and framing devices to be analysed (compared to other approaches see Matthes & Kohring, 2008) and can be used effectively if the researcher is transparent throughout the data analysis (i.e., providing a careful description of the coding process; Downs, 2002). Moreover, the lack of quantification could also be seen as a weakness, but such detailed studies can be used as a starting point for a follow-up quantitative analysis.

One of the most systematic methods of conducting a hermeneutic frame analysis is van Gorp's (2007, 2010) matrix coding. This involves a close reading of the texts (and images) and iterative open coding to fill in a blank frame matrix, which is essentially a table that shows the components of a frame (e.g., reasoning devices and framing devices; see Chapter 4 Methodology for further explanation). The

method is repetitious and continuous, as all the texts included in a study are analysed.

In order to begin the process, the researcher reads each news article in the data set, and fills in, for each article, a frame matrix with the reasoning devices (problem definition, causal evaluation, solution recommendation and moral evaluation – as per Entman's 1993 definition, see above). In addition to identifying reasoning devices (the elements that constitute a frame), the research identifies framing devices that help convey the frame's reasoning devices (e.g., lexical choices, metaphors, use of sources; van Gorp, 2010, Table 3.1).

Once a matrix has been completed for each article, the researcher begins the process of reading and rereading the matrixes and articles to identify commonalities and differences in the framing and reasoning devices—this is so that the researcher can begin the process of summarising the reasoning devices and framing devices that make up the frame and start identifying frames. If some of the news articles and news images employ more than one frame, the frame matrix is split into separate matrixes (one matrix for each frame).

Again, it is important to note that the inductive process of identifying frames using the frame matrix and open-coding is circular and involves reading and rereading of the articles. It is a process of constant comparison (van Gorp, 2010) where the frame matrixes are constantly compared to identify commonalities and differences across the reasoning and framing devices.

3.2.1.3 Frames in News images

Mass media communications are seldom mono-modal, and therefore a multimodal analysis is necessary (i.e., analysis of words and visuals). Further, news images may attract more attention than a written text, and the combination of image and written text may increase readers' memory and recall (Dan, 2018). In Entman's (1993) and van Gorp's (2010) understanding of frames news images are a framing device, similar to metaphors, whereas I argue that they function as texts (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2012; Coleman, 2010; Dan, 2018) and thus can be analysed

for the reasoning devices they convey (Table 3.2). This method will be described at length in Chapter 4 Methodology.

Generally, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) accounts for, what Kress (2011) describes as, 'textual threads' which can include 'gesture, speech, image (still or moving), writing, music (on a website or in a film)' (p. 36). These multi-dimensional tools work together to form a multimodal text. Furthermore, MMDA argues that language is just one among the many resources for meaning making and if only language is considered, the researcher will only identify a partial understanding of meaning, not a full account. In MMDA all modes are treated as equal in their capacity to create meaning. The approach utilised in this thesis also treats the two modes that are found in my data, images and texts, as equally important to analyse. It foregrounds the importance of considering image-text relations and it borrows some of the tools of multimodal discourse analysis.

Martinec and Salway (2005) write about image-text relations in terms of supporting or contradicting each other—in other words, they suggest that an image can support a part or the whole of the text it is anchored to, and in some cases can contradict or be in contrast to the accompanied text. This relates to framing, as a frame that is elaborated in the text may only be partially present in the image (i.e., only a particular reasoning device is identifiable in the image, whereas the fuller account of the frame is elaborated in the text).

This thesis considers the importance of the visual-verbal relationship and as such analyses both modes to garner a full understanding of the framing employed in the news articles. The analysis reflects a reader's reading experience, for I assume that the visual – in order to be interpreted and understood - needs to be anchored to a text (Martinec & Salway, 2005). In other words, I suggest that the normal reader would look at the image and read the text and thus their interpretation of the image would be influenced by their reading of the article. Therefore, I start with the analysis of the texts followed by the analysis (for the same framing & reasoning devices) of the visuals.

Dan (2018) has conducted one of the most extensive and recent reviews of such visual-verbal frame analysis research. In response to the shortcomings of previous

studies, she proposes an integrative framework that seeks to analyse frames in both the visual and verbal in a text(s). While Dan (2018) describes her method as integrative, her procedure separates the texts from their accompanying images to analyse each for reasoning devices. Dan (2018) then uses a formula that indicates a ratio of congruence between verbal frames and visual frames—this is to identify whether the text-based frames or photo-based frames of the news article are more dominant and more likely to influence the readers' understanding of the issue discussed in the news article. More simply put, she analyses text and image separately and brings them together using her formula. In the case of this thesis, I start with the text and the analysis of the accompanying image is guided by the analysis of the text—bringing the two together in a more organic and qualitative way, which can be argued is also closer to the readers' experience. For this reason, I analyse the news images for frames just as I do with the textual components of the news articles (see Table 3.2 and Chapter 4 Methodology).

Table 3.2 Overview of Framing Devices in Images [Adapted from Kress, 2011; Machin, 2007; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Rose, 2007]

Category	Examples
Topic and composition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual representation of text of ideas/views that are also expressed in the written text (i.e., topic) • Foregrounding/ backgrounding • Setting • Colour • Layout
Visual features, objects, and elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual representation of text in terms of features, objects, and elements (e.g., people, objects, actions/movement)

3.2.1.4 Co-existence and counter-frames

Journalists write from a specific point of view, making judgements about issues or events and therefore frame these issues or events in a certain way. Following this then, events and issues are often understood differently amongst news producers, political actors, readers, or more broadly, in society, and therefore there may be a debate on what aspects of an event or issue should be given more salience.

As events and issues can be seen and understood in different ways, from different perspectives, there can be a co-existence of frames within a single news article. For instance, van Gorp (2007) suggests that news producers can incorporate multiple frames in a news text, especially as an event can be defined or explained in different ways, and as such 'a topic may be framed in several ways, and a frame may be applied to various topics' (p. 66). A news producer can incorporate multiple frames within a text; while one is usually presented as dominant, other frames can operate as mutually reinforcing frames or as counter-frames.

In the process of framing, we can assume those with more *power* sponsor the more well-known or agreed-upon frame. Consequently, the belief that a different aspect of an event or issue should be made more salient is possible, and particularly relevant when considering grassroots organisations or those opposite to those in power. The process of challenging more prominent framing is defined as counter-framing (Benford & Snow, 2000). Counter-framing is often analysed as a denial of another frame in an attempt to neutralise 'a person's or group's myths, versions of reality, or interpretive framework' (Benford, 1987, p. 5). The main goal in a counter-frame (also referred to as re-framing) is to provide a different or opposite perspective to the frame (Goffman, 1974). In this process, existing meanings and understandings are often discarded and thus redefined by the "re-framers" (Bales, 2009; Benford & Hunt, 1994; Snow et al., 1986). A frame and its counter-frame can sometimes be seen when a news producer presents both sides of an argument in an effort to meet journalistic practices of 'analytical and procedural fairness' (Schudson, 2001, p. 161). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) suggest that 'it is useful to think of [frames] dialectically. There is no [frame] without a counter [frame]. The [frame] is conventional and normative; the counter- [frame] is adversarial and contentious' (p. 6). As such, it is possible that a counter-frame may not be explicitly employed in a text but is implicitly addressed or referred to.

In relation to Entman's (1993) reasoning devices, the re-frame is typically opposite to the frame - what is proposed as a solution in the frame, tends to be presented as a problem in the re-frame. For example, Atanasova and Koteyko's (2016) research shows that the popular frames on obesity centre around weight as problematic for health and the economy and therefore suggest that changing

one's consumption, lifestyle, and general outlook is the solution. In contrast, the counter-frames of obesity presented the outlook on weight as the problem, not weight itself—thus switching the places of the problem definition and the solution.

Analysing for counter-frames is an important aspect of the thesis, for it is important to consider the redevelopment of the Hill District through the lens of those most affected by it: the community. As Chapter 2 has shown, urban redevelopment can have negative consequences for those living in the affected area, through the process of gentrification. With regards to the Hill District, the community itself tried to shape the redevelopment plans. Whether the community's views are represented in the main media is therefore relevant. Atanasova and Koteyko (2016) suggest that grassroot movements are often not covered in mainstream media. Furthermore, these social movements often find it difficult to get media coverage and even when activists gain coverage, the media may skew or modify the message (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2016; Kensicki, 2001). Therefore, when a counter-frame is included with a depiction of the grassroot organisation's concerns in mainstream media it can be seen as a success (refer to Chapter 9). As part of this thesis, I look into whether and how the Hill District community and its views are included in the main media's reporting of the redevelopment, in other words, were their views part of a frame.

3.2.2 News Values

News values are the concepts 'that determine what makes something newsworthy –worthy of being news' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 40). Following others, I argue that in order to construct newsworthiness, the news producer chooses the most important or newsworthy aspect of an event or issue to make more salient. Thus, the news producer frames the event in a certain way (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, 2012b; Bell, 1991; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). In other words, we can see here how framing and news values are linked (for further explanation of integrative approach, see also 3.2.2.2 below).

News values are defined as the values or qualities that are judged as making a story newsworthy (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, 2012b; Bednarek, 2016; Cotter, 2010). On

the question “what is news”, researchers (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Bell, 1991; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; among others) have argued that news values are the factors that influence the selection and presentation of an event or issue as ‘news’ in news media.

Researchers conceptualise newsworthiness as both inherent and constructed, in that, aspects of events, issues, or the actors involved could be inherently newsworthy and evoke news values widely recognised by journalists and audience members (e.g., ‘said Trump’ is inherently newsworthy because he is an elite figure) (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, 2012b). For the purposes of this thesis, I am most concerned with constructed newsworthiness because redevelopments, as in the Hill District, while inherently newsworthy in terms of the invoked promise of change, can be further construed as news through devices like news values. Scholars have defined news values in different ways, with some of the most widely cited definitions being:

- news values are “the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore to judge the ‘newsworthiness’ of events” and to “select, order and prioritise the collection and production of news” (Richardson, 2007, p. 91);
- news values are “the values by which one ‘fact’ is judged more newsworthy than another” (Bell, 1991, p. 155);
- “news values are the (*imagined*) preferences of the expected audience” (Richardson, 2007: p. 94, *italics in original*);
- news values are “the qualities that make a news item ‘newsworthy’” (Cotter, 2010, p. 67).

Galtung and Ruge (1965) first came up with the idea of news values while investigating why some foreign events become news (are reported as news) in Norwegian newspapers and others not. Their conceptualisation of news values led to a list of twelve news values. Following their study, critiques of their data type and size (i.e., Norwegian newspapers, foreign affairs only, newspaper-focus) arose, and other scholars began to develop their own understandings of news values (Bell, 1991; Harcup & O’Neill, 2001, 2017; Jewkes, 2004; Schultz, 2007). The many lists of news values that have been subsequently developed range in type. For instance, there are specific lists for different types of news (e.g., crime, sports, science), for specific media types (e.g., television, newspapers), and lists derived

through different means (e.g., ethnography, content analysis, etc.). However, there are many similarities across these lists. This led Bednarek and Caple (2012a) to conduct an extensive literature review that considered links, overlaps, and theoretical issues across the various existing understandings of newsworthiness, which culminated in their widely accepted framework to identify and analyse news values.

News values can be analysed through different perspectives, 1) material perspective, 2) cognitive perspective, and 3) discursive perspective. For the purposes of my research and the data chosen, a discursive perspective is the most comprehensive.

News values themselves can be approached from at least three different perspectives: a focus on the potential newsworthiness of an event in its material reality (a 'material' perspective); a focus on news workers' beliefs or judgments about the newsworthiness of an event for their target audience (a 'cognitive' perspective); a focus on how news production texts (press release, interviews, published story...) construct the newsworthiness of an event through language, photography, etc. (a 'discursive' perspective) (Caple & Bednarek, 2014, p. 5).

The discursive analysis of news values works to examine texts to analyse contents and purposes of the language, as 'discursive strategies may establish, select, or emphasise specific values' (Bednarek, 2016, p. 28). As such, I am concerned with the newsworthiness in the process of reporting and editing news about redevelopments in a part of Pittsburgh and how news values are construed in news articles about this redevelopment. For the purpose of this thesis, I will primarily rely on Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) news values framework (see Table 3.3 below) and will only be adapting it by adding to it one news value - "positivity" adopted from Harcup and O'Neill's framework (2001, 2017). The adaptation to the framework is a necessary decision made based on the data, for the data suggests the event or issue is positive and similarly there is clear use of positive lexis. As Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) framework does not include the Positivity news value, adapting the framework by using another leading

framework in news value analysis (i.e., Harcup and O'Neill, 2001, 2017) is necessary.

Table 3.3 News Values in Texts [Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 41]

Bednarek and Caple's (2012a, p. 41) News Value Framework	
Negativity	Negative aspects of an event
Timeliness	The relevance of the event in terms of time
Proximity	The geographical and/or cultural nearness of the event
Prominence	The high status of the individuals (e.g. celebrities, politicians), organisations or nations involved in the event, including quoted sources
Consonance	The extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes that people may hold about the events and people portrayed in it
Impact	The effects or consequences of an event
Novelty	The unexpected aspects of an event
Superlativeness	The maximised or intensified aspects of an event
Personalisation	The personal or human-interest aspects of an event

3.2.2.1 News Values in news images

News values can also be conveyed in modes such as image and sound. Scholars like Machin and Mayr (2012), Hodge and Kress (1993), and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) offer tools to analyse images and text-image interaction. Their approach is based on the assumptions that images are not truth-telling and objective because images are always selective (chosen what they depict) and they are crafted (perspective, size, colour, foreground, background etc.), for the incorporation of multi-modes helps create meaning. DNVA follows the same premises and not only questions the meaning created and represented in images but also analyses 'inaccuracies, sensationalism, and media panics' (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 53).

Images can play an important role in the creation of a newsworthy story, if not a more important role than words do in news writing (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, 2012b; Caple, 2013; Caple & Bednarek, 2014). As in language, news values in images are the concepts 'that determine what makes something newsworthy—worthy of being news' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 40) and both frames and news

values help us understand how issues are represented (see Chapter 4 Methodology for the news values in news images analytical framework).

Table 3.4 News Values in Images [Adapted from Bednarek & Caple, 2017, pp. 110-125]

News Values in Images	
Consonance	The event is discursively constructed as (stereo)typical (limited here to news actors, social groups, organisations, or countries/nations)
Prominence	The event (including but not limited to the people, countries, or institutions involved) is discursively constructed as of high status or fame
Impact	The event is discursively constructed as having significant effects or consequences (not necessarily limited to the impact on the target audience)
Negativity (& Positivity)	The event is discursively constructed as negative (positive)
Personalisation	The event is discursively constructed as having a personal or 'human' face (involving non-elite actors, including eyewitnesses)
Proximity	The event is discursively constructed as geographically or culturally near (in relation to the publication location/target audience)
Superlativeness	The event is discursively constructed as being of high intensity or large scope/ scale
Timeliness	The event is discursively constructed as timely in relation to the publication date: as new, recent, ongoing, about to happen, current, or seasonal
Unexpectedness/Novelty	The event is discursively constructed as unexpected, for example, as unusual, strange, rare
Aesthetic Appeal	The event is discursively constructed as beautiful

For Bednarek and Caple (2012a, 2012b), news values relate to the showing of events and the actors involved in the news images (i.e., discursive perspective), which is to say that events can be depicted in certain ways in visual images to make them look more newsworthy, and that specific actors can be chosen to be included in pictures, to make the event/situation reported more newsworthy. Similar to what I suggested above about the links between news values, expressed in words and frames, the depiction of the events or people is also related to how news frames are established.

3.2.2.2 *News Values and Frame Analysis*

Just as framing is comprised of selection and salience (Entman, 1993), so too are news values; news producers draw on news values to select what will become news, separating what is newsworthy (or can be construed as newsworthy) and the rest of the information, events, and issues available for news coverage (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Thus, news value analysis can be a useful tool in the analysis of news frames.

Gans (1979), Bell (1991), and van Gorp (2007) have commented on how news values may shape how events and issues are framed in the news. More specific to the study of news frames, van Gorp (2007) argues that the analysis of news values can be helpful for understanding frames. While van Gorp (2007) makes this argument about news values and frames being linked, he does not offer much detail on it, other than suggesting that news values held by journalists and editors can be 'tied in with frame(s)' (p. 67).

Boesman et al. (2015) have investigated how news values relate to the construction of frames in news articles on Belgian Syria fighters. They found that the news values of human interest and proximity (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) helped shift the focus from one frame to another frame (Missing Children frame to the Pact with the Devil frame) by emphasising certain reasoning devices. Similarly, Boesman and van Gorp (2018) argue that news values should not be considered as a precursor to a frame but as its driving force. More specifically, Bell (1991), states that 'news values drive the way news stories are gathered, structured and presented [...] leading to events being framed in a particular way' (p. 247). Despite these researchers highlighting the way news values and frames are linked in that they show how news values occur together with certain reasoning devices, they have not shown in any detail how news values occur together with frames specifically in media texts. My thesis seeks to help fill this gap in research by combining such analyses. News media requires framing 'to establish the significance of what is being told, to focus the events, and to justify claiming the audience's attention' (Bell, 1991, p. 152), and as such, some news values co-occur

with some frames but perhaps not others, which is important to help understand the frame (i.e., what is construed as positive or negative etc.).

3.2.3 News Sources, Frame Sponsors, and Reported Speech

Framing is about selection and salience, and news values theory is perhaps the most elaborate theory of news selection. As already stated, news values analysis helps us understand why certain events or issues are selected for coverage, but also how they are covered (e.g., what aspects of the event or issue are construed as positive, negative, impactful, etc., as linked to news values such as Positivity, Negativity, Impact, etc.). Furthermore, frames in news articles are often elaborated by sources. Different sources may be included in support of different frames and these sources may be introduced in different ways (for example as direct quotes or indirect speech, using different reporting verbs, etc.). For instance, not all sources have equal access to the news and not all sources are treated equally—in terms of types of quotation and how the quotes are introduced (e.g., a neutral reporting verb like 'said' could present the content of the quote in a different light than a verb like 'claim' which could cue the reader to view the statement with some doubt). Accordingly, and following Gamson and Modigliani (1989), in this study as part of the frame analysis I examine sources or "frame sponsors". Frame sponsors are often individuals or organisations in power (i.e., elite, politicians, corporations, etc.). Their 'sponsorship is more than merely advocacy,' (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 6) and involves activities like interviews, speeches, and advertising to promote preferred frames. In my study I look at how frame sponsors are used in news articles that discuss redevelopment plans for a neighbourhood of Pittsburgh, the Hill District.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) argue that frame sponsors contribute to how a frame is created and elaborated. Frames can be elaborated by different sources in a news article, but the link between frames and sources has been rarely investigated to date (but see discussion in D'Angelo, 2002; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; van Gorp, 2007). Closely related to the use of sources elaborating frames, is the question of how the source and what he/she says is introduced by the

journalist. However, little research has considered reported speech and the incorporation of reported speech in frame construction and employment (Boesman et al., 2015; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Kensicki, 2001; Strömbäck et al., 2013). Therefore, in addition to examining frame sponsors, I argue that reported speech and its incorporation (via the use of reporting verbs) should also be considered when conducting a close analysis of framing in news media. The following paragraph first surveys the theories behind frame sponsorship before explaining the concepts of reported speech and reporting verbs.

News media research often posits the news producer as the one actively creating frames or relying on journalistic techniques (O’Keeffe, 2011), and while news producers edit the text before print, it is important to note that all reported speech is first framed by the speaker—for the speaker has their own motivations, values and beliefs on the event or issue they are being interviewed about. However, in the context of a specific news article, what matters is the journalist’s reasons for selecting and including a specific source. As explained above, this selection is linked to how an issue such as, in my case, urban redevelopment in a part of Pittsburgh, is framed. Sponsors may seek to influence news reporting and may promote their own perspective—i.e., their framing ‘by prior strategic decision making regarding the manner in which they will announce their viewpoints’ (van Gorp, 2007, p. 68).

While frame sponsorship is often associated with people and organisations in power, it is important to consider grassroots organisations and “everyday” people—just as we consider frames and counter-frames. For instance, ‘social movement organisations are also important sponsors in this framing process’ (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 7) because they too are trying to actively shape the meaning of events and issues.

Just as sources are linked to frames, reported speech is linked to a frame’s employment. For instance, news producers use reporting verbs, direct and indirect speech when selecting sources and their views, in the context of how they construct their news article and relating what frame(s) they employ (Orgad, 2012). Reported speech can be incorporated into texts in many ways. For instance,

Fairclough (2003) differentiates four categories of reported speech (i.e., direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting, and narrative report of the speech act).

1. *Direct Reporting*: Quotation, purportedly the actual words of the quoted speaker/writer. Demarcated with quotation mark and a reporting clause (e.g., He said: 'She painted that the other day'). Direct reporting is regarded as the most 'faithful' and accurate type of embedded voice (Fairclough, 2003).
2. *Indirect Reporting*: seen as a summary where the content of what is said or written is the same, but the actual words of the utterance are not used. Indirect report does not require quotation marks but is usually marked with a reporting clause (He said she had painted the other day). Also, there is commonly a 'shift in tense (i.e., "he'll" becomes "he'd") and deixis ("now" becomes "then") of direct reports' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49).
3. *Free Indirect Speech*: Intermediate between direct and indirect—it has some of the tense and deixis shifts typical of indirect speech, but without a reporting clause (e.g., Mary gazed out of the window. *He would be there by now*. She smiled to herself.) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49).
4. *Narrative report of speech act*: Reports the sort of speech act without reporting its content (e.g., She made a prediction) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49)

These different types of reporting can be used in news media in combination with each other to present sources and statements in different ways, depending on what sources these are and on how these sources are being used by the author of the news article in the context of how they frame the event or issue being discussed.

In addition, a journalist's choice of reporting verb is relevant when, for example using indirect speech, as this choice is related to how the content of the selected text is used by the journalist to report on events and situation from one or more

perspectives (i.e., frames) and how the quoted ideas relate to any arguments the journalists propose (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). For analysis of the journalists' incorporation of reported speech, I will use the categories in Table 3.5 to find out what and how reporting verbs are used in the new articles and how they function in the frames.

Table 3.5 Reporting Verbs [Adapted from Caldas-Coulthard, 1994]

Speech-reporting verbs		
Neutral structuring		Say, tell, ask, enquire, reply, answer
Metapropositional	Assertives	Remark, explain, agree, assent, accept, correct, counter
	Directives	Urge, instruct, order
	Expressives	Accuse, grumble, lament, confess, complain, swear
Metalinguistic		Narrate, quote, recount
Transcript verbs		
Discourse signalling	Relation to other parts of discourse	Repeat, echo, add, emend
	Discourse progress	Pause, go on, hesitate, continued
Descriptive verbs		
Prosodic		Cry, intone, shout, yell, scream
Paralinguistic	Voice qualifier (manner)	Whisper, murmur, mutter
	Voice qualification (attitude)	Laugh, giggle, sign, gasp, groan

Of the reporting verb categories shown in Table 3.5, some are more strongly associated with news discourse than others, i.e., speech-reporting verbs and transcript verbs. Caldas-Coulthard's (1994) taxonomy classifies these categories according to the author's interpretation and evaluation of the utterance being reported. For instance, neutral structuring verbs (within the speech-reporting verbs category) are seen to be the most non-evaluative, where the journalist does not explicitly evaluate the content of what is reported (Caldas-Courthald 1994).

Metalinguistic and metapropositional verbs, on the other hand, have more illocutionary force controlled by the author and 'strongly convey the presence of

the author in the text, since outside the dialogue, the reader is presented with a verb that elucidates the author's intended illocutionary force' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987, p. 156). The first, metalinguistic verbs (e.g., quote, narrate), simply signal the utterance made, whereas metapropositional verbs not only signal but also reveal the author's position towards the content of the utterance. Metapropositional verbs are used to convince the reader of a specific position, that the author takes towards the content of the reported speech in order to support or oppose a specific frame.

Discourse signalling verbs (as part of the transcript verbs category) mainly guide the reader through the text (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987). Seen primarily in interview transcripts and with character development, authors use discourse signalling to set the scene and convey interaction. These can be strategically used to project character traits, for example, 'since hesitation, pauses, silences or interruptions can all encode attitudinal stances' (San Segundo, 2017, p. 112). As such, the Caldas-Coulthard (1994) reporting verb taxonomy will enable me to analyse how the reported speech contributes to how the issue is framed.

3.3 Theoretical Framework Summary

The overall orienting framework I draw on in this thesis, as explained in this chapter, is CDS. CDS orients the way I use media framing to analyse how the 2014 redevelopment of the Hill District is presented in prominent local news. In this study, I proposed an integrative approach to news article analysis that incorporates the analysis of frames, news values and sources to understand how the 2014 Hill District redevelopment is reported in mainstream Pittsburgh media.

As this chapter has explained, CDS is a critical approach to discourse that aims to expose how a social issue (like urban redevelopment) is discussed in discourse(s) that holds power, such as mainstream news discourse. A fruitful way of analysing this is the concepts of frames and counter-frames. For the purposes of this thesis, I rely on van Gorp's (2007, 2010) understanding of frames and how they are established, which relies on Entman's (1993) original model, with the difference

that I do not treat news images as framing devices, but instead analyse them at the same level as the text, similarly to Dan (2018) and Atanasova and Koteyko (2012). As part of understanding how frames present issues or events (in my case, the redevelopment of a part of Pittsburgh), I consider the role of news values and the importance of external actors (that is, sources and reported speech). News values, as essential elements in what makes events newsworthy through selection and salience, are part of how frames are constructed and how, in news texts, an event or issues is framed (see Boesman et al., 2015). As such, this thesis provides a comprehensive frame analysis, such as how news values and the use of sources and reported speech contribute to framing, more specifically, how those (frames, news values, and sources) contribute to the representation of the 2014 Hill District redevelopment in text and image in news media (Figure 3.1 below).

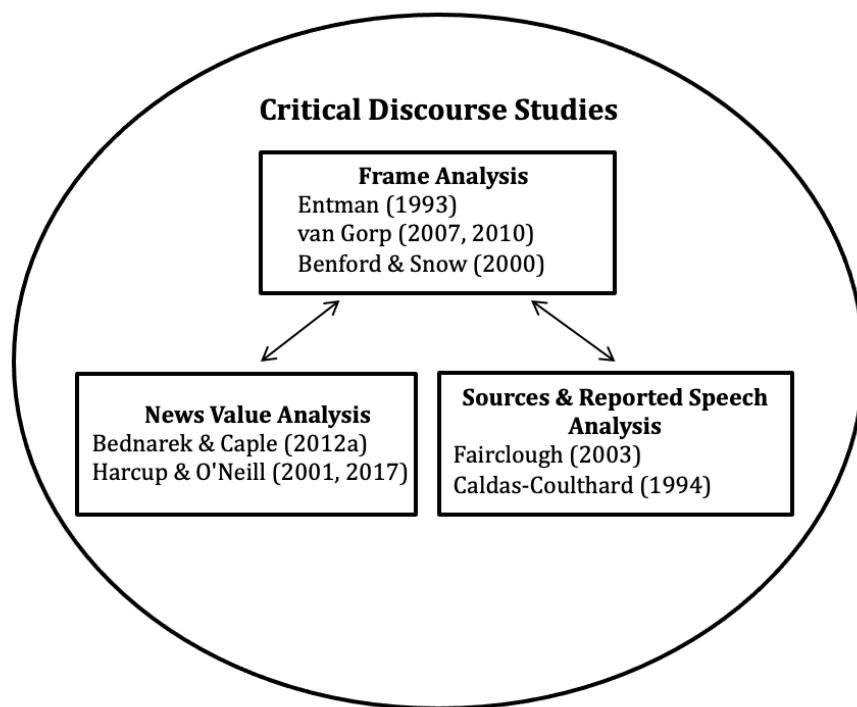


Figure 3.1 Visual Representation of the Theoretical Framework

Chapter 4: Methodology

Chapter 4 is devoted to examining the methodological approaches of the research at hand, which are chosen in line with the theoretical orientation of the thesis presented in Chapter 3. The chapter is divided into three major sections: data selection, methodological rationale, and analytical frameworks. The analytical frameworks section of the chapter is further broken down into frameworks and analyses of news frames, news values, and sources and reported speech, of which the analysis of frames and news values is conducted on both text and image.

4.1 Data Sample and Selection

The seven texts were strategically selected as each article reports on a major event as part of the history of the Hill District redevelopment (i.e., the announcement of the plan, the start of construction, etc.).

As stated in Chapter 3, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is, *inter alia*, concerned with exposing the use of power and, relatedly, social inequalities, and accordingly studies focus on how 'texts' seek to exert power through mediums like mainstream news, policy documents, advertisements, etc. Therefore, for my study, I have selected news texts from mainstream Pittsburgh newspapers. These newspapers have a wide readership and thus can be seen to be influential in how the redevelopment has been framed and how these frames have influenced public opinion. The newspapers I include are produced by established news companies, thus assumed to have economic resources and, in line with this, the ability to produce many copies and to have a wide readership. As will be described in detail below, the newspapers are sold and read widely, in online form and in some cases in print form, and thus with their wide readership and reception, the newspapers have the potential to influence public opinion and can be classified as powerful texts (KhosraviNik, 2015).

Generally, the newspapers that make up the data set are broadsheets representing a variety of perspectives: left-centre (*The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*), right-centre (*The Tribune Review*) and a nonaligned liberal viewpoint (*New Pittsburgh Courier*). The *Post-Gazette* and *Tribune-Review* editors have 'readily identified their newspapers as belonging to one philosophical camp as opposed to their competitors' (Hallock, 2007, p. 135). For instance, for much of the *Post-Gazette's* history it held a liberal perspective, however the agency was consolidated in 2018, and since then the editorial tone of the paper has shifted to conservative (Hallock, 2007). Despite the change in perspective, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newspaper remains the leading daily newspaper in the Pittsburgh area based on readership and subscriptions (in both print and online) (Top 10 Pennsylvania, 2021). The *Post-Gazette* suggests it has about 280,000 weekly readers (Statistics & Demographics, 2021).

Since its inception, the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* newspaper held a conservative perspective and functioned as a newspaper offering opposing viewpoints to those held in the *Post-Gazette*, particularly on topics of war, public policy, and political endorsements (Hallock, 2007). The *Tribune-Review* is the second leading daily newspaper in the Pittsburgh area with reaching over 164,000 readers during the week (Daily Newspaper, 2021).

While the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* are both daily broadsheet newspapers, the *New Pittsburgh Courier* is a weekly newspaper whose primary readership is the Black community. Since its establishment in 1907, the newspaper has focused on the empowerment of Black and marginalised citizens economically and politically and has tried to shift misrepresentations of Black Americans in the mainstream media (Buni, 1974). While the readership may not be as statistically relevant as its daily counterparts with over 5000 readers in the local Pittsburgh area (*Media Kit*, 2021), the highest percentage of their local readership comes from the Hill District (*Media Kit*, 2021) making the text especially relevant to the community. Moreover, the *New Pittsburgh Courier* had the third highest number of articles about the redevelopment in the period covered, and thus merited its inclusion in the data set.

The Pittsburgh newspapers that make up the data set all have online editions. In addition to the online publication, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* has a print format where the articles are similar to those published online. The *Tribune-Review* transitioned its services to fully online in 2016 (halfway through the data set) but remains the second leading newspaper in Pittsburgh. Finally, the *New Pittsburgh Courier* is a weekly newspaper that has published in print and online for many decades, and like the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, publishing both in print and online can be assumed to help increase circulation and increases readership. This is important because, according to Pew Research Centre, people in the United States are using other sources (e.g., social media, digital media, online news) to get their news more frequently than buying paper newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids) (Geiger, 2019). As such, online news holds particular power in the contemporary media landscape. Therefore, to fully identify and examine different discourses pertaining to an issue such as urban redevelopment and gentrification, a look beyond traditional print media is necessary.

I first selected 'powerful media' in terms of being prominent media sources based on reach and circulation in line with the CDS approach. Once I selected the newspapers, I then selected seven news articles published at key points of the redevelopment timeline. These seven news articles were selected in accordance with the criteria that the newspaper is a prominent media source in Pittsburgh, based on circulation and readership (i.e., see explanations of selected news sources above) and that the news article remarked on a key point in the redevelopment timeline. Key points in the timeline were identified by an increase in publications on a particular date about the Hill District redevelopment, which was also cross referenced and informed by political and situational contexts—such as debates or changes in the redevelopment deal (explained further below).

This meant that other less prominent news sources (e.g., blogs, magazines, tabloids) may have remarked on and had been published at key points of the redevelopment timeline but were not chosen as part of the data set due to the criteria. Similarly, the prominent newspapers may have sparingly published on aspects of the redevelopment at other times within the date range (see below) but

these articles were not chosen because they did not relate to a key point in the redevelopment timeline.

Table 4.1 Data Set

#	Headline	Journalist	Online Newspaper	Date Published
1	'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site'	Mark Belko	<i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>	10 September 2014
2	'Governor Joins Officials to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District'	Christian Morrow	<i>New Pittsburgh Courier</i>	25 March 2015
3	'Civic Arena plan unfair, group says'	Tom Fontaine	<i>Pittsburgh Tribune Review</i>	8 January 2016
4	Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property	Bob Bauder	<i>Pittsburgh Tribune Review</i>	31 October 2017
5	"Let's do something great" — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site'	Mark Belko	<i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>	8 March 2019
6	'Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site'	Mark Belko	<i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>	16 May 2019
7	'Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District'	Mark Belko	<i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>	14 June 2019

The collection process started with utilising the database Lexis Nexis, as well as key word searching on Google news, in order to gather a range of articles in the Pittsburgh news media about the redevelopment of the Hill District. On the Lexis Nexis database, I employed keywords such as, 'Hill District', 'Civic Arena', 'Redevelopment', 'Urban Renewal', 'Gentrification', 'Displacement', and 'Pittsburgh' in the date range of 1st January 2011 (when the Civic Arena was demolished)- 31st December 2019 (when data collection commenced). These dates were selected because the year 2011 was when the Civic Arena, the main development from the 1960s Urban Renewal plan, was demolished creating a parking lot in the Lower Hill district area which initiated conversations about how

to develop and revitalise the area (see to Chapter 5 for more detail). The 2019 end point for my search marks the start of my PhD study. The keywords chosen are not only prominent words in urban development and gentrification academic research, but also known terms used in the public domain to refer to the Hill District redevelopment plans. Furthermore, keyword searches prioritising terms like 'gentrification' and 'displacement' were also used in order to find texts that express a range of views on urban development, including those that are sceptical of redevelopment.

This search returned 198 articles, most predominately in *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newspaper (95 of the 198 were from *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 45 of the 198 were from *The Tribune Review*, and 58 of the 198 were from other lesser-known Pittsburgh publications). Upon closer inspection, 1 to 3 articles were published each month on the redevelopment negotiations and updates, but then in September 2014 there was a peak in the articles published on the topic, and this became the basis for looking more closely at that period. At a press conference given by Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto and the Pittsburgh Penguins Hockey Team on 9th September an announcement of a deal to transform the Hill District was made. Given that the announcement of the agreed plan to redevelop the district was likely to be significant in terms of the Hill District's future, I decided to focus my search further, particularly concentrating on the confirmed redevelopment deal set forth by the city and private investors. Therefore, I specified by search for articles around the 2014 redevelopment deal for the Lower Hill District.

The high volume of news media coverage of the redevelopment in September 2014 and the fact that the majority of the news articles overall (and during September 2014) were published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* influenced my selection of text 1 (see Table 4.1). As stated, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* is also the leading newspaper in Pittsburgh in both print and online news in terms of reach and subscribers (Top 10 Pennsylvania, 2021).

The remaining six texts from the total sample were published in different years – 2015 [1 article], 2016 [1 article], 2017 [1 article], and 2019 [3 articles] and they were chosen because they comment on a significant event or debate relating to the

2014 redevelopment plan. There are three articles chosen from 2019, as the redevelopment has had more significant debates and changes that year. A significant setback in 2019 in the redevelopment happened when the Pennsylvania Housing Finance Agency denied a grant that would have allowed for more federal funding rent controlled housing for people in low incomes—this meant that affordable housing remained a significant issue debated in the media. In addition to the setback, developers (i.e., Buccini/Pollin Group and Intergen) and investors (i.e., the city and Pittsburgh Penguins Ice Hockey Team) reimagined the plan once again in 2019 to include more entertainment and leisure venues (parks, theatres, restaurants, and shopping), whereas the earlier development plan had focused on housing and office buildings. Another significant occurrence in 2019 included the discussion of ‘the cap’, a park that would reconnect the Hill District to the downtown area of Pittsburgh (see Chapter 5 for more history and context). These major developments in 2019 explain why I selected three news articles in the data set from this year.

4.2 Overview of Research Questions, Data and Method

The three research questions below function as a process, where research questions two and three require a closer textual analysis to understand how the journalists form and employ the media frames in the prominent news articles. Research question four expands on the findings of RQs 1-3, with the disclaimer that the sample is selective and small. The analysis was done sequentially where the frame analysis was conducted first, and then the articles were analysed for news values and sources associated with the employed frame(s); in the final step, the news articles were looked at to consider if a frame was employed in a dominant role.

Table 1.1 Summary of research questions, data, and methods

Research Questions	Data	Methods	
1. How is the Hill District redevelopment framed in prominent Pittsburgh news media at key points in the redevelopment timeline?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Inductive frame analysis	(see Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010; Dan, 2018; Atanasova & Koteyko, 2012)
2. What are the news values within the redevelopment news coverage, and do certain news values tend to co-occur with certain frames?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Discursive news values analysis	(see Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Caple, 2013)
3. What are the sources quoted in the news articles and do certain sources and quotation strategies tend to co-occur with certain frames?	Analysis of text of seven news articles	Analysis of source types and reported speech	(see Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994)
4. How do frames that co-exist in one news article relate to each other?	Analysis of text and image of seven news articles	Analysis of co-existence of frames via frequency, news structure, visual-verbal repetition, and source hierarchy	(see Entman, 1993; Hall, 1978; Manning, 2001; Reese, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Powell et al., 2018; Tuchman, 1972)

4.3 Analytical Frameworks

4.3.1 Frame Analysis – Inductive Analysis

This section presents the inductive frame identification process used in this thesis. It describes the method of open coding to identify the news frames, how I made sure the frames were described in full, and an explanation of how I assessed the set of frames for completeness. For the purposes of this thesis, I conducted an interpretative, qualitative frame analysis. Connolly-Ahern and Broadway (2008) argue that a qualitative frame analysis allows for 'repeated and extensive engagement with a text and looks holistically at the material to identify frames' (p.

369). The qualitative approach that is used can further be described as inductive frame identification process (see Chapter 3), where frames are not pre-defined but identified based on the data, i.e., the news articles.

4.3.1.1 Open Coding and Constant Comparison of the News Articles

In order to identify the frames in each news article, I proceeded with a repetitious and continuous process which involves constant comparison (van Gorp, 2010) where frame elements are constantly compared.

The process of frame identification and open coding begins with an empty 'frame matrix' (van Gorp, 2010; see Table 4.3) where I read the news articles and identified excerpts that convey frame elements (Entman 1993; van Gorp, 2010) in order to fill in the frame matrix. With a set of 7 articles, as in my study, it was reasonable to assume that I would find more than one frame. However, the coding progress begins with the use of one empty frame matrix, as shown in Table 4.3. I identified in each news article in the data set how the problem is defined; what are the causes of the problem as defined; does the news producer identify possible consequences; and does he/she propose any solutions. As such, I conducted open coding (van Gorp, 2010) in the initial phases of filling out the blank frame matrix, which is to say that I analysed the news articles with the predefined coding method of frame elements or reasoning devices (such as problem definition, causes, consequences, and/or solutions; Entman, 1993). I took general notes on the news producer's choices in storytelling, including the news producer's incorporation of the frame elements in the news structure and overall context. Following van Gorp's (2010) guidelines, I not only focus on what the text is about, 'but on how it is told... With regard to the news, framing is not about the facts of a news event, but about what selections the journalist has made' (p. 15). In addition to identifying frame elements, I also identified framing devices (e.g., lexical choices, metaphors, use of sources, van Gorp, 2010, see Chapter 3) that could help convey these frame elements.

Table 4.2 Empty Frame Matrix

Frame Matrix	News article 1	News article 2	News article 3	News article 4	News article 5	News article 6	News article 7
Definition of the problem							
Cause (of the problem as defined)							
Consequences							
Solutions/actions							

After filling in the initial frame matrix, I read and re-read it again in order to verify that I had managed to capture all the reasoning devices in each news article. I also checked if there are any reasoning devices that should be split into separate matrixes because they seem to convey a different frame. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3) a news article can employ more than one frame. Accordingly, I grouped together articles which made similar propositions about problem definition, causes, consequences and solutions. If there appeared to be two or more frames communicated in the same news article, I separated them into different frame matrixes: one for each frame. An important aspect of this process is that while it appears to be sequential, I was repeatedly examining and constantly comparing the news articles to provide thick descriptions of the frames (van Gorp, 2010). For instance, van Gorp (2010) states, 'the use of a certain frame can be dominant and the constituent elements obvious, thus allowing the frame matrix to be filled in an early stage of the analysis. Other frames may be nascent or may have escaped notice during the first steps of analysis' (p. 13-14); thus, the need to regularly revisit the news articles to gain further insight into the identified frame(s). The initial goal is to not have any empty matrix cells pertaining to the frame reasoning devices, and while this is true for the comprehensive frame matrix that is a compilation of the frame across the seven news articles in the data set, the individual news articles do not always include all the frame elements when employing a frame(s).

When I had identified reasoning and framing devices through the process explained in the previous paragraphs, I continued my reading and rereading of the separate articles to identify commonalities and differences in each of the frames that I had found—this is so I could begin the process of summarising the reasoning devices and framing devices that make up each frame—compiling the information from the three identified frames into three different matrixes.

Then, I summarised the frame elements (from each of the frame matrixes) in order to compile one larger comprehensive frame matrix (van Gorp, 2007, 2010; van Gorp & Vercruyse, 2012). This summary table conveys information about the frame elements, in other words the definition of the problem ('problem definition'), the causes of the problem as defined ('causes'), its consequences ('consequences'), and solutions to the problem ('solutions') (Table 4.3; refer to Appendix 3 for completed summary tables).

As part of the analysis that I have described here I read each frame matrix to propose appropriate frame labels or names. Naming the frame appropriately is particularly important as van Gorp (2010) suggests that the researcher makes 'an association with a [...] motive that can function as the idea, thus fusing the framing devices to a coherent unit' (p. 17).

As a final step in the identification process, I examined the separate frame matrixes for completeness (van Gorp, 2007, 2010; van Gorp & van der Goot, 2012). Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012) suggest that a frame can be labelled as complete based on the completeness of the associated frame matrix. Finally, it can be assumed that the above-described method of analysis should have a high validity as the frame identification process was checked for completeness (van Gorp, 2007, 2010; van Gorp & van der Goot, 2012).

It is important to note, that while I include news values and sources as part of my comprehensive frame matrix and see these as components of the overall employment of the frame(s), the analysis of these was done after the initial frame identification process, not simultaneous to the frame identification and matrix compilation.

4.3.1.3 Colour coding procedure to identify co-existence of frames

As one of the concerns in this thesis is with the co-existence of frames in the news articles (see RQ4, section 4.2.1 above), I carefully examined each of the seven chosen news articles to identify the frames they included. To help me with this process, I split each of the seven news articles paragraph by paragraph (often news article paragraphs are made up from 1-3 sentences) in a table column (see Table 4.3 below) and each paragraph was then numbered sequentially (see below 1-5...18-19). Each frame was given a specific colour (in addition to its name) for ease of visual presentation. I examined each paragraph of each article for its employment of a frame and colour-coded it accordingly. As will become clear in Chapters 6-9, not all the identified frames are employed in each news article. Below (Table 4.3) is an example of a news article that employs all three frames, however the first two are employed towards the beginning (paragraphs 1-5) and the third frame is employed towards the end (paragraphs 18-19).

Table 4.3 Coding frame coexistence- Appendix 2

Paragraph number	Paragraph content	Frame
1	'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site'	No frame
2	Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.	No frame
3	The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District.	<i>Economic benefits</i>
4	"Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past."	<i>Community benefits</i>
5	Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to "mend and	<i>Community benefits</i>

	heal" the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings leveled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction.	
...	...	
18	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.	<i>Gentrification</i>
19	"It's not a community deal unless the community is involved," Mr. Redwood said. "This is a Democratic Party deal."	<i>Gentrification</i>

4.3.1.4 *Identification of Frames in News Images*

As discussed in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3, news images or photographs are just as important as the news article's text in terms of creating meaning and salience in the process of framing. In terms of method of analysis, I am treating visuals as "texts" and therefore am relying on the same process of frame identification described in the earlier sections (van Gorp, 2007, 2010; Entman, 1993; see section 4.3.1).

More specifically, when identifying frame elements (e.g., problem, causes, consequences, and solutions) in the news images, the content of the image is the source of analysis. For instance, visual framing may 'relate to the content (who/what is visualised), conceptualisation (ways of visualising [conceptual ideas or connotative meanings]), stylistic aspects (techniques, colours, shapes) and ideological aspects (morals, ideals)' (Wardekker & Lorenz, 2019, p. 278). As the images in my data accompany the written texts of the news article (see Appendix 1 for news articles), I examine whether the frame elements that are defined in the body text of the news are replicated visually in the images, thus creating visual-verbal overlap or repetition. For example, the content that is visualized might invoke a frame that was presented in the accompanying text; a photo of a politician who is quoted in the text elaborating a frame would be coded as presence of that same frame in the news image.

4.3.2 Discursive News Values Analysis

This section explains how I employed discursive news value analysis (DNVA) in my study. I describe how I identified news values, and how I proceeded to incorporate the news values analysis with the frame analysis (4.3.1), particularly how I used the frame matrix.

4.3.2.1 *News Values in Language*

As described in Chapter 3 in the theoretical framework, Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) framework provides a comprehensive list of news values that can be applied to a range of news genres. Although Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) framework is comprehensive, I had to adjust it based on the news articles in my study. For instance, following familiarization with the data, it became clear that good news/positivity had to be added to Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) list, adopted from Harcup and O'Neill (2001) (see Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.4 Adapted News Values Framework (to include 'good news'/'positivity')
[Adapted from Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 41; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, pp. 278-279]

Adapted News Value Framework	
Negativity	Negative aspects of an event
Timeliness	The relevance of the event in terms of time
Proximity	The geographical and/or cultural nearness of the event
Prominence	The high status of the individuals (e.g. celebrities, politicians), organizations or nations involved in the event, including quoted sources
Consonance	The extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes that people may hold about the events and people portrayed in it
Impact	The effects or consequences of an event
Novelty	The unexpected aspects of an event
Superlativeness	The maximized or intensified aspects of an event
Personalization	The personal or human-interest aspects of an event
Good News/ Positivity	Stories with particularly positive overtones, such as rescues and cures.

For Bednarek and Caple (2012a), the construal of news values in texts can be done through a myriad of linguistic devices. In the table below (Table 4.5), I cite Bednarek and Caple's (2012a) 'summary of linguistic resources' that can be used to construe news values as a starting list of linguistic devices that I found as used in the news articles to construe newsworthiness through news values (p. 55).

Table 4.5 A Summary of Linguistic Devices that construe news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 41)

Linguistic Device	News Value	Examples
Evaluative language	Negativity Prominence Impact Novelty Consonance	<i>terrible news, a tragedy pop star, celebrity bad boy a potentially momentous day a very different sort of disaster legendary, notorious</i>
References to emotion	Negativity Impact Novelty Personalization Superlativeness	<i>distraught, worried, breaking our hearts A terror that took their breath away shocked residents 'It was pretty bloody scary' they were petrified</i>
Negative vocabulary	Negativity	<i>killed, deaths, bodies</i>
References to time	Timeliness	<i>The Prime Minister today warned, yesterday's flash flooding</i>
Verb tense and aspect	Timeliness	<i>rescuers have been trying to pluck survivors, it's a tragedy, more to come, it is testing our emergency resources, residents have described the horrific moments when they faced a brown wall of water</i>
References to place	Proximity	<i>Queensland, Brisbane, Canberra, Queensland's residents</i>
References to the nation/community	Proximity	<i>it will test us as a community The Prime Minister warned the nation it must brace for more deaths</i>
First-person plural pronouns (inclusive)	Proximity	<i>It might be breaking our hearts at the moment, but it will not break our will</i>
Intensification and quantification	Superlativeness Impact	<i>a giant torrent, a tragedy of epic proportions the ... storm ... dumped 100 mm of rain in his gauge in just 30 minutes Power has been cut to thousands</i>

		<i>of Queensland's residents the rushing waters savaged Toowoomba</i>
Metaphor	Superlativeness Consonance	<i>an army of volunteers a flood of immigrants</i>
Simile	Superlativeness	<i>Queens Park was like a raging river, it was like a World War II battle</i>
Role labels	Prominence	<i>The Prime Minister, Queensland Premier Anna Bligh, Professor Roger Stone</i>
References to effects/ impact on individuals, entities, and so on	Impact	<i>overwhelming volumes of water... wrecking families and their fortunes flash flood deluged the town leaving scenes of destruction</i>
Comparison	Novelty Consonance Superlativeness	<i>I've lived in Toowoomba for 20 years and I've never seen anything like that yet another personal scandal this one has just maxed out every other flood</i>
Quotes from 'ordinary' people	Personalization	<i>Myself, I was almost pulled in by the torrent'</i>
References to individuals	Personalization	<i>Panel-beater Colin McNamara</i>
Repeated word combinations	Consonance	<i>Australia – sharks</i>
Story structure	Consonance	<i>N/A</i>
Positive vocabulary and overtones	Good news	<i>Transformational</i>

As seen in the summary of linguistic devices (Table 4.5), news values can be construed by grammatical and lexical choices, which emphasize or express specific aspects of the event/situation that is reported. For instance, the use of intensifiers and quantifiers, pronouns, verb tense and aspect can construct a range of news values like Superlativeness, Timeliness, Impact, and Personalisation. Equally, references to elite people, role labels, metaphors, and overall story structure can construe the news values of Impact, Novelty, Prominence, and Superlativeness.

I drew on the above list of devices to see how news values are construed in the seven news articles within the identified frames. I have worked through the seven texts paragraph by paragraph to identify any of these devices. As such, an analysis

of the news article (at paragraph level) commenced to consider the linguistic devices that construed news values.

4.3.2.2 *News Values in News Images*

The framework used in this thesis for a critical analysis of news values includes both language (e.g., linguistic devices and reported speech) and semiotic devices that are used to construct newsworthiness including but not limited to news images, which can include aspects such as colour, layout, who is depicted, etc. In the table below (Table 4.6), I cite Caple's (2013) key devices as a starting list of image strategies that are used to construe newsworthiness (pp. 52-53). It is important to note that these are not the only devices that can construct news values in images but were used as a starting point in my research.

Table 4.6 Semiotic Devices that convey news values in Images (from Caple, 2013, pp. 52-53)

News Value	Key devices used in image
Consonance	images that fit with the stereotypical imagery of an event/person/country etc.
Prominence	images depicting easily recognizable key figures, people in uniform or with other regalia of officialdom showing elements like microphones/cameras, media scrum, being flanked by military, police or bodyguards showing context associated with an elite profession (e.g. books, lab, police station) low camera angle indicating status of participant in image
Impact	images showing the after-effects (often negative) of events, e.g. scenes of destruction or emotions caused by an event sequences of moving images that convey cause and effect relations
Negativity (& Positivity)	images of negative events and their effects, e.g. the aftermath of accidents, natural disasters, the

	<p>injured/ wounded, the wreckage/damage done to property</p> <p>images of people being arrested or with lawyers/ barristers/police</p> <p>images showing people experiencing negative or positive emotions</p> <p>high camera angle, putting viewer in dominant position (often used with photographs of offenders/ prisoners of war)</p> <p>camera movement and blurring, combined with camera-people moving around, running, ducking to avoid missiles etc</p>
Personalisation	images of individuals, especially when using close-up and showing an emotional response and when individual is not acting in a professional role
Proximity	images of well-known or iconic landmarks, natural features or cultural symbols
Superlativeness	<p>repetition of key elements in the image frame, e.g. not just one boat but an entire marina full of boats</p> <p>depiction of extreme emotions in participants</p> <p>placement of elements of different sizes next to each other (e.g. the tallest and the shortest member of a sports team)</p> <p>use of specific lens and angle settings to exaggerate or condense size differences</p> <p>camera movement and blurring, combined with camera-people moving around, running, ducking to avoid missiles etc.</p>
Timeliness	<p>indications of time in the images, e.g. the season may be implied in flora or environmental conditions, inclusion of cultural artefacts representative of event.</p> <p>the inclusion of verbal text, e.g. in signage</p>
Unexpectedness/Novelty	<p>depictions of people being shocked/surprised</p> <p>juxtaposition of elements in the frame that create stark contrast</p>
Aesthetic Appeal	images that are well-composed and aesthetically pleasing

Although the news value framework for the textual analysis (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) was adapted to include Positivity, the news value framework for images (Caple, 2013) did not require adaption because Caple's (2013) framework already includes Positivity.

The procedure of image analysis for news values includes looking at each of the news photographs against Table 4.6 the summary of devices (Caple, 2013, pp. 52-53) and identifying which news values, if any are construed visually and thus reported in the comprehensive summary frame table (see section 4.3.2.3 Incorporation of News Values and Frame Matrixes). More specifically, I looked at the images from left to right, and top to bottom (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Caple, 2013; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007) and considered different aspects of the image, as in composition, elements, and figures. I considered colour, layout, and point of view, while also looking out for who and what is pictured, their clothing, facial expression, etc.

4.3.2.3 Incorporation of News Values in Summary Frame Table

As already suggested the news value analysis is an in-depth analysis that takes place at the paragraph level of the news article. Shown in section 4.3.1.3 earlier in the chapter, the colour coding procedure to identify the co-existence of frames is also the table (Table 4.3; Table 4.7) used in the analysis of the news values (and sources and reported speech described later in the chapter). The table (Table 4.7) provides a matrix where I can view the news article at all analysis levels, and therefore a clear foundation to identify linguistic and semiotic devices that construe news values. Once I had colour coded each news article at the paragraph-level for frames, I analysed for news values at the paragraph-level and at the level of the whole image. What was found is that some news values can co-occur with some frames but not others. The table below (Table 4.7) is providing a visual representation of the cooccurrence of an employed frame and construed news values. While news values may be construed anywhere in the article, I am interested in their construal in areas of the text that employs a frame (blank cells mean no employed frame or no construed news values).

Table 4.7 Co-occurrence of news values with frame(s) in Individual news articles – Appendix 1

#	Text	Frame	News Values
1	'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site'		Impact
2	Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.		Prominence Impact
3	The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District.	<i>Economic benefits</i>	Impact Positivity
4	"Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past."	<i>Community benefits</i>	Impact Positivity Prominence
5	Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to "mend and heal" the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings leveled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction.	<i>Community benefits</i>	Impact Positivity Prominence
...	...		
18	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.	Gentrification	Negativity Impact
19	"It's not a community deal unless the community is involved," Mr. Redwood said. "This is a Democratic Party deal."	Gentrification	Negativity

4.3.3 News Sources and Reported Speech Analysis

This section explains how I have examined the use of sources relating to each of the frames. I describe the method of identifying source types or news sources and how these relate to the frames. Closely related to this, I also describe the identification and analysis of reported speech in the news articles, before explaining how I completed the summary frame table.

4.3.3.1 *Identification of Source Types*

To categorise source types, I closely read each of the news articles in order to identify the sources they incorporated. To easily identify the sources used in the news articles, I considered three journalistic techniques: 1) use of reporting verb, 2) use of quotation marks (speech marks), 3) use of title and/or role (e.g., Dr, Mayor, Representative, etc.) when mentioning a person.

After the close reading of the news articles, I compiled the subsequent list of sources used and I began the process of categorising these sources. I classified the sources into the following categories:

- **Politicians:** to include reported speech from politicians at every level of U.S. government (e.g., local, city, state, and federal government).
- **Private Investors:** to include reported speech from redevelopment stakeholders, those who are not elected officials (e.g., Pittsburgh Penguins Ice Hockey Team, the chosen developers and investors).
- **Grassroots Organisation Leaders:** to include reported speech attributed to local organisations speaking about the redevelopment (e.g., Hill District Consensus Group)
- **Ordinary people:** to include reported speech from ordinary citizens, but more specifically reported speech from residents of the Hill District area.

These categories are used as source types to identify frame sponsors (refer to 3.2.3 News Sources, Frame Sponsors, and Reported Speech in Chapter 3) for the frames identified in the news articles.

4.3.3.2 *Analysis of Reported Speech*

In the next step of my analysis, I considered the news producers' uses of reported speech and reporting verbs, through another round of close reading of each article. The matrix I used for frame colour-coding and for identifying news values at paragraph-level (Table 4.7 above), is also used for reported speech (Table 4.8 below).

Once the reported speech was identified and labelled according to the type of quote (e.g., direct, indirect, etc.), I identified the reporting verbs that are used to introduce the reported speech. After identification, I proceed to analyse the reporting verbs using Caldas-Coulthard's (1994) reporting verb taxonomy (refer to Table 3.5 Reporting Verbs [adapted from Caldas-Coulthard, 1994] in Chapter 3)

4.3.3.3 *Incorporation of Sources & Reported Speech in Summary Frame Table*

The analysis that I presented in the previous sub-sections led to the production of a list of source types, type of report, and reporting verbs used in relation to the sources used in each article. When the source types (and particular sources) were identified I began comparing them against the employment of the frames. I asked questions such as: Does this news article employ a frame?, if so does it co-exist with a particular source type, and if so, how is that source/reported speech incorporated into the text?. What I was looking for is to see if some sources correlate with some frames but not others.

Table 4.8 Co-occurrence of Source Types with frame(s) in Individual news articles

#	Text	Frame	Source Type	Type of Report	Reporting verb
1	'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site'	No frame			
2	Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have	No frame			

	cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.				
3	The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District.	<i>Economic benefits</i>			
4	"Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past."	<i>Community benefits</i>	Politician	Direct report	said
5	Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to "mend and heal"	<i>Community benefits</i>	Politician	Indirect report	said

	the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings leveled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction.				
...	...				
18	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.	Gentrification	Grassroots Organisation leader	Indirect report	said
19	“It’s not a community deal unless the community is involved,” Mr. Redwood said. “This is a Democratic Party deal.”	Gentrification	Grassroots Organisation leader	Direct report	said

As will become clear in the analysis chapters (6-8), the process I described in the previous paragraphs enabled me to identify source types, frame sponsors and strategies for incorporating reported speech in the news articles that are associated with a specific frame and identify how that frame positions the main redevelopment arguments in terms of who is quoted and what frames these quotes help convey.

4.4 Methodology Summary

This study brings together frame analysis (Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010; Boesman et al., 2015), with discursive news values (DNVA) (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017), and the analysis of sources used in the articles and reported speech (Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). I examined these different aspects to analyse a data set of seven news articles published at key points in the Hill District redevelopment timeline.

In a first step, I identified frames using an inductive approach. The frame identification is informed by the understanding that frames are constructed by defining what is the problem, what causes it, how it can be solved and what the possible consequences might be (Entman, 1993). As explained earlier, this can be achieved via both texts and visuals (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2012; Coleman, 2010; Dan, 2018), which give meaning to events and issues by making some aspects more salient than others (Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010).

After the inductive frame analysis (RQ1), I conducted analyses on the construed news values that co-exist with the frames in text and image (RQ2). In addition to the DNVA, I analysed the sources that the news producers include in the news articles, paying particular attention to those that co-exist with the employed frames. Next, I classified the type of quote of those sources and subsequent reporting verbs the news producers' use to identify how/if sources may "sponsor" a frame (RQ3). Finally, I analysed the co-existence of the frames in each news article (RQ4).

Chapters 6 through 8 present the findings from the analysis. Each of the three chapters defines a particular frame in-depth, describing the findings of the inductive analysis, DNVA, and sources and reported speech. As such, each of the analysis chapters (6-8) answers research questions 1 through 3 with Chapter 9 being dedicated to research question 4 which addresses frame co-existence (see 4.2.1).

Chapter 5: History and Context of The Hill District

This chapter offers a condensed account of the history of the Hill District, which is essential for understanding the proposed redevelopment, and how it is reported on in the media—conducting a systematic analysis of its media reporting and evaluating the possible implications of this reporting to fully understand the contents of the news articles in the data set. The chapter begins with an overview of basic information about the Hill District. The next part of the chapter covers the area's history, particularly its relationship with disinvestment, gentrification, and displacement. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the 2014 redevelopment plan, which is the main context referred to in the news articles that I analyse in Chapters 6 to 9.

5.1 The Hill District Neighbourhood

The Hill District is a neighbourhood that is situated north from the Pittsburgh downtown central business district (CBD) (Figure 5.1; Figure 5.2). The Hill District, sometimes referred to as the Greater Hill District, is comprised of smaller areas such as the Lower Hill, Middle Hill, Upper Hill, Bedford Dwellings and Terrace Village and is approximately 1.5 sq. mi (4 km²) ("PGHSNAP", 2010). While these are distinct areas, journalists often do not differentiate between them. For instance, in the news articles analysed in this thesis when the journalists speak about 'The Hill District', they may either mean the whole area or, more often, they actually mean more specifically the Lower Hill. The Lower Hill is the primary location for the proposed 2014 redevelopment discussed in the articles in my study and it is also the place where previously a large sports arena and parking lot were built, leading to the destruction of many homes and businesses (see further below in this chapter). At other times, journalists use the more precise term 'Lower Hill' or 'The Lower Hill'.

The demographic of the residents of the Hill District (Greater Hill District) is primarily Black Americans, with less than six percent of the population being white (Nereim, 2010). More than 40 percent of the area's population lives below the poverty level (Hill Community Development, 2021; Nereim, 2010).

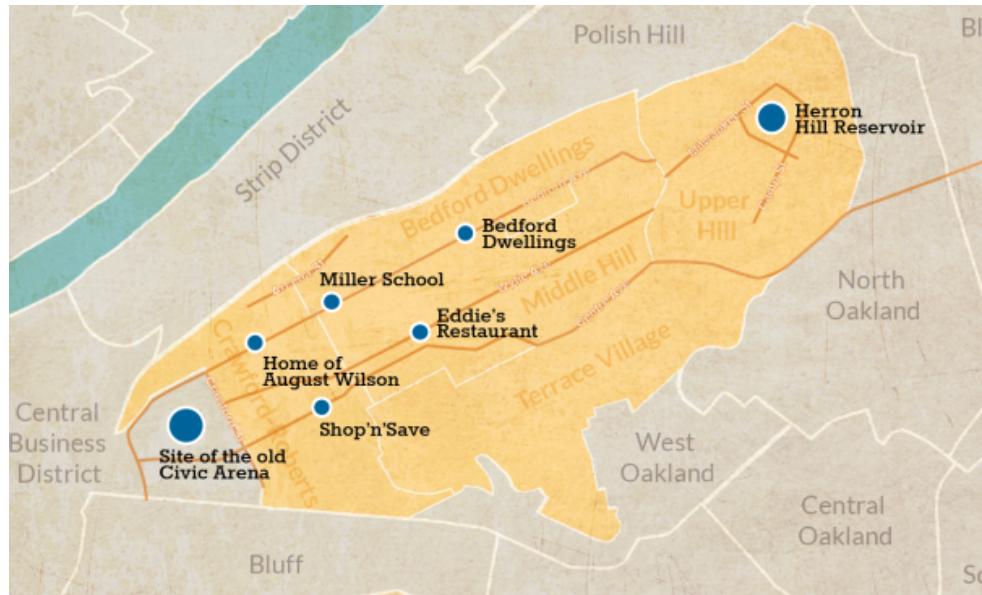
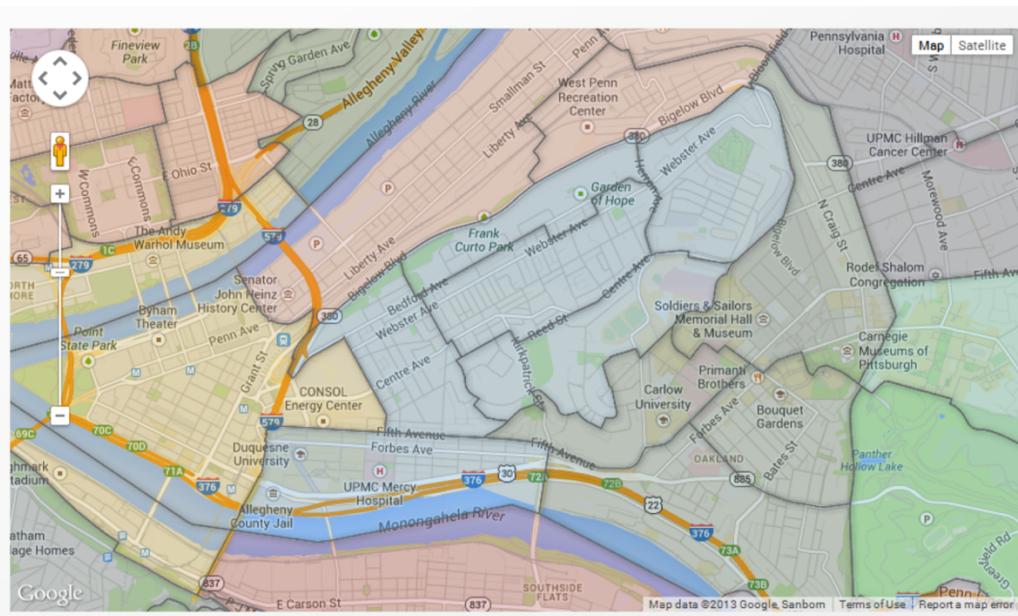


Figure 5.1 Sections of the Hill District and surrounding neighbourhoods in grey



(In this [PGHSNAP](#) Map, the Greater Hill District is shown in the light blue, including the section of the Lower Hill in yellow.)

Figure 5.2 The Greater Hill District in blue and the Lower Hill in yellow as part of the CBD area (i.e., Consol Energy Center)

5.2 History of the Greater Hill District

In the 1910s-1920s (WWI era), the Hill District, an area north of the business district of Pittsburgh was a thriving cultural centre for Black people. It was also in need for more and better housing. Beginning in the 1910s, the Hill District saw an influx of African Americans from the rural American South, known as the Great Migration or Great Black Migration (Bodnar, 1983). This migration caused overcrowding in urban areas, and poor living conditions for many people. Despite these conditions however, the Hill District became the centre of jazz music and a cultural centre of Black life. Known as 'Pittsburgh's Harlem', the Hill District thrived with jazz club hotspots and nationally known artists and musicians, such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington (Anderson et al., 2001; Fullilove, 2001; Grantmyre, 2013; Pittsburgh Beautiful, 2021). There was gentrification occurring in the surrounding neighbourhoods at this time, but the Hill District was barely touched due to the 'white flight' of the area (see section Race and Gentrification in the Chapter 2).

During the 1940s and 1950s (WWII era) there was also another movement, away from city centres and towards the suburbs with middle-class families' search of 'The American Dream' (Mansharamani, 2016). To keep middle-class white families interested in the city centre, many cities invested in amenities like sporting events, theatres, and the arts, through Urban Renewal Plans. Pittsburgh City's urban renewal plan was 'designed to clear large areas of 'slum' housing to make way for modern developments' to attract middle-class buyers (Fullilove, 2001, p.73).

'Urban Renewal' has been at the centre of urban planning and national politics since the mid-twentieth century. As part of such policies, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in the post-World War II era spurred widespread inner-city clear-outs backed by politicians and other United States elite, like wealthy business owners of the upper-class (Mohl, 2000; Small, 2017). The Urban Renewal, largely known for its three policies, the Housing Act of 1949, the Housing Act of 1954, and the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, was meant to create economic vitality in city centres by stimulating private investment and creating opportunities for investors through tax breaks (Mohl, 2000; Small, 2017). City politicians and wealthy elite

were given the authority and funding from the federal government to clear neighbourhoods they deemed as 'slums', usually areas that had a high minority or marginalised population already facing disinvestment, poor sanitary conditions, and crumbling infrastructure (Badger, 2016). Although there is acknowledgement that the Urban Renewal Plan negatively affected a great number of urban poor from the 1950s-1980s, many still believe that those areas were in such poor conditions that the redevelopments were necessary (Mohl, 2000; Small, 2017).

The Hill District, however, was not initially included in Urban Renewal and was left in its dilapidated conditions until the 1960s. It had been surviving but not thriving. Due to the demographic of the area and its poor housing conditions (both privately and publicly owned), Pittsburgh officials considered it as a 'slum' or 'ghetto' (Mohl, 2000; Small, 2017; Badger, 2016; Jones et al., 2016). Through Pittsburgh's 1960s city Urban Renewal Plan, a portion of the Hill neighbourhood was taken from the residents by order of Eminent Domain, which is a legal strategy that allows a federal or local government to seize private property for public use like roads (Tierney, 2005). Backed by this legal practice, the City government demolished the property of more than 8000 residents and 400 businesses in the specific part of the Hill District that is called the Lower Hill, displacing those residents to other areas of the city and creating space for a sporting arena, named the Civic Arena, built in 1961 (owned privately by the Penguins Ice Hockey Team) (Jones et al., 2016) (Figure 5.3 below).

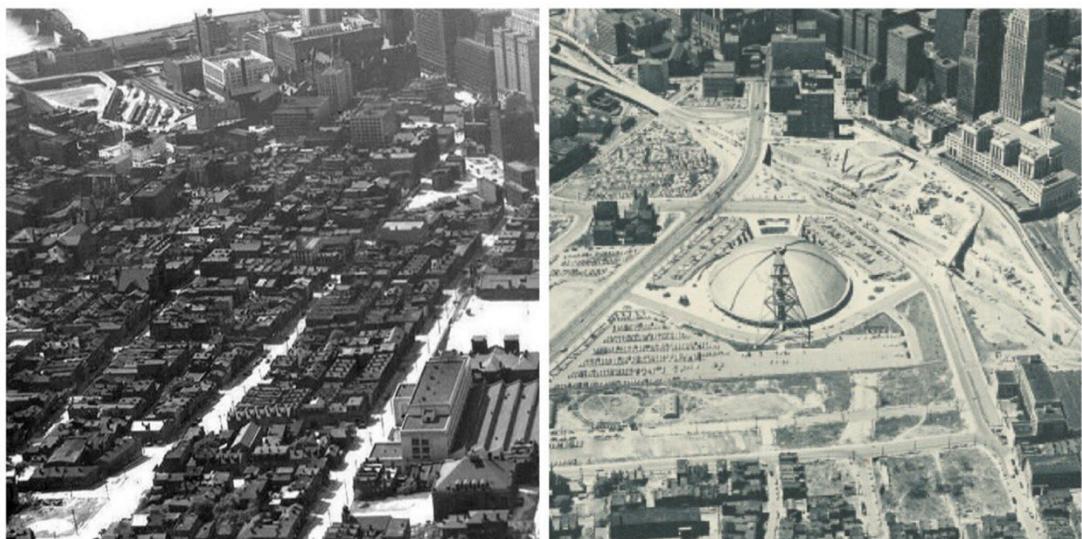


Figure 5.3 (Left) Lower Hill District before widespread demolition from 1960s Urban Renewal Plan; (Right) Lower Hill District featuring Civic Arena, parking lots, and hotels.

The Pittsburgh Urban Renewal Plan aimed to revitalise the city's economy and infrastructure, to overcome the negative impact of the loss of major industries. In its plan to create economic vitality, the building of a crosstown interstate and a sports arena, spurred the displacement of mostly low-income renters and hundreds of small businesses, while cutting the rest of the Hill District off from the central business district (Jones et al., 2016). This set the foundation for decades of disinvestment in the Hill District area. Beyond these more 'direct' causes, some scholars (Collins & Shester, 2013; Jones et al., 2016) point at the engrained sociocultural origins of the Urban Renewal Plan, including the Civil Rights Movement and the need to 'cleanse' the Hill District of dilapidated housing along with Black culture and civil unrest.

With the demolition of community owned businesses like pharmacies, corner shops, and other local stores in the Hill District that resulted from the creation of the sporting arena, basic amenities could only be found in the surrounding areas of the Hill District, as many of the areas' businesses were located in the Lower Hill. As explained above, the Lower Hill is the part of the wider Hill District, that had land taken away, houses and shops demolished, to make way for the Civic Arena. The development of the Civic Arena included creating new highways and a cut back on public transport stops. These new roads enabled easy access to the arena and its parking lots but were difficult and dangerous for pedestrians to cross to

access downtown amenities from the Hill District (Figure 5.4). In other words, this development separated the Hill District from the downtown area and surrounding neighbourhoods, leaving the community without basic amenities like a grocery store or pharmacy until 2013 and 2010 respectively when the Hill District community lobbied the local and state government for changes to be made (Blazina, 2013; Nereim; 2010).

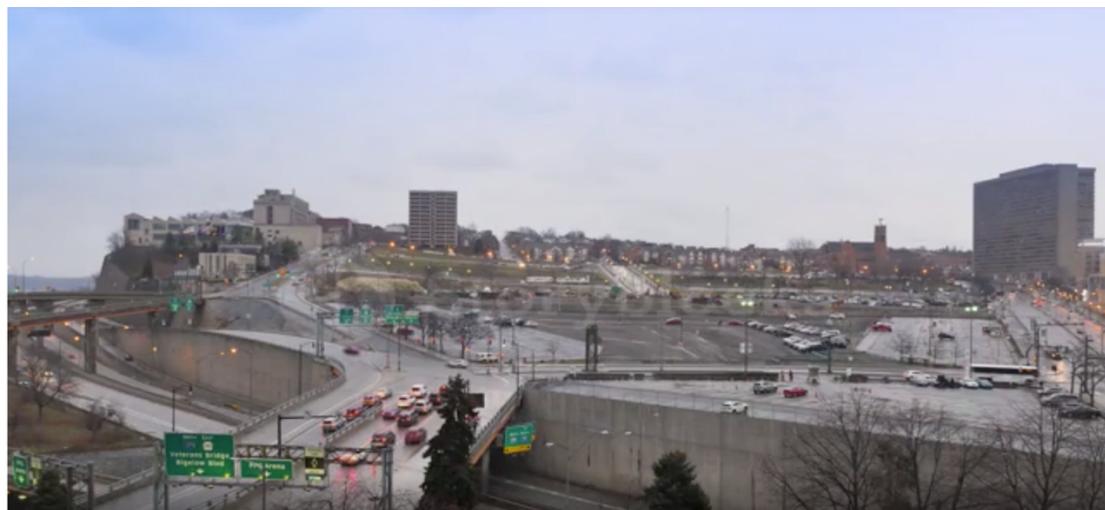


Figure 5.4 The cross-town highways from the perspective of the CBD looking north

The building of the Civic Arena and its effects on the Hill District marked the beginning of a process of 'gentrification' of this area. Although the gentrification of this neighbourhood did not occur through renovating houses and buildings, the complete clearing of the Lower Hill area of the Hill District for the arena, its parking lots, and new hotels displaced many in the community to other areas of the Hill, turning it into a place that people from other parts of Pittsburgh and beyond visited to watch sporting events.

Due to the developments of the Hill District in the 1960s, more specifically the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and its development of the Civic Arena, the area saw further decline and by 1990, 71% of the community's residents and the majority of its businesses were gone (Anderson et al., 2001; Pittsburgh Beautiful, 2021).

5.3 Lower Hill District Context

With redevelopment plans happening all over the city of Pittsburgh from the early 2000s, the city of Pittsburgh and its surrounding areas began to modernise, with the changes becoming visible not only in stores and signage, but residents too. These changes helped Pittsburgh get voted as one of the 'most liveable cities' throughout the years, most recently in 2018 (Im, 2018; Tascarella, 2018). This new accolade helped spur more tourism and an influx of people buying properties.

Areas most associated with this influx were the East End, East Liberty, Lawrenceville, and the Strip District, to name a few. Areas that were once made up of council housing and mostly populated by lower-income residents began to be filled with yoga studios, boutiques, and premium-supermarkets selling organic foods –one of the most emblematic consumer items associated with a hipster lifestyle (Harrell, 2021). Although the transition of these neighbourhoods took time, the infrastructure and amenities in those areas was not lacking—much of the housing was in decent condition, and the demographics were predominately more white than in the Hill District.

Developments in the Hill District followed a different path. In 2010, the Civic Arena closed leaving a large entertainment venue abandoned. Subsequently, sporting events, concerts, and other entertainment activities continued in a nearby area of the Lower Hill, across the street in the Consol Energy Centre, a newly built arena finished in 2010. In 2010, the Lower Hill had changed to including the unused Civic Arena, new large entertainment arena (Consol Energy Centre, also known as the PPG Paints Arena in Figure 5.6 below), and parking lots. This meant —the rest of the Hill District was in a way cut off from other parts of Pittsburgh and there was little public transportation connecting it to the city centre. Disinvestment and neglect continued, and houses remained without any investment –many beyond restoration.

When the Pittsburgh City Government and the community began discussing the unused Civic Arena occupying the Lower Hill area, serious discussions over the land occurred. Questions of whether it should be restored and listed for its historical significance and reused or demolished created debate between city

officials, the Penguins and the community, for the Penguins had secured development rights in 2007 when the Consol Energy Centre construction began (Heglas & Lavelle, 2019). When the decision to demolish the Civic Arena was finalised, a new debate on what that land should be used for, how it should be developed and who rightfully should have development rights ensued (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.5 Aerial view of Lower Hill featuring Civic Arena



Figure 5.6 Aerial view of Lower Hill featuring demolished Civic Arena and subsequent parking lots

In 2011, the Hill District community leaders (from different community groups in that area – p. 30-31 of Master Plan document) created a Master Plan for self-rejuvenation and redevelopment, including a detailed list of improvements and goals outlined for each part of the neighbourhood. The Hill District residents comprised of many groups who took an active role in creating this Master Plan, i.e., their own redevelopment plan, citing strategies to avoid displacement of residents and businesses, actively avoiding the consequences of the development of the

1960s for they were concerned that gentrification could happen. According to Hill Community Development Corporation (Hill CDC), an organisation focused on the people of the Hill District and the governmental policies that affect it, state:

Once a vibrant community, the Greater Hill District is a severely distressed neighborhood, due to systemic racism and redlining. By the definition of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund of the U.S Department of Treasury, the Greater Hill District has 20.8% unemployment, a median household income of \$19,375 and 44.5% of its residents live below the poverty line. Of the property in the Middle and Upper Hill, 53% is vacant and only 31.4% of its residents own their home (Hill Community Development, 2021).

In accordance with this information (Hill Community Development, 2021; St-Esprit, 2019) and the need for development of the area, Hill District leaders and community residents created a plan for regeneration (Damewood, 2011; *Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011; see Chapter 2). The main groups that came together to create the plan included the Hill District Consensus group, a grassroots organisation made up of people from the district that implements community plans, the Hill Community Development Corporation (Hill CDC) that operates as a business to find community development opportunities, and Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle who is the councilman for District 6 (districts are sections or precincts of the city that determine which law enforcement is the responsibility of particular police force and local government voting lines), elected to the local Pittsburgh government by people from District 6 which is significantly made up by the Greater Hill District area.

The Greater Hill District Master Plan covered both urban development and programme proposals for each of the smaller areas that comprise the Hill District. The whole plan relied on funding from community organisations, non-profit organisations, and government aid (to be secured by Councilman D. Lavelle). These proposals were ranked in order of most importance and need. As the people behind the Master Plan knew that the City was going to demolish the vacant Civic Arena, they hoped to get attention for their plan. Their concept for this area, set

out in the Master plan, included a connected street network allowing easy access to transportation and the downtown area, a mixed-use area of retail and residential buildings, and an overall improvement of the streetscape through lighting, signage, and vegetation (*Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011). The original Master Plan was not adopted and at the time of writing this thesis the parking lot is still there (Heglas & Lavelle, 2019).

After the Civic Arena was demolished in 2011, the Pittsburgh Penguins who had secured development rights to the publicly owned land in 2007, came to an agreement with the City that the vacant area could be used as a parking lot for ice hockey games and concerts at the Consol Energy Centre (PPG Paints Arena in Figure 5.6), with the profits going to the Pittsburgh Penguins team until they began development (Gough, 2017). The agreement between the City and the Penguins stated that the Penguins needed to redevelop the area in an agreed upon timeline, or face penalties either through loss of revenue or forfeiting their rights to a portion of the land.

A major issue for any plan to redevelop the Lower Hill area in line with the community's wishes, was that the community, needed to get the development rights to the land that had been taken away from them when the Civic Arena had been built in the 1960s. Prior to 2014, the Hill District and the Pittsburgh City Government met to discuss the land use, the need for the Hill District to get development rights to the area, and the failings of the City towards the Hill District since the 1960s. During this time, projects such as the opening of a grocery store in 2013 and renovation of subsidised housing went forward in some of the areas in the Hill District. However, the Lower Hill area, where the Civic Arena used to be, was still in debate considering its potential for profits and growing market value (due to its location close to the city centre). Meanwhile Pittsburgh was continuing to grow in popularity nationwide and redevelopment projects in other parts of the city were underway. However, after the completions of these redevelopment projects, opposing voices from those communities were being heard, stating that these projects had led to gentrification (Davis, 2018; Sheehan, 2018a, 2018b).

According to media reports, the City made a final proposal in 2014 for the redevelopment plan of that Lower Hill area, where the City would offer credit to the Pittsburgh Penguins to buy parts of the 28-acre land from them and develop it within the Penguins' development rights (Gough, 2017), and profits from the redevelopments would get funnelled back into the Hill District area. However, the amount of tax subsidies and the proposed percentage of council housing proposed by the City and private investors in September 2014, raised concerns about the area becoming gentrified (Damewood, 2011). By contrast the Hill District's Master Plan from 2011 had detailed a more inclusive regeneration process (Damewood, 2011; *Greater Hill District Master Plan*, 2011).

The 9th of September 2014 marked the public announcement that a deal that had been reached between the Pittsburgh City Government, The Pittsburgh Penguins sports team, and The Hill District Leaders. This is the deal that is referred to in many of the news articles included in my study. But the deal was never implemented. At the time of writing this thesis little work in the Lower Hill area had commenced due to opposition and ongoing negotiations between the three parties. The plan and the ongoing debates were widely covered in the media. For instance, there has been no lack of coverage on the City's 2014 plans for the Hill District area (Figure 5.7), citing new jobs with industry leaders, new apartment high rises, large green spaces, and an overall revitalisation of the disinvested Hill District area even though work has not commenced. In my study, I will examine how media in Pittsburgh have framed the 2014 redevelopment plan and what happened after its announcement through the years 2014-2019.



Figure 5.7 Visual depiction of the 2014 redevelopment plan proposed by the city and private investors

Chapter 6: Economic Benefits Frame

This is the first of three chapters that will report the findings identified through the (verbal and visual) analysis of frames and news values, and (the verbal analysis of) sources within the seven-news article data set. Each chapter will start with the description of a frame (*economic benefits, community benefits, gentrification*) and then discuss the news values and sources associated with it. Although frames tend to co-exist in the same news article (see Table 6.1), where more than one frame was present in a news article, one was positioned as dominant, and the other frames functioned as supporting or counter-frames. This reflects normal journalistic practices (see e.g., van Gorp, 2007, 2010). Table 6.1 indicates which frame is present in each news article. It does not express to what extent (i.e., in terms of word count and number of visuals) the frame is utilised. The following three chapters – Chapter 6, 7, and 8 – present one of the identified frames in turn. They are followed by Chapter 9, which discusses frame co-existence.

Table 6.1 Frames per news article

Frame	News article 1 2014	News article 2 2015	News article 3 2016	News article 4 2017	News article 5 2019a	News article 6 2019b	News article 7 2019c
<i>Economic Benefits frame</i>	X	X		X	X		
<i>Community Benefits frame</i>	X	X	X			X	X
<i>Gentrification frame</i>	X		X			X	X

This chapter will describe the *economic benefits* frame. The chapter will start with summaries of the news articles where the *economic benefits* frame featured and then moves on to present the *economic benefits* frame as it was communicated through text and image. Next, I examine the news values associated with this frame and sources used (e.g., what source types were quoted and what strategies were

used for incorporating their speech in the news articles) that are associated with the frame, and then conclude by summarising the *economic benefits* frame. How this frame co-existed with other frames will be discussed in Chapter 9.

6.1 Summary of the news articles featuring the *economic benefits* frame

The *economic benefits* frame (Table 6.2) appeared in four of the seven news articles, dating 2014, 2015, 2017, and 2019a (Table 6.1). The 2014 news article, “Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site” by Mark Belko was published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (refer to Appendix 1 for full news article). Belko, a journalist who primarily writes about real estate, covered the conference given by the Pittsburgh Mayor, Bill Peduto and other politicians and private investors about the Lower Hill District redevelopment deal. The article gives details from the press conference, quoting the Mayor and Councilman Lavelle. Later in the article, Belko outlines the redevelopment deal, citing the tax increment plan, the stakeholders in the deal, and briefly touches on the fifty meetings that led to the redevelopment deal’s finalization. The article ends with quotes from a Hill District leader alluding to the need for further negotiations and aiding the community in taking on the redevelopment’s opportunities. An image from the press conference appears at the top of the article and it features prominent Pittsburgh leaders (see Figure 6.1). The news article is formatted in such a way that the article’s headline becomes part of the image –positioned in the lower left-hand corner (see Figure 6.1).



Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site



Darrell Sapp/Post-Gazette

ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 6.1 2014 news article

The 2015 news article titled 'Governor Joins Officials to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District' by Christian Morrow was printed in the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Morrow's article is about the ceremonial ground breaking that marked the beginning of the redevelopment infrastructure work. This first phase is intended to reconnect the Lower Hill District to Pittsburgh's Downtown area, a link that was cut off during the 1960s Urban Renewal plan (see Chapter 5). The ceremonial ground breaking is captured in a photograph that is featured right at the start of the article. The image features a line of politicians and Pittsburgh leaders taking part in the ground breaking as described in the news article's text (Figure 6.2). Moreover, a caption accompanies the news image, which states, 'A NEW DAY DAWNS –Federal, state, and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello).'



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

Figure 6.2 2015 news article

Another article in my study, a 2017 news article comes from the *Tribune-Review* and is authored by Bob Bauder. Bauder's article, 'Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property', is about a then new agreement concerning the next steps in the redevelopment, three years after the initial agreement in favour of the redevelopment was reached in 2014—this initial redevelopment deal was announced in the 2014 news article and led to the ground breaking reported in the 2015 news article (see above). But despite the ground breaking ceremony in 2015, at the time of this 2017 article the redevelopment work had not begun (hence the need for a new agreement between the City and the Penguins). The 2017 article is about the then new negotiations between city officials and the Penguins Sports Team and how this 'agreement in principle' will aid taxpayers, increase profits, and improve relations between city officials and the Penguins leadership. While the redevelopment deal remains the same, these negotiations include the Penguins risking losing land if the development does not begin as the new agreement states. The image, that

accompanies the news text, taken by Andrew Russell at the *Tribune Review*, is of the large parking lot in the Lower Hill District that resulted from the demolition of the Civic Arena as explained in Chapter 5 (Figure 6.3). The parking lot area is part of the 28 acres of redevelopment area described in the article. The image (which is the same in the 2016 news article; Chapter 7) is an aerial view (taken from the top of a nearby hotel) of a large parking lot in the Lower Hill District with the Consol Energy Center, an indoor arena is in the bottom right in shadow (the Consol Energy Center, built between 2008-2010, replaced the Civic Arena that was built in the 1960s as part of the Urban Renewal Plan and demolished in 2011 creating this large parking lot in its place). The image caption that is included states, 'The former site of the Civic Arena in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District is seen from the 20th floor of the Marriott City Center'.



Figure 6.3 2017 news article

The 2019 news article by Mark Belko in *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* "Let's do something great" –Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site', is about a new vision for the Lower Hill District redevelopment area which by then had still not seen any of the planned redevelopment (see Chapter 5). The piece about architecturally significant buildings, on-going discussions about the lack of

construction of housing and retail stores in the 28 acres of land, and how this new plan was thought to be the best one to date. Like the 2014 news article, the news image and headline are formatted together (Figure 6.4 below). The news image that accompanies the text is a computer rendering of the completed Lower Hill District redevelopment.



Figure 6.4 2019a news article

6.2 The *economic benefits* frame: problem definition, causes, consequences and solutions

I will now discuss the *economic benefits* frame and how within the *economics benefits* frame the Hill District and the planned redevelopment are discussed. More specifically I will examine how they are discussed in relation to what the frame suggests to be the problem, its causes, consequences and proposed solutions. In brief, the *economic benefits* frame suggests that the Hill District redevelopment (2014-2019) would create economic vitality, in terms of new businesses, tax

reductions, and new apartments –all to create a prosperous and popular Pittsburgh neighbourhood (see Table 6.2 for summary frame table).

The news articles that employ this frame suggest the **problem** is the Hill District's economic stagnation, its impoverished state, and a lack of progress in the redevelopment that was initially proposed by the Penguins sports team. While the four articles (2014, 2015, 2017, 2019a) that incorporate this frame discuss various causes and consequences of the problem as defined, the Hill District redevelopment plan that was announced in the 2014 deal is consistently presented as the solution to those problems. In terms of political context, at the time that the deal was announced in 2014, the Hill District was not experiencing affluence and growth, and it had not seen investments for some time (as explained in Chapter 5). For example, in the 2014 article, it is suggested that the failures of the past, specifically the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and its role in the large displacement of people and businesses, will not be repeated but instead corrected with the planned redevelopment, and as such, the article focuses on the economic benefits that the redevelopment will bring in the future.

The two most explicit **causes** of the current Hill District's economic state are attributed, on the one hand, to the past Urban Renewal Plan of the 1960s –'Lower Hill is disconnected from downtown since the 1960s' (Belko, 2014), and, on the other hand, the inability of redevelopment leaders to agree on an affordable housing percentage in order to move the current redevelopment forward –'The two sides were at loggerheads over a new agreement' (Bauder, 2017).

The 2017 and 2019a news articles which present the lack of progress in the redevelopment as a problem, also emphasise the economic **consequences** not for the Hill District, but for the Penguins as in 'The Penguins...risk losing 2.1 acres' if they do not meet the new extension agreement (Bauder, 2017). The May 2019 news article states that 'Under their agreements with the two public authorities that own the land, the Penguins must start development ... or forfeit 20 per cent of the parking revenue now generated from the site' (Belko, 2019a). Although the two quotes are about **consequences** for the Penguins in terms of losing land or forfeiting revenue, it is implied that the community would incur indirect negative

consequences, in that the land would still be unusable, still not belonging to the community, and therefore the community's economic position remains unchanged or even worsened as a result of the Penguins' lack of action.

Within this *economic benefits* frame, the redevelopment is positioned as a **solution** by providing 'the largest tax diversion in the city's history' (Belko, 2014). In his 2014 article, Belko also writes that the current redevelopment would 'settle thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation'. The former is both presented as solutions to the consequences of the 1960s Urban Renewal and disagreement on affordable housing. A year later, in 2015, the same argument is made,

"This is our chance to fix mistakes that were made decades ago. I've [United States Representative Mike Doyle] been very supportive of the plans to revitalize the Hill District and reconnect it to the downtown," he said. "I worked hard to help secure a federal planning grant for this redevelopment, and I will continue to cooperate with local officials and community leaders to bring this project to successful completion."

(Morrow, 2015)

The **solution**, which is the redevelopment, is a response to the consequences of the 1960s Urban Renewal, as well as the disagreement with community leaders over affordable housing, which in turn continued to stall the redevelopment (see Chapter 5). The use of the term "revitalize" in the above quote is notable. A look into the dictionary shows that the word, "revitalize" is defined as 'giving new life to something', which is a broad definition ("Revitalize," n.d.). However, all examples of word use in context, for example, in the Cambridge Dictionary are from the financial domain – e.g., 'Japanese investment has revitalized this part of Britain' ("Revitalize," n.d.), in addition to academic research in human geography that revitalisation discourse is often used when potential 'gentrifiers' argue that a revitalisation will bring about economic benefits for all involved (residents, businesses, and newcomers alike; see Chapter 2) (Lees, 2010). Thus, the use of the word, "revitalize", can be assumed to invoke the *economic benefits* frame.

In the articles published in 2017 and 2019, the **solution** shifts. While the redevelopment is still presented as the solution, the focus is on the need to complete or finally start the redevelopment, as there was continued stalling between late 2014-2019 of the redevelopment due to the Penguins' lack of work, a disagreement over affordable housing, and other factors between the Penguins sports team, the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and the community leader. For instance, in the 2017 article, Bauder presents the **solution** as "an agreement in principle" with the Penguins over development of former Civic Arena land' and that '[the agreement] will allow development to occur, but will also protect public investment' (Bauder, 2017). In response to the ongoing delay to the redevelopment beginning, in the 2019a article, Belko presents the solutions to the redevelopment as more detailed, stating that 'Time has helped' to create '...a new vision that includes offices, housing, a music venue, retail, a hotel and a food hall, all interwoven over 28 acres' (Belko, 2019) all potentially to bring economic benefits for instance, offices bring workers and patrons into the area, who would then buy in the new shops and food hall, which ultimately supports economic activity.

The images that accompany the four articles that use the *economic benefits* frame verbally, also employ the *economic benefits* frame visually. The reasoning devices (problem definition, causes, consequences, and solutions) identified in the news text are similar to the reasoning devices presented in the accompanying news images, in terms of the identified economic benefits and the people (that is, sources) discussing them in the news articles.

For instance, of the four news images, two feature prominent persons (i.e., politicians and company executives) associated with the redevelopment and the other two images represent the land before the redevelopment and after the redevelopment (e.g., a parking lot and a digital image of the redeveloped area). The image (Figure 6.1) from the 2014 news article features five prominent men associated with the redevelopment, namely Mayor Bill Peduto, Councilman Lavelle, State Senator Jay Costa, Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams, and Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald. The image mirrors the text headline, 'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement...' as the men represented in the

image are those who oversee these administrations and corporations (i.e., Penguins company executives and Pittsburgh city politicians).

Similar to the 2014 news article image, the image of the 2015 news article (Figure 6.2) foregrounds the stakeholders (e.g., politicians and company executives) associated with the redevelopment doing the ceremonial action of 'breaking ground' on the redevelopment. The accompanying caption reads,

A NEW DAY DAWNS –Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Morrow, 2015)

The quantification of the project is intended to convey the strength and depth of the plan, thus suggesting the redevelopment is positive. To redevelop in itself as a verb has a positive meaning and that is then echoed in the smiling faces of the businessmen with shovels and the blue sky in the image. Other parallels can be made visually and verbally as the caption, 'rebuilding' is visually shown with the men with shovels 'building', and also the blue sunny sky of the image being described in the lead paragraph when Morrow (2015) writes, 'as the sun shown brightly'.

The topic of the image – breaking new ground - also resonates with how the **problem** is defined within the *economic benefits* frame – namely, the problem is the Lower Hill District's unused land caused by the 1960s Urban Renewal. This problem is being solved by the redevelopment, and more specifically by the politicians and private investors in charge of the redevelopment. Similar to the other image (Figure 6.1), the men in Figure 6.2 also are wearing suits, which suggests they are businessmen and politicians—people who can be assumed to have power.

In the 2017 and 2019a news articles, the images (Figures 6.3 and Figure 6.4) employ the *economic benefits* frame by showing its **consequences** and **solutions** as described earlier. For instance, in the 2017 article the image (Figure 6.3) showcases the consequences of the 1960 Urban Renewal plan (i.e., the composition shows multi-lane roads at the right and bottom of the image, and the

large parking lot area which disconnects the Lower Hill to the Downtown area) and subsequent 2011 demolition of the Civic Arena which created an expansive parking area, furthering the divide between the Lower Hill and the downtown central business district.

Conversely, the 2019a article image (Figure 6.4) represents the **solution** proposed in the *economic benefits* frame, that the completion of the redevelopment would bring about economic benefits and stability to the Hill District. The image is a digital rendering of the completed redevelopment, foregrounding apartments, green spaces, and tree-lined roads. The 2019a image supports the argument that the redevelopment is the solution to the economic stagnation that is affecting the area.

Table 6.2 Economic Benefits Frame Table

Frame	Verbal definition of the problem	Verbal cause (what caused the problem as defined?)	Verbal consequences	Verbal solutions/actions	Verbally and visually elaborated news values	Verbally and visually elaborated source types	Verbal metaphors	Visual elaboration of the frame according to thematic analysis
Economic Benefits	The problem is the economic stagnation of the Hill District, which the redevelopment will alleviate but the redevelopment has been progressing slowly.	Economic stagnation was caused by an earlier redevelopment plan – the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Economic stagnation is exacerbated by the lack of progress in the current redevelopment which is caused by a debate on affordable housing.	A consequence of the problem is that the Penguins will lose land and revenue if they do not develop in the time agreed upon.	The solution is the redevelopment itself because it will provide economic benefits to the Hill District.	Impact; Positivity; Prominence; Negativity	Politicians; Private Investors	Will mark a new dawn; resurrect; stumbling block; settled thorny issues; cleared the way; delivering on promises; hit a wall; enormous milestone; moving at breakneck speed; gateway	Depictions of elite people who are used as sources in the text; Depiction of the current area and how the redevelopment will transform the area; Depictions of the completed redevelopment

6.3 News Values

In this section, I analyse the news values construed in the news articles that feature the *economic benefits* frame. Certain news values were regularly present in the news articles that employed the *economic benefits* frame, for instance, Impact, Positivity, Prominence and Negativity. The focus is on documenting their co-existence with the *economic benefits* frame through a close textual analysis (refer to Chapter 4 Methodology and to Appendix 2).

This section begins with a summary analysis of each news value that I identified as related to the *economic benefits* frame. Then a more detailed analysis of the news value is conducted in text and image. This is done for each of the four news articles that employ the frame, 2014, 2015, 2017, and 2019a. I have ordered the news values that co-existed with the *economic benefits* frame alphabetically. It should be noted that, just like with frames, some news articles employed more than one news value and the same quote may be used again in a different part of the chapter to discuss another news value.

6.3.1 Impact

Impact is defined as 'the effects or consequences of an event' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 43); this is especially true if the event aspects have positive or negative repercussions on a local to global scale. The use of the news value is consistent with the framing of the redevelopment in the *economic benefits* frame as important and influential in terms of economic stimulus and job creation in the Hill District area. Impact in the *economic benefits* frame was mainly signified through intensification and quantification of numbers surrounding the economic benefits that the redevelopment would have in the Hill District. For example,

It is expected to produce more than \$750 million in private investment 4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs, and about \$25 million in a year in state and local tax revenues. (Belko, 2019a)

The news value Impact is emphasized by the inclusion in the article of large figures, in the millions, like '\$750 million' and '\$25 million'. Moreover, the modifiers, 'more than' and 'about' used in conjunction with the numerical amounts help to both intensify and create an aspect of vagueness. The coupling of the amount of money produced with the projected number of jobs ('4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs') also intensifies the Impact of the redevelopment on an area that at the time of writing the article lacked available jobs and job opportunities, further supporting the *economic benefits* frame.

Another example of quantification to construe Impact used in the *economic benefits* frame is the reporting of percentages. The journalists use percentages in order to describe amounts of affordable housing and business opportunities. For instance, when the announcement of the deal was made in the 2014 news article, Belko reports,

Compromises were made. Minority and women's business participation in the arena development is set at 30 percent and 15 percent, respectively – the highest in the city's history. But on the minority side, it's 5 percent lower than what the Hill demanded. (Belko, 2014)

By quantifying the economic opportunities that the redevelopment will provide Impact is construed. In the excerpt above, percentages are used to describe business participation and while that does not construe Impact itself, it is reported as 'the highest in the city's history', which gives meaning to the percentages and associates Impact with the redevelopment deal.

Another way in which quantification is used to construe Impact in the *economic benefits* frame, is applying monetary amounts to the redevelopment deal, in terms of estimating revenue from land development and taxation. For instance,

An estimated \$25 million would be generated by a Local Economic Revitalization Tax Assistance Act district set up as part of the development, with the funds to be used to invest in the middle and upper Hill. That is one aspect of the community agreement worked out with Hill leaders to ensure that the neighbourhood benefits from the development. (Belko, 2019a)

The excerpt reports the estimated amount that the Local Economic Revitalization Tax Assistance Act district would generate for the Hill District. It is the large amount; '\$25 million' that construes the Impact in the excerpt, especially as it is described that the tax assistance ensures the redevelopment will provide benefits in the Hill District. We can assume that these benefits are economic as the verb 'invest' is commonly used to refer to economic issues like investment into financial schemes and property with the expectation of earning a profit (similar to the verb revitalise described earlier in section 6.2), and thus employs the *economic benefits* frame. Applying such a high figure to the redevelopment helps to validate the importance that the redevelopment will have economically, and therefore supports the *economic benefits* frame.

Another example of Impact is construed by using large figures when referring to the redevelopment deal, is found in the 2015 news article by Morrow, where he writes:

If all goes as they plan, the sun that shone brightly as federal, state and local officials gathered to break ground on \$440 million project at the former Civic Arena site, will mark a new dawn for the Hill District and beyond.
(Morrow, 2015)

In the excerpt, the redevelopment is described in terms of a large quantifiable amount, '\$440 million project', and in doing so construes Impact. Even more, further Impact is construed in the *economic benefits* frame as the project is reported to 'mark a new dawn for the Hill District and beyond' (Morrow, 2015). This is similar to the prior excerpt from the 2019a news article, where Belko reported the '\$25 million' estimated from the Tax Act. In both cases, an aspect of the redevelopment is quantified (i.e., the tax act and the project) in order to validate its impact on the Hill District's economy, further supporting the *economic benefits* frame. In addition to intensification/ quantification to construe Impact, the news article also uses evaluative language to construe Impact in the *economic benefits* frame. For instance, using the metaphor 'will mark a new dawn' implies a positive future that the redevelopment will bring. The metaphor suggests a fresh start or an important turning point. By combining this positive metaphor with

quantification creates a focus on the economic benefits of the redevelopment—this supports the frame's solution that the redevelopment is the turning point that will provide economic benefits to the Hill District. The excerpt can be further marked as employing the *economic benefits* frame, as the following paragraphs in the 2015 news article also employ the frame, remarking on 'the beginning of infrastructure work on the 28-acre site...' (see Appendix 2 for individual analyses).

In the 2019a news article, quantification is used again to construe Impact in the *economic benefits* frame, especially as the 2019a news article is about the importance of the redevelopment and pushing towards construction, despite setbacks due to disagreements. Belko states,

[The redevelopment] is expected to produce more than \$750 million in private investment, 4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs, and about \$25 million in a year in state and local tax revenues. (Belko, 2019a)

In the excerpt, Belko uses quantification and intensification to report on the importance of the redevelopment. For instance, he used the modifier 'more than' to evaluate the large quantity '\$750 million'. The excerpt includes figures on employment (e.g., '4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs'), furthering the construal of the Impact the redevelopment will have through quantification. Moreover, *economic benefits* frame is employed as jobs mean income for people (residents and others), which also suggests that this money could be spent in the area at places like restaurants and retail, for example.

Another way that the news value Impact was signified in the four texts in the *economic benefits* frame was through evaluative language. Topics that are reported in evaluative language include the frame's defined problem of the redevelopment meeting the agreed timeline, the importance of the redevelopment to the Hill and the City and describing how the redevelopment will generate revenue and develop the infrastructure in the area.

In the 2014 news article, evaluative language is used to construe Impact surrounding the redevelopment and how it will generate revenue. For instance,

The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District. (Belko, 2014)

In the excerpt, evaluative language is used to describe the positive Impact the agreement on the redevelopment will have on the Hill District economically. More specifically, the redevelopment is providing economic benefits in terms of generating revenue ('pot of money'; 'reinvest') to return back into the area. It is important to note that this excerpt also construes Positivity which will be discussed in depth in section 6.3.3.

As stated earlier, the *economic benefits* frame suggests that the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan that disconnected the Hill District from the Downtown area is the cause of what the frame defined as the problem - economic stagnation and lack of development. Therefore, when an excerpt (like the one to follow) reported on the reconnection of the Hill District and downtown, it calls upon the *economic benefits* frame, and in this instance evaluative language is used to construe the Impact.

'It's an enormous milestone and undertaking going forward,' [Sports and Exhibition Chair and State Senator Wayne Fontana] said. 'And it will serve as a gateway between the hill district and downtown.' (Morrow, 2015)

Evaluative language like, 'enormous milestone and undertaking' helps to construe the importance of the redevelopment, emphasizing its newsworthiness, as this comes from the 2015 text where 'federal, state and local officials gathered' to break ground. This is directly concerned with how the cause of the problem is defined within the frame—that the Lower Hill was disconnected from downtown Pittsburgh due to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Furthermore, the noun phrase 'enormous milestone' presents the 2014 redevelopment as a big achievement. By using a scaling adjective like 'enormous' to describe a word that already denotes a significant event – milestone – further intensifies what is said and in turn conveys Impact. This noun phrase, 'enormous milestone' in conjunction with 'undertaking' seems to imply that the achievement will be difficult, but worthwhile due to the

Impact that it will have. Note that the quote also construes the news value Positivity, which will be discussed later.

Another instance of evaluative language to construe Impact in the *economic benefits* frame is in the 2019a news article by Belko, when the stakeholders' views on the business improvements due to the redevelopment are reported. For instance,

Kevin Acklin, the former chief of staff for Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto who is now spearheading the development for the Penguins, said the idea is to make the site "welcoming to everyone," with the potential to perhaps even resurrect Hill icons like the Crawford Gill.

It should be "an attractive place for Pittsburgh," he said. (Belko, 2019a)

The excerpts above report on how two primary redevelopment stakeholders, Acklin and Peduto, are 'spearheading the development' in order to make the area welcoming to all. From the quote, we can assume that a primary reason to welcome everyone is to create economic stimulus to attract new businesses and 'resurrect' others, like the Crawford Grill, a popular jazz nightclub. By using a metaphor like 'resurrect', the reporter relies on the context that the Hill District suffers from economic stagnation and is in need of revitalization or reviving, further supporting the redevelopment deal and the *economic benefits* frame. Using the term "resurrect" as a metaphor carries strong positive connotations, in that it points to the resurrection of Christ – a miraculous rebirth and transformation that is familiar and resonates with many people. Additionally, the excerpt mentions the Crawford Grill specifically, which at its height was the cornerstone of the Hill District's nightlife and brought patrons from all over to the U.S. to the area to listen to famous jazz musicians (Smith, 2021)—if then the Hill District's historic institutions can be 'resurrected', that means the area will be attractive to visit and live, thus supporting economic growth and the *economic benefits* frame.

Additionally, the excerpt suggests that by welcoming everyone and attracting businesses (new and old) the Hill District will become 'an attractive place for Pittsburgh'; again, supporting the frame's proposition that the Hill District is

unattractive in terms of having dilapidated housing, lack of businesses and amenities, hardscapes like parking lots instead of new apartment developments, businesses like offices, restaurants, and retail, and green spaces, and thus in need of economic support to become appealing for potential investors (e.g., house buyers, business owners, etc.).

Impact in the *economic benefits* frame is also construed in the two images (Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4) that accompany the texts of the 2017 and 2019a articles which convey the topics of economic stagnation and economic revitalisation, respectively. These issues are discussed in the news articles' texts. In other contexts, a large parking lot could signal economic strength, however due the Hill District history with the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and the years following (see Chapter 5), the parking lot in the Lower Hill conveys economic stagnation.

For instance, the 2017 (Figure 6.3) image of the parking lot sets the scene for the redevelopment. The image features a parking lot, the location of which is where the Civic Arena (built in the 1960s and demolished in 2011) used to stand. The arena was a project from the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, which negatively affected the Hill District and was represented as the source/cause of the problem in the *economic benefits* frame. Even more, the demolition of the arena left acres of land that was transformed into parking lots, the revenue of which was given to private investors (Penguins Hockey Team/ the Consol Energy Centre featured in the bottom right corner of the image) and not the Hill District community. In terms of composition, the visual of the parking lot occupies the centre of the image with buildings to the north and multi-lane roads to the south. This shows where the Hill District was disconnected from the Pittsburgh central business district as a result of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Thus, the image (i.e., the location and parking lot) construes Impact in support of the *economic benefits* frame, because it shows elements of what is presented in this frame to be the cause of the issue in question.

Conversely, the 2019a image (Figure 6.4) features a digital rendering of the completed redevelopment. In both images, it can be argued that the redevelopment 'is discursively constructed as having significant effects or consequences' (Caple, 2013, p. 52-53) in terms of the landscape of the Lower Hill

District. For instance, the digital rendering (Figure 6.4) shows the area entirely transformed, compared to what it actually looks like, which is the large parking lot as shown in Figure 6.3.



ANDREW RUSSELL | TRIBUNE-REVIEW

The former site of the Civic Arena in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District is seen from the 20th floor of the Marriott City Center.

Figure 6.3 2017 news article

Although the image (Figure 6.3) features a blue sky on the horizon (the Upper Hill and beyond), the immediate foreground (the Lower Hill) of rows of parked cars cast in shadow creates a tone of desolation and separation. For the top of the image is not cast in shadow and in bright colour features buildings, homes, and some greenery (the Upper Hill and northern neighbourhoods), while the bottom and foreground of the image is cast in shadow and depicts the effects of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan—an area without housing. This image (Figure 6.3) not only construes Impact but also construes Negativity and provides basis for constructing the redevelopment in a positive light within the *economic benefits* frame, as the frame suggests that the redevelopment is the solution to reconnecting the Hill District to downtown and creating new business opportunities, job openings, and contributing to general economic vitality.

Conversely, the image (Figure 6.4) rendering the redevelopment in the 2019a article features the positive effects that the redevelopment will have in the Hill District when completed and provides an optimistic glimpse of the future. The digital image features architecturally modern buildings that we can assume from the news article are apartments and commercial spaces. The image also features large green spaces and tree-lined streets. Even more, the roads seem to have large pavements for pedestrians and easy commuting from this area to the downtown area (which would be south of this image). The image gives a visual understanding of what the redeveloped area will look like and how positive it would be for the Hill District. The positive effects are implicit in this image of the redeveloped area and further support the positive economic-related impacts of the current redevelopment in the *economic benefits* frame. I argue that the image (Figure 6.4) employs the *economic benefits* frame for the 2019a news article only employs that frame, and thus the image is likely to be read in this way too, and not in the way of the *community benefits* frame for instance (see Chapter 9).



Figure 6.4 2019a news article

6.3.2 Negativity

In the *economic benefits* frame, Negativity was expressed through negatively connotated vocabulary and metaphors. Negativity, often associated with 'negative aspects of an event' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 41) is also sometimes referred to as 'the basic news value' (Bell, 1991, p. 156) because negative news is most strongly associated with newsworthiness. However, in the *economic benefits* frame Negativity appeared sparingly, and usually was used to heighten the construal of Positivity (see section 6.3.3). More specific to the *economic benefits* frame, Negativity's use was confined to discussions of the problem as defined, its causes, and consequences, whereas the other news values were focused on the solutions as suggested in the *economic benefits* frame. An example of Negativity is:

Peduto said the biggest stumbling block was a \$15 million credit that the Penguins could draw on to purchase parcels that make up the 28-acre Hill District property. The current agreement requires the city to pay the Penguins any money left over after the entire site is developed. (Bauder, 2017)

Negativity in these extracts is evoked through the negative metaphor, 'stumbling block'. Although the excerpt refers to the economic side of the redevelopment implicitly, the noun phrase and metaphor, 'stumbling block' references a misunderstanding or lack of agreement over the redevelopment. This reference not only has a negative connotation but by qualifying it the 'biggest' adds to the significance and impact of the disagreement. From the wider context provided (see Chapter 5) and from the 2017 news article, the excerpt also elaborates the consequence of the problem as defined in the *economic benefits* frame, namely that the Penguins will lose land and revenue if they do not develop the land in the agreed upon time. The context of this excerpt stems from the original agreement where the city, as owners of the 28-acres of land, formed an agreement with the Penguins as they held the development rights. As part of that agreement, the city extended a \$15 million credit to the Penguins to aid in the purchasing of the land and its development, furthermore that any money that was unused would be paid to the Penguins, a potential burden on taxpayers (Bauder, 2017; Gough, 2017). The

problem that arose and is discussed in the 2017 news article, is that the Penguins had not met the agreed upon deadlines for developing the area, and thus a new ‘agreement in principle’ (2017) occurred between the city and Penguins.

Peduto’s statement has negative overtones by suggesting disagreement and conflicting views, which are inherently negative experiences. The statement creates an adversarial *us* versus *them* scenario, where Mayor Peduto and taxpayers are presented as being in opposition to the Penguins. The excerpt also indicates Negativity as it refers to increased taxation of the community, which is also inherently negative. This is especially true, as the Hill District is an already impoverished area (refer to Chapter 5) so increases in taxes for the current residents of the area could essentially lead to increased costs of living and the potential for their displacement as many residents fall below the average medium income.

Negativity is construed in the *economic benefits* frame when the causes of the problem as defined are reported, such as the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. For instance,

Though largely ceremonial, the event was not entirely so because the groundbreaking marked the beginning of infrastructure work on the 28-acre site that was created in the late 1950s by destroying more than 1,000 buildings, hundreds of businesses and displacing more than 8,000 residents—all of them Black. (Morrow, 2015)

In the latter half of the excerpt (underlined), Negativity is construed through vocabulary such as ‘destroying’ and ‘displacing’, by intensification and quantification ‘more than 1,000’ and ‘more than 8,000’. As suggested earlier, the Negativity construed in this excerpt supports the Positivity associated with the redevelopment’s ground breaking, which was meant to mark the beginning of infrastructure work on the 28-acre site.

Negativity was not as explicit in the news images in the *economic benefits* frame (2014, 2015, and 2019a), as other news values (such as Positivity as for example shown through people’s smiling faces and colours like green and blue— explained

in detail in section 6.3.3). The one image that I would argue implies Negativity is the 2017 image (Figure 6.3) of the parking lot, the location where the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan had the most effect on the Hill District. As discussed in the Impact section (section 6.3.1), a large portion of the image depicts rows of parked cars that are cast in shadow, depicting a lack of liveliness (of people and activities). Caple (2013) states that Negativity is construed in images by depicting 'negative events and their effects' such as aftermath of accidents or the wreckage and damage done to property (pp. 52-53). I suggest this construes Negativity. It shows the separation of the lower Hill District (the parking lot) from the downtown area (not clearly pictured). As explained in Chapters 5 (see Figure 5.3, Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.6), the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan destroyed that area, as shown in the image now a parking lot, by separating it from downtown with a large highway, building an entertainment arena (which was demolished in 2011), and displacing longstanding Hill District institutions like restaurants, jazz clubs, general stores, and theatres (predominantly owned by Black residents).

6.3.3 Positivity

The news value of Positivity is construed throughout the *economic benefits* frame to promote the positive aspects of the redevelopment in terms of its economic stimulus, creation of jobs, while also focusing on other frame topics like reconnecting the Hill District to downtown. Positivity is defined as 'stories with particularly positive overtones' (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, p. 1471). It was mainly signified through the use of evaluative language with positive meanings and metaphors. For example,

Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that created the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started. (Belko, 2014)

The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money

that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District. (Belko, 2014)

In the above two excerpts, the overall news value is Positivity as seen in 'wide-ranging deal', 'largest tax diversion district', 'settled thorny issues, and 'creates a pot of money'. This language has positive overtones by using metaphors and positive lexis and as the above quotes constitute the opening paragraphs of the 2014 news article, they set its overall positive tone. The metaphor 'cleared the way' implies there was a hindrance or obstacle that has now been moved to create a positive redevelopment deal. Furthermore, the settling of 'thorny issues' is a negative metaphor which, in the sentence, is used to make a positive point. By using the metaphors, 'cleared the way' and 'settled thorny issues' the article makes the idea of the 'redevelopment' seem worthwhile or important enough for that act of clearing to take place. This supports the positive presentation of the redevelopment within the *economic benefits* frame as the solution to existing problems.

In the 2014 news article (see Appendix 2 individual analyses), the language used to discuss the money that the tax plan will generate construes the news values Positivity and Impact, which is indicative of the frame solution that the redevelopment will provide economic prosperity. The authors of the articles included in my study seldom use a single news value but instead use multiple news values together. This is not unusual, as Bednarek & Caple (2012a) for example state that 'it is important...to point out that there is no one-to-one relationship between [linguistic] devices and the news values they construe...the same linguistic feature can construe more than one news value' (p. 54). Other research also shows that it is common for a news article to display more than one news value and that the more news values that an event or issue is believed to have the more likely it is to be written about in the news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

Across the 2014 article, the consistent use of Positivity within the *economic benefit* frame is noticeable by stating how the tax increment plan is not only the largest in the city's history but also stating the amount of money the plan will generate to create a 'pot of money' (see excerpts above). This further supports the *economic*

benefits frame solution, which is the redevelopment because it will provide economic benefits to the Hill District.

Two of the news articles within the *economic benefits* frame (2017 and 2019a) suggest that the problem with the planned redevelopment is that there is lack of progress and consequently propose that the solution is to pursue its implementation. As such, the following excerpts report that the redevelopment (which had not properly begun despite the announcement in 2014) will deliver on the promises made when the announcement was made: construing Positivity and supporting the *economic benefits* frame solution.

In a statement, Mr. Peduto –another who has chided the Penguins in the past about the lack of development – lauded the latest plan.

'It was worth the time to listen closely to our Hill District partners and get this right,' he said. 'With the help of the Penguins and their development team, we're delivering on promises of new jobs, affordable housing, and historic reconnection between the Hill and the heart of the Downtown business district.' (Belko, 2019a)

In the first of the above excerpts, Positivity is construed through evaluative language and metaphor. The 2019a article excerpt states that Peduto is in support of the latest redevelopment plan and uses the word 'lauded', positively evaluating the plan and supporting the frame solution. Belko references the frame problem about the lack of development, reporting that Peduto 'chided the Penguins' which construes Negativity. Although Negativity is construed, the primary news value in this excerpt is Positivity, which can be seen in the way that in the above extract the initial Negativity is, in a sense, only the preamble to the Positivity of the new plan.

The second of the above excerpts is a direct report from Peduto where he construes Positivity about the redevelopment plan through metaphor. In the metaphor, 'delivering on promises', Peduto states that these promises will bring jobs, affordable housing, and the physical connection between the Lower Hill and the downtown CBD. This statement is in reference to promises that had not been

kept, such as the construction of the park in the Lower Hill District agreed upon in 2014 and indicated in the 2017 news article.

Another construal of Positivity is found in the 2019a news article which describes the positive actions the Penguins are taking to make progress with the redevelopment. The construal of Positivity could be in response to the lack of construction up to the point of this article (2019) and as a way to respond to the Negative construal found in earlier news texts (2017).

After a series of setbacks, Mr. Morehouse said the team should have no trouble meeting the deadline and could have most of the first two phases done by then. 'We're moving at breakneck speed right now,' he said.

'We're going to start construction. That's the message. We're ready to go,' he added. 'It's better than anything we contemplated when we first started thinking about it. Time has helped.' (Belko, 2019a)

Like in the previous excerpt from Peduto, in the first of the above excerpts, Negativity is initially construed (e.g., 'series of setbacks') at the beginning of the sentence. But Positivity is the primary news value. The focus is on the impending construction and how 'it's better than anything' agreed upon prior. Morehouse's (the Penguins CEO) use of the metaphor 'moving at breakneck speed', suggests that the city and the Penguins are working tirelessly to complete the first two phases by the deadline, and the interpretation is Positive. Metaphor studies (Richardt, 2011) have shown that positivity and negativity can be ascribed to different types of movement, particularly when related to direction and speed. For example, 'movement up is generally seen as positive, movement down as negative; and in accordance with speed, fast movement is typically positive whereas slow movement is often seen as negative' (Richardt, 2011, p. 291). Thus, the metaphor in the 2019a news article, 'moving at breakneck speed' is alluding to fast forward motion in implementing the plans and therefore construing Positivity.

Morehouse's direct report that follows is a statement about what they (the city and Penguins) will do – 'We're going to start construction' (Belko, 2019a). The Positivity is construed in the evaluative statement, 'It's better than anything we

contemplated...'. Like the prior examples, the Positivity is construed in opposition to the Negativity about the lack of development from 2014 to 2019 and aligns with how the problem is defined within the *economic benefits* frame (see Table 6.2).

Positivity is construed in the 2015 news article about the ground breaking marking the beginning of reconnection between the Hill District and Downtown construction portion of the redevelopment. Morrow reported,

‘It’s an enormous milestone and undertaking going forward,’ he said. ‘And it will serve as a gateway between the hill district and downtown.’ (Morrow, 2015)

In the above excerpt, the Sports and Exhibition Chair and state Senator Wayne Fontana construes Positivity and Impact about the redevelopment in his direct report. Fontana uses evaluative language and positive vocabulary to refer to the redevelopment, i.e., an ‘enormous milestone’. The adjective ‘enormous’ modifies the positive noun ‘milestone’, which intensifies the Positivity construed about the redevelopment construction. Moreover, the construction that will reconnect the Hill District with downtown Pittsburgh is referred to as ‘a gateway’. The metaphor ‘gateway’ conceptualises a path or doorway that allows a person to go from one place to another with ease, or more literally the access between the two areas that will be created due to the construction. That this statement shows Positivity becomes clear in the relation to the past situation, where the Hill District was disconnected from the downtown area during the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan (section 6.2).

Bednarek and Caple (2017) state that the news value Negativity can be analysed in images where ‘the event is discursively constructed as Negative’ (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 110-125), and I would suggest the same is true for the Positivity news value. For example, Positivity is construed in the image of the 2015 news article by Morrow about the ground breaking of the planned construction. The image (Figure 6.2) shows eleven men in a line all wielding spades in the motion of shovelling dirt and positioned in the centre of the image. At the top of the image there is a bright blue sky. The imagery is reinforced in the 2015 news text, when Morrow writes,

If all goes as they plan, the sun that shown brightly as federal, state and local officials gathered to break ground on \$440 million project at the former Civic Arena site, will mark a new dawn for the Hill District and beyond. (Morrow, 2015)

Just as the image shows the blue sky, the corresponding text comments on the image and the image caption and thus construes Impact and Positivity. Moreover, the image and text validate the frame solution, as the image connotes Positivity by showing prominent men in the act of breaking ground is supported by the text that employs the *economic benefits* frame.

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 4 Methodology), Positivity can be constructed in images showing people experiencing positive emotions conveyed by smiles. Martello uses this tactic in the photo, as the camera angle is wide to fit all the stakeholders in and the viewer is positioned to be looking up at their smiling faces. All of them are smiling, strengthening the effect of Positivity. Thus, with the addition to the Positivity shown in the news text, I argue that the smiling faces of the men in the image and the active motion of shovelling the dirt or 'breaking ground' as the headline states align the Positive news value of the text with the Positive visual of the accompanying image—thus are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

Furthering the Positive news value, as well as construing Impact is the image caption:

A NEW DAY DAWNS –Federal, state, and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello).

The use of all capitals, 'A NEW DAY DAWNS' construes Impact visually and linguistically. For in terms of structure, after the reader views the image and headline, the eye is brought to the statement in all caps. The statement itself is mirrored in the image and in the body of the news article promoting the construal of Positivity in the *economic benefits* frame, as the solution in the frame is the act of redevelopment construction.



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

Figure 6.2 2015 news article

The 2019a news image (Figure 6.4 below) also supports the Positivity that is construed throughout the news article's text about a new vision for the redevelopment and the start of construction. The image is a digital rendering of what the Hill District will look like after the redevelopment plan is completed. As the image is a digital rendering, it tries to accurately represent the redevelopment plan. For instance, the image landscape has bright colours in the sky and the greenery (e.g., green spaces, tree-lined streets), which are adjacent to the more muted colours of the buildings. The image also depicts the hardscape areas (pavements, roads, and buildings), which are all presented as new and clean, thus construing Positivity.

The composition of the image centralises many new buildings, presumably the new apartments and new retail opportunities that are described in the news article. Moreover, the two main roads pictured (on the left and on the right) come to a point, drawing the eye to the bottom of the image where the downtown area would be spatially, and also towards the news article's headline.

Overall, it can be argued that with the chosen colours and composition, the clear shapes and combination of what looks like new buildings and well-kept streets, pavements and trees, the image shows an aesthetically pleasing urban streetscape and aimed to invoke positive evaluations of the redevelopment.



'Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site



ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 6.4 2019a news article

6.3.4 Prominence

In the *economic benefits* frame the news value Prominence or Eliteness is construed when discussing the economic benefits of the redevelopment. Bednarek & Caple (2012a) define Prominence as 'the high status of the individuals (e.g., celebrities, politicians), organizations or nations involved in the event, including quoted sources' (p. 41). The use of role labels (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a) was the most commonly used linguistic device to signify Prominence as a news value in the *economic benefits* frame.

'[The Penguins] think this development will be the center of energy for the region,' said David Morehouse, Penguins CEO and president. (Belko, 2019a)

Prominence is construed through role labels in the above quote. Whilst construing Prominence the quotes are indicating that these prominent or elite people are helping to spur the benefits of the redevelopment and thus the quotes support aspects of the *economic benefits* frame, such as starting redevelopment construction and the subsequent benefits after its completion—'the center of energy for the region'. Morehouse's quote refers to the redevelopment providing economic stimulus through money and finance, as the surrounding paragraphs in the news article state that the redevelopment will 'serve as incubators for small businesses' and provide '1,420 units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, 50,000 square feet of entertainment, and a 220-room hotel' (Belko, 2019a)—therefore construing Prominence in the *economic benefits* frame.

In the quote, the role label construes Prominence (e.g., 'David Morehouse, Penguins CEO and president'). The status of Morehouse as CEO and president is given to implicitly support the *economic benefits* frame. When role labels were used in the articles, they designated politicians or private investors involved in the Hill District redevelopment, in addition to the journalists including their titles (e.g., Penguins CEO and president) or profession (e.g., Mayor), through a descriptive noun phrase.

In addition to the construal of Prominence through role labels, Prominence is elicited in the 2014 (Figure 6.1 2014 news article) and 2015 (Figure 6.2 2015 news article) news articles' accompanying images. The individuals in both images are local and state politicians and the Penguin's executives- the types of prominent people who were quoted as elaborating the *economic benefits* frame in the news article texts.



Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site



Darrell Sapp/Post-Gazette

ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 6.1 2014 news article

In the 2014 image Prominence is constructed, as the image features five prominent men in the redevelopment decisions (Mayor Bill Peduto, Councilman Lavelle, State Senator Jay Costa, Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams, and Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald). Mayor Bill Peduto is at the forefront of the image and to many Pittsburgh citizens, especially those in the Hill District, is a recognisable key figure of Pittsburgh, as he is regularly reported in the media (e.g., television, online and print news) and has an active online social media presence. Moreover, three of the four men to his right are watching Peduto speak at the podium, giving him their full attention with their gaze towards Peduto, further construing Peduto's Prominence. Additionally, the composition of the image foregrounds Mayor Peduto to the left front of the image, right above the headline. The image includes elements of Prominence, such as suits, a podium and microphone, and is situated in a room where framed headshots of men hang on the walls presumably depicting former city officials. The context associated with

these items and the suited men in the image all work together to construct Prominence.

Similarly in the 2015 news image (Figure 6.2), Prominence is construed. Eleven men in suits are featured across the centre of the landscape image. The composition foregrounds the men across the centre of the image, wielding spades in the act of shovelling or breaking ground as described in the article. In the caption and the first sentence of the article, the men are identified as 'federal, state, and local partners' and 'federal, state and local officials', respectively, who are there to break ground on the redevelopment project. Prominence is construed through their projection of authority, for example as they are wearing suits but also, they are referred to as officials and by title in the news article (e.g., Councilman). In this image (2015) the *economic benefits* frame is employed as the area they are breaking ground on is presumably the same area that was destroyed in the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan identified in the frame description. Also, the frame is employed as the prominent people featured in the image are the "type" of sources who elaborate the *economic benefits* frame in the news article's text.

The use of Prominence shows that conventionally authoritative people elaborate the *economic benefits* frame. This suggests that the elite people responsible for the deal (i.e., politicians and Penguin's executives) support the 2014 redevelopment, in that it will fix prior problems (e.g., 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and disinvestment).

6.4 Sources and Reported Speech

This section analyses what types of sources are used within the *economic benefits* frame and how these sources are incorporated in the news articles in terms of the use of reporting verbs. I also consider whether certain reporting verbs are frequently used to introduce certain sources and how such use of reporting verbs may function to enhance or discredit sources' statements. Journalists can reveal their stance or views on the events and issues their reporting through the

reporting verbs they choose to include, and therefore can indicate a frame they more closely align with.

In regard to the *economic benefits* frame, this section will show a higher concentration of quotations were allotted to politicians and private investors associated with the redevelopment, whereas there were no community voices (i.e., no ordinary people from the community or grassroots organisation leader source types) that elaborated the *economic benefits* frame. This suggests that in the news articles that use the *economic benefits* frame, politicians and private investor's voices are sponsoring that frame (see frame sponsors, Chapter 3). As explained in Chapter 3, journalists use a range of verbal speech-act signs to incorporate statements from sources into the news articles (Fairclough, 2003). When incorporating statements from politicians and private investors, journalists relied on neutral structuring reporting verbs, like 'said' and 'added'.

Table 6.3 Breakdown of sources quoted in *economic benefits* frame in the news articles

Article	Source Type	Source	Number of times quoted elaborating the <i>economic benefits</i> frame	Type of report	Reporting verb
2014	Private Investor	Travis Williams, Penguins' Chief Operating Officer (COO)	1	indirect	said
	Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	1	Indirect	said
2015	Politician	Tom Wolf, Governor	1	Direct	said
	Politician	Mike Doyle, U.S. Representative	1	Direct	said
	Politician	Wayne Fontant, Sports & Exhibition Chair and U.S. Senator	2	Indirect	called
				Direct	said
2017	Politician	Bill Peduto, Mayor	8	Direct	said
				Indirect	said
				Direct	said
				Indirect	said
				Direct	said
				Direct	said
				Indirect	said
				Direct	said
2019a	Politician	Bill Peduto, Mayor	2	Indirect	lauded
				Direct	said
			4	Direct	said

Private Investor	David Morehouse, Penguins' CEO		Direct	said
			Direct	said
			Direct	said
Private Investor/ Politician	Kevin Acklin, former chief of staff for Peduto & current lead development officer for the Penguins	2	Indirect/Direct	said
			Direct	said
Private Investor	Chris Buccini, President of the Buccini/ Pollin Group, Architect	1	Direct	said
Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	3	Indirect	said
			Direct	said
			Indirect	added

It should be noted that Table 6.3 lists only the sources that elaborate the *economic benefits* frame, not all sources that were quoted in the analysed news articles.

6.4.1 Politicians and Private Investors

Politicians and private investors are frequently quoted (see Table 6.3 for general quantification) in the *economic benefits* frame, in terms of the journalists' incorporation of direct and indirect quotes in the four news articles (2014, 2015, 2017, 2019a). These voices include powerful figures like Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto, Penguins CEO David Morehouse and other Penguins executives, as well as quotes from Pennsylvania state politicians like the Pennsylvania (PA) Governor, a PA House Representative, and a PA Senator.

When quoting these sources, journalists tend to opt for using direct report over other forms of reported speech (Fairclough, 2003). This suggests that the news producers believe the idea is that is quoted is deemed important enough to include unaltered instead of paraphrased or summarised, for example, and give credit to the source. In the case of the representation of the redevelopment, the direct quotations were often laden with metaphors and evaluative language (Hellston & Renvall, 1997). We see this in examples like, 'settled thorny issues' (Belko, 2014), 'hit a wall' (Bauder, 2017), and 'enormous milestone' (Morrow, 2015), and in statements like, "Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways" (Belko, 2014). As shown earlier (section 6.3), the content of these quotes fits the *economic benefits* frame. In the articles in my data

set, the strong presence of such quotes and the metaphors used suggest vivid and potentially persuasive ways in which the *economic benefits* frame is put forward. This indicates that the *economic benefits* frame may be particularly persuasive as a frame. In Chapter 9, I will say more on frame dominance.

The source that was most frequently drawn on in the *economic benefits* frame is Mayor Peduto who is mainly quoted in the form of direct speech (see Table 6.3). Peduto's quotes present details of the redevelopment plans and any on-going disagreements, especially in terms of lack of progress with the current redevelopment as discussed in the 2017 and 2019 articles. In the 2017 news article, Peduto is the primary voice throughout the article.

In addition to the journalists choosing quotes that position Peduto as the mediator of the redevelopment, his quotes are introduced with neutral structuring (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994) with the verb 'said'. For example,

"I think that within the next 24 hours the option for taking back the land will be traded for the option of seeing the land developed,' Peduto said. 'There is no doubt that there is going to be give and take in this final negotiation, but there was a willingness to negotiate on the give from the Penguins that we hadn't seen to this degree before.' (Bauder, 2017)

The combination of a neutral reporting verb and direct speech gives credit to Peduto's voice. As the journalist does neither specifically support nor discredit his views no position is taken, as Caldas-Coulthard (1994) suggests. However, the use of this neutral reporting verb, 'said', could also be seen to signal to the reader that this is a factual reporting of events and situations and thus credible. Indirectly then, the quote supports the *economic benefits* frame and may help 'legitimize' what is being written (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994, p. 304).

Other voices that elaborate the *economic benefits* frame are the executives of the Penguins (i.e. the private investors). Similar to the reports of Mayor Peduto, the journalists (Belko, 2014, 2019a; Morrow, 2015; Bauder 2017) quote the Penguins' executives with neutral reporting verbs throughout the four news articles that employ the *economic benefits* frame. For example,

Travis Williams, the Penguins' chief operating officer, said public subsidies may be required for the units that will be at 60 to 70 per cent of the area media. That, he said, could come from the TIF or other sources. (Belko, 2014)

'We think this development will be the center of energy for the region,' said David Morehouse, Penguins CEO and president. (Belko, 2019a)

In each of the above quotes, the speakers' role labels are included to give context to the statements made about the 2014 redevelopment plan. Similar to the inclusion of Peduto's report in the earlier extracts, Belko's repeated use of the neutral structuring verb 'said' suggests a factual account which, while not explicitly taking a stance in support of what the sources say, does not discredit them either and overall, this creates the impression of facts being reported and credibility given to the content of what is reported.

In the *economic benefits* frame, the only community voice included is City Councilman Lavelle, who represents the Hill District in the redevelopment discussions, but is effectively a politician. He is reported in this frame in the 2014 and 2019a news articles about the new vision and deadlines for the redevelopment. These issues represent the problem definition and causes as discussed in the *economic benefits* frame. In the 2019a news article (towards the end of the news article), Lavelle is quoted in support of the new plan and his statements align with the types of solutions discussed in the *economic benefits* frame.

In contrast to the use of direct quotes from politicians and private investor source types, Lavelle is partially or indirectly quoted in the article, allowing the journalist to paraphrase Lavelle's words in order to frame the redevelopment (see below). For instance:

That's not as low as the 30 per cent Hill leaders sought. But Mr. Lavelle said that with the changes, some apartments may rent for as low as \$600 a month (Belko, 2014).

In the excerpt above, Lavelle is quoted first remarking on the negative redevelopment aspects, like lack of affordable housing and his own past frustrations before he is quoted remarking on the more positive aspects of the redevelopment. Lavelle's quotes reflect the full breadth of the *economic benefits* frame, for he describes the problems, suggests causes and consequences, and supports the redevelopment as the solution.

Here the neutral factual verb, 'said' is used again, so like its previous use in the *economic benefits* frame (shown earlier) the views by Lavelle are not discredited. However, when Belko (2014) uses the phrase 'but Lavelle said', it functions as a way to disagree with the first part of the sentence with the reference to 'what Hill leaders sought'. Here, with naming Lavelle and using 'said' (not argued or claimed), Belko strategically presents Lavelle's view as factual and thus discredits and weakens the concerns of the Hill leaders. This is similar to how Belko quotes Lavelle in the 2019a article, for instance:

City Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who expressed frustration in the past about the team's inability to get the development moving, said he is more confident that the latest team assembled by the Penguins can get the job done (Belko, 2019a).

Again, Lavelle is quoted indirectly by Belko expressing frustrations about the lack of past actions before then remarking positively on the changes made and the future of the redevelopment. Not only does Belko use an indirect quote to paraphrase Lavelle's statement, but the introductory clause 'expressed frustration in the past...', is what Caldas-Coulthard (1994) would classify as a metapropositional expressive used by the journalist to 'label and categorize the contribution of a speaker' (p. 306). Here Belko is setting the scene for the indirect quote—this may be a way for Belko to include both the negative and positive aspects of the redevelopment. The use of the neutral reporting verb, 'said' is also used, and as suggested, does not discredit, or explicitly endorse a statement, however the use of the clause and the reporting verb suggests that Belko may align with the positive evaluations of the redevelopment in the 2019a news article, more

specifically the *economic benefits* frame (which is the only frame employed in this article, Table 6.1).

6.5 Summary of the *Economic Benefits* Frame

This chapter examined the *economic benefits* frame of the redevelopment. In summary (Table 6.2), in the *economic benefits* frame it is suggested that the problem is the economic stagnation of the Hill District, and the cause of this problem is the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan (an earlier development). Moreover, another cause that is suggested is the lack of progress in the current redevelopment because of a debate over affordable housing between local politicians and private investors on the one hand and the community on the other. One of the consequences that is presented is that the Penguins Hockey team will lose land and revenue if they do not develop the land/area in the time agreed upon, which means further delays for the redevelopment and inevitably worsening relationships between the community and city and private investors responsible for the redevelopment. Finally, the solution presented in the *economic benefits* frame is the redevelopment itself because it will provide economic benefits to the Hill District. This analysis shows that the frame is focused primarily on the solutions that the redevelopment will bring to the Hill District area in terms of economic vitality through new shops and housing, green spaces, and new road systems, which is also shown in the 2019a digital rendering of the redevelopment.

News values analysis identified Impact, Positivity, Prominence and Negativity in the news articles within the *economic benefits* frame. Journalists (Belko, 2014, 2019a; Morrow, 2015; Bauder, 2017) use Impact, Positivity and Prominence to create newsworthiness of the redevelopment's economic benefits. Moreover, the redevelopment's Positivity and Impact is further supported in the images included with the news articles, where the elite voices providing the solutions in the news articles are mimicked in the news images of the 2014 and 2015 news articles.

Analysis of source types shows that the *economic benefits* frame was most frequently elaborated by politicians and private investors, inherently elite voices.

Additionally, when quoted the statements from elite sources were introduced through the neutral structuring verb 'said' and often with direct quotes. In all four news articles (Belko, 2014, 2019a; Morrow, 2015; Bauder, 2017) that employ the *economic benefits* frame, the new producers include prominent or elite sources, and what these say is often positive and thus support the solution arguments presented in the frame.

Chapter 7: Community Benefits Frame

This chapter will describe the *community benefits* frame. The chapter will start with summaries of the news articles where the *community benefits* frame featured and then move on to present the frame as it was communicated through text and image. Next, I examine the news values associated with this frame and look at sources used and how they are reported in the news articles that are associated with the frame. I then conclude by summarising the *community benefits* frame.

7.1 Summary of the news articles featuring the *community benefits* frame

The *community benefits* frame appears in five of the seven news articles, dating 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019b, and 2019c (Table 6.1). The news article, "Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site" by Mark Belko, which was published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* on 9 September 2014, covers the press conference about the redevelopment new deal. This news article features the *economic benefits* frame, as explained in Chapter 6, but besides economic benefits like tax increment plans and property development, the news article also discusses other benefits that the redevelopment will have for the community, like community involvement in decision making and business opportunities and jobs.

The second text in which the *community benefits* frame appears is 'Governor Joins Officials to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District' by Christian Morrow, published 25 March 2015. Morrow writes about the ground breaking that marked the construction of two new streets to help create road connections from the Lower Hill District to the city centre. In addition to discussing the phases of the redevelopment and its economic impact (*economic benefits* frame, see Chapter 6), Morrow reports on how the redevelopment will build community ties and create good will amongst people living and working in the city and Hill District community. This news article also has an image (Figure 6.2) that features a line of

politicians and Pittsburgh leaders taking part in the ground breaking as described in the news article's text.

The third text in which the *community benefits* frame appears is from 7 January 2016 titled 'Hill District Group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents' by Tom Fontaine published in the *Tribune-Review*. The article is about the disagreements of Hill District community leaders relating to the percentage of affordable housing in the redevelopment plan. Community leaders are quoted who discuss how the redevelopment plan is problematic in terms of the limits to affordable housing that they say will lead to displacement of people with lower incomes from the area, which, ultimately could lead to gentrification (see Chapter 2). The article quotes many stakeholders, including Carl Redwood, a community leader and Hill District Consensus Group Chairman, as well as Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams. The articles discuss the shortcomings of the redevelopment, asking if the Penguins' developers will meet the 'demands' of the community (Fontaine, 2016), showing here the *community benefits* frame. The frame is also visible in how the article employs focusses the stakeholders' efforts on meeting the community's demands, like affordable housing (described more in Chapter 8 *gentrification* frame). Like the 2017 news article, also published in the *Tribune-Review*, the image of the parking lot accompanies the article.

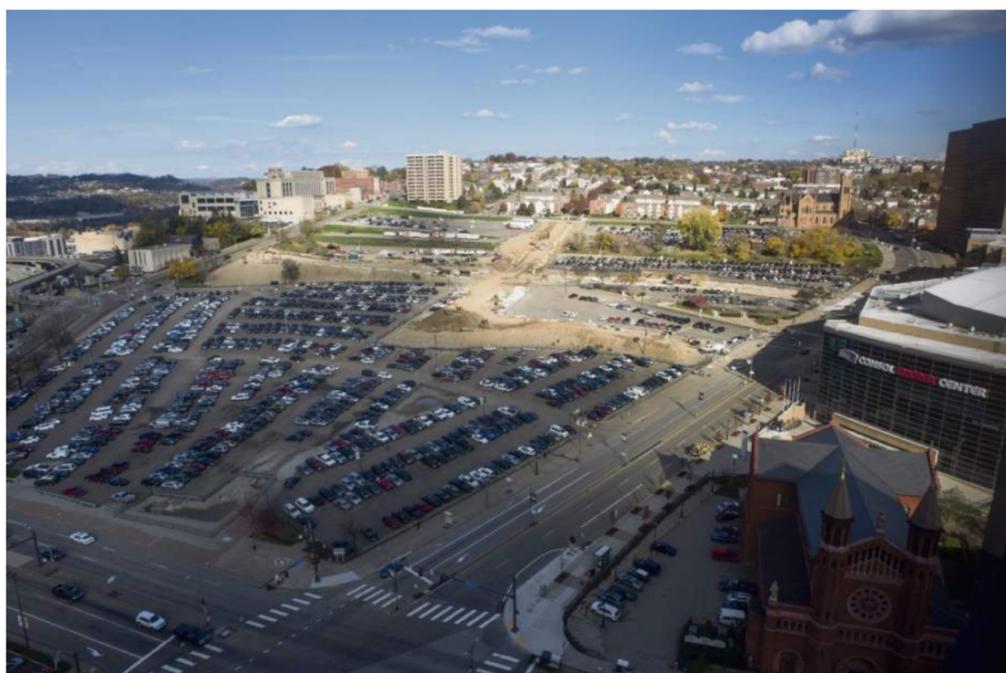


Figure 7.1 2016 news article

The fourth news article that features the *community benefits* frame is from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* published 15 May 2019 titled 'Welcome to the 'Centre District' – or the former Civic Arena site' by Mark Belko. The article describes the 'unveiling' of the 'new vision' for the redevelopment area where it is to be renamed and 'creating a [new] identity' (Belko, 2019b). The article explains how the new vision for the Hill District creates another disagreement between the city and private investors and the community leaders. This new vision, it explains, is focussed on private investment and its assumed benefits. However, the article acknowledges a point of contention that the redevelopment will not reflect the history and culture of the area, as the community requests revitalisation of old businesses and buildings instead of building new ones as suggested in the 2014 redevelopment plan. The image that accompanies this news article is a digital rendering of the aerial view of the Lower Hill District redevelopment and part of downtown Pittsburgh (Figure 7.2).

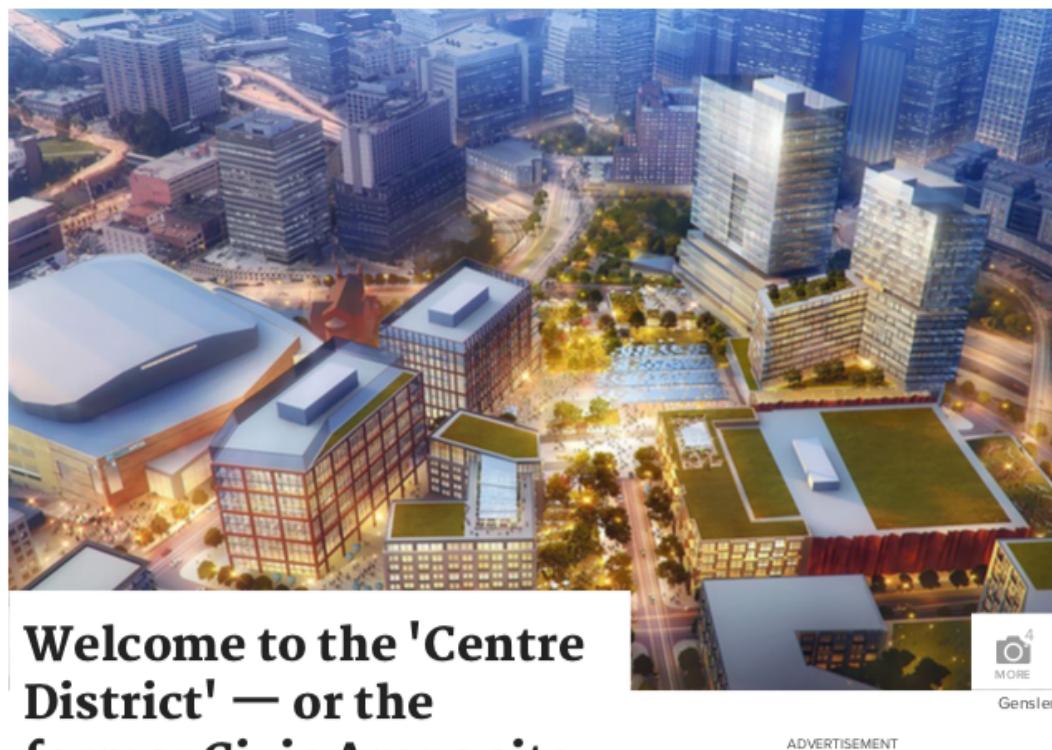
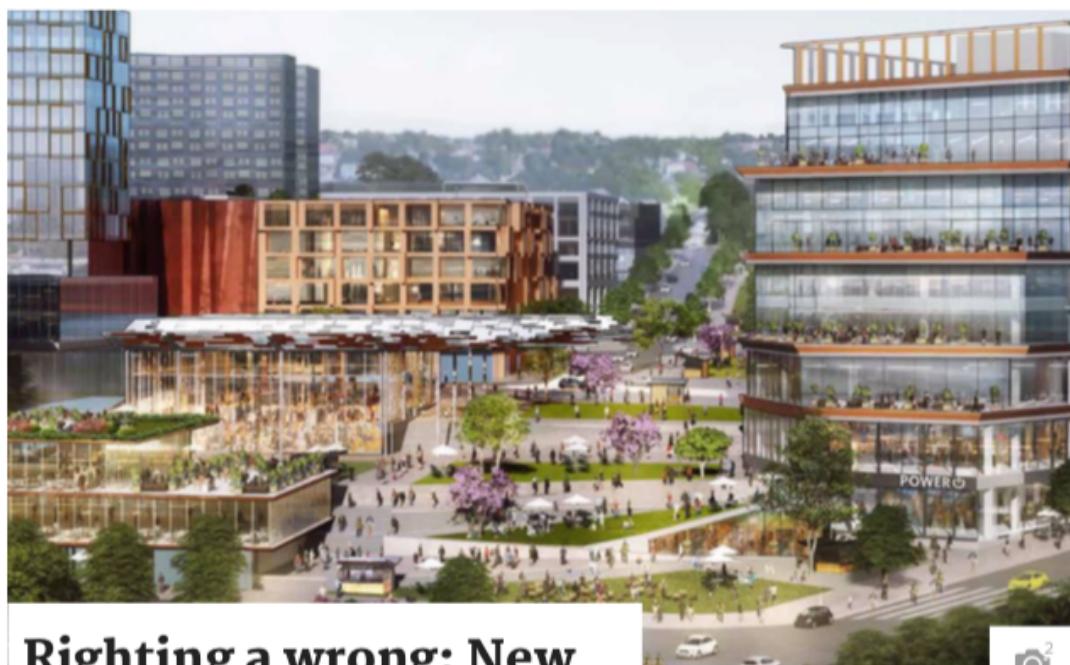


Figure 7.2 2019b news article

The final news article that employs the *community benefits* frame is published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* 'Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District' by Mark Belko published on 14 June 2019. The article focuses on the 'three-acre park' that will connect the Lower Hill District with the downtown business district (Belko, 2019c) and discusses the benefits that the park will have for the community by setting up a comparison between the 1960s Urban Renewal project and the redevelopment. It presents some of the positives of the redevelopment like the new link between the Hill and downtown area. Like the 2019b news article above, an image of a digital rendering of the redevelopment accompanies the news text (Figure 7.3). The image shows buildings, which are presumed to be apartments and commercial offices, walking paths and green spaces.



Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District



Gensler

ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 7.3 2019c news article

7.2 The *community benefits* frame: problem definition, causes, consequences and solutions

The *community benefits* frame proposes that the redevelopment will bring about positive changes in and for the community (Table 7.1). For example, one news article (Belko, 2014) talks about 'opportunities' like job creation and business investment for locally owned businesses. Articles within this frame also discuss the community's involvement in decisions relating to the redevelopment.

In the five news articles employing the *community benefits* frame from 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019b and 2019c, the **problem** is defined broadly as the lack of community opportunities in the Lower Hill District (e.g., inadequate housing, limited access to food shops, and lack of cultural venues and activities). Another part of the problem, as defined in this frame, is the lack of community involvement in decisions made relating to the planned redevelopment. These are particularly linked to the topic of affordable housing and not respecting the history and culture of the Hill District.

The **cause** of the problems identified in the *community benefits* frame is the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan (also identified as the problem in the *economic benefits* frame) – 'the 28-acre site that was created in the late 1950s by destroying more than 1,000 buildings, hundreds of businesses and displacing more than 8,000 residents—all of them Black. "Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways" (Morrow, 2015). The legacy alludes to the Hill District's past cultural institutions like jazz clubs and theatres that are unique to the Hill District's Black community and also the general Hill District area that was neglected and not developed due to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan leaving the community without basic amenities (see Chapter 5 for more detail). The 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, the construction of the interstate highway and Civic Arena (demolished in 2011 to create a parking lot) led to the Hill District being physically cut off from the CBD, making commuting to Downtown (CBD) difficult for residents and consequently for downtown patrons to frequent Hill District businesses (Bauman & Muller, 2006). This effectively dried up Hill District business revenue and increased unemployment in the area.

The only **consequence** of the problem as defined in the *community benefits* frame is found in the 2019b article by Belko, and it suggests that because the community was not involved in discussions of rebranding (e.g., the proposed new name, the Centre District), the rebranding does not respect the Hill District's history – "That does not respect the history or the culture," said C. Denise Johnson" (Belko, 2019b).

Like the *economic benefits* frame in Chapter 6, the *community benefits* frame suggests that the 2014 redevelopment is the **solution**, i.e., that the redevelopment will provide benefits for the community. For example, the article from 2014 suggests that the redevelopment announced in 2014 is 'transformative' and that the redevelopment 'would help to "mend and heal" the neighborhood' from the past 1960s Urban Renewal Plan's mistakes (Belko, 2014). Mayor Peduto is quoted stating that 'Today we're going to do something quite different...we're going to invest back in that community' (Belko, 2014). The *community benefits* frame describes the redevelopment as solving problems like 'street and utility improvements, grants for housing down payments and closing costs, subsidies to support mixed-income housing development, loans to help repair existing apartment units, and residential facade grants' (Belko, 2014). In other words, changes to the area that would benefit the community. A similar view that the redevelopment will bring about community benefits is expressed in the 2015 article where a quote from Mayor Peduto is included.

It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of," [Peduto] said. "Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything around us," he said. "Today we are building community." (Morrow, 2015)

The redevelopment is situated as a positive solution in this frame, having the ability to 're-transform', be 'transformative', and 'build' a community by providing opportunities or benefits—such as reconnecting the Lower Hill to the CBD area and providing jobs to the current residents. These efforts are also stated in the 2019c news article when Lavelle, the Hill Representative is quoted to say: 'While

the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities' (Belko, 2019c). While Lavelle talks about business and jobs, in other words economic benefits of the new plan, he highlights the kind of benefits that are specific to the community. This illustrates the article's position within the *community benefits* frame whereas the *economic benefits* frame suggests economic vitality in a more general way and in the area, including benefits for stakeholders that are not directly from the community, for example investors.

Another facet to presenting the redevelopment as a solution in the *community benefits* frame is that an increase of affordable housing is a paramount need for the community and that the redevelopment will enable that. This implicitly alludes to the community's concerns of gentrification because if the community does not benefit from housing being affordable, then they will be forced to leave the area and more affluent people will move in—displacement and gentrification will occur. In the 2016 article, affordable housing is one of the main topics and some of its discussion (the other frame found in this article is discussed in Chapter 8 The *Gentrification Frame*) illustrated how this article is framed in highlighting *community benefits*. For example,

Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, said the administration "has been very aggressive in our commitments to affordable housing." (Fontaine, 2016)

The above excerpt from the 2016 news article is different to the other news articles that use the *community benefits* frame in that the focus is specifically on affordable housing. In the excerpt, a prominent city stakeholder is reported saying he and the administration are working hard (e.g., 'aggressive in our commitments') to provide an adequate percentage of affordable housing as part of the redevelopment. Affordable housing is related to the *community benefits* frame employment because the problem of affordable housing is related to the inadequate infrastructure found in the Hill District because of the historical disinvestment in the area.

Each of the five articles in the *community benefits* frame have an accompanying news image. The topics highlighted in the *community benefits* frame such as quality of life, culture, and general community benefits are implicitly shown in some of the images, so they still elaborate the *community benefits* frame. For instance, the 2016 news image (Figure 7.1) is a picture of a vast parking lot (note: this is the same image from the 2017 news article discussed in Chapter 6 *economic benefits* frame; Figure 6.3 2017 news article). As previously discussed, the image of the parking lot situated in the Lower Hill District is a representation of what the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan did to the Hill District, which created a highway and an entertainment arena, later demolished in 2011 furthering the divide of the Hill District and Downtown area. This is the suggested cause of the problem as defined in the *community benefits* frame.

Conversely, the images from the 2019b and 2019c news articles (Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3 respectively) are digital renderings of a completed 2014 redevelopment in the Lower Hill District. These images relate to the *community benefits* frame by depicting what we can presume to be benefits that the redevelopment will create in the Hill District. For example, the images show what look like new buildings (high rises with flats) and green spaces. The 2019b image (Figure 7.2) for example shows what seem to be blocks of flats. The 2019c image (Figure 7.3) shows green spaces in front of and in between buildings, while also showing what appear to be office buildings and, at the back, high rises that, presumably, contain flats. Whether the buildings shown here contain the talked about affordable housing or not is not possible to tell from the images.

Furthermore, the headlines of the news articles are shown in the bottom left corner of each image, half inside the image (Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3). There is a visual-verbal repetition of what is expressed verbally in the news article (e.g., *community benefits* frame) and what is depicted visually in the image (Reese, 1984 and more recently, Powell et al., 2018; see Chapter 9 for more detail). For instance, in the 2019c news article, the 'Righting a wrong' expressed in the headline alludes to the negative actions taken against the Hill District and its community in the 1960s (see Chapter 5), while this implies economic negatives, it more explicitly remarks on the wrongs committed against the community, thus the *community*

benefits frame. So, although in the 2019c image (Figure 7.3) the buildings look expensive and the connection to the community may be tenuous, the verbal-verbal repetition of the headline and the article means the image also employs the *community benefits* frame.

Table 7.1 Community Benefits Frame Table

Frame	Verbal definition of the problem	Verbal cause (why is it a problem?)	Verbal consequences	Verbal solutions/actions	Verbal and visual elaborated news values	Verbal and visual elaborated source types	Verbal metaphors	Visual elaboration of the frame according to thematic analysis
Community Benefits	The problem is lack of benefits for the community such as adequate housing, food shops and cultural venues, as a result of/and little involvement of the community in decision-making about the 2014 redevelopment plan- particularly on the topic of affordable housing and keeping/restoring cultural institutions like jazz clubs and theatres.	The lack of benefits for the community was caused by an earlier redevelopment plan – the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan.	A consequence is that the proposed new name (the Centre District) does not respect the Hill District's culture or history because the community was not involved in discussions of rebranding.	The solution is the redevelopment itself because it will provide community benefits to the Hill District.	Impact; Positivity; Prominence; Personalization; Negativity	Politicians; Private Investors; Ordinary people	Mend and heal; Building a community	Depiction of the current area and how the redevelopment will transform the area; Depictions of the completed redevelopment

7.3 News Values

In this section, I analyse the news values construed in the news articles that feature the *community benefits* frame. News values that were present in the news articles that employed the *community benefits* frame include Impact, Negativity, Personalisation, Positivity, and Prominence. The focus of this analysis is on documenting the co-existence of these news values with the *community benefits* frame through a close textual analysis (as suggested in Chapter 4 Methodology and to Appendix 2 individual analyses).

This section begins with a summary analysis of each news value that I identified as related to the frame. Then a more detailed analysis of the news value is conducted in text and image. It should be noted that, just like with frames, some news articles employed more than one news value and the same quote may be used again in a different part of the chapter to discuss another news value.

7.3.1 Impact

In the five news articles that employ the *community benefits* frame, the news value Impact is associated with the negative consequences of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and the positive solutions offered in the new agreement. As explained previously, the Impact news value is defined as 'the effects or consequences of an event' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 43); For instance, in the 2014 news article where the redevelopment deal is announced via a press conference, Belko reports:

'Today is transformative,' Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said.
'This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past.' (Belko, 2014)

In the excerpt, Impact is construed through 'references to effects/impact on individuals, entities, and so on' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 56), here the neighbourhood and its people. For instance, Fitzgerald is quoted talking about the day as 'transformative', and while this adjective is used to describe the day it is inherently understood to describe the redevelopment deal (see also section 7.3.4

below). As such, Fitzgerald remarks on the Impact of the deal as it will 'provide those opportunities'. The creation of opportunities is a clear example of the positive repercussions on a local scale that Bednarek and Caple (2012a) refer to. Impact is construed further, as Fitzgerald notes it is for those 'who haven't had them in the past', referring to residents of the Hill District who live in an economically stagnate area due to the effects of the 1960s Urban Renewal plan.

Another reference to the redevelopment's Impact is found in the 2014 news article when Lavelle is quoted saying,

With the deal done, Mr. Lavelle said the real work is just beginning to equip people and businesses to take advantages of the opportunities it created. (Belko, 2014)

Like the quote from Fitzgerald in the same news article, Lavelle also suggests that the 2014 redevelopment will provide opportunities, hence Impact. Although Lavelle does not have a role label in this excerpt, in the news article it is made clear that Lavelle is the Councilman who represents the Hill, this gives authority to the statement (as it comes from a conventionally authoritative source, as already discussed in Chapter 6) and strengthens the Impact. This is similar in the prior excerpt where authority is constructed for Fitzgerald, by providing the role label 'Allegheny County Executive' which again highlights the news value Impact (Prominence is discussed further in 7.3.5) in the *community benefits* frame.

Opportunities for the community are also discussed in the 2019c news article. Here Impact is shown in the way of reporting the benefits that the arena redevelopment will provide for community members.

While the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities. (Belko, 2019c)

The park's construction and arena redevelopment Lavelle notes are two areas of construction as part of the fuller 2014 redevelopment, for instance the park is to create a seamless connection between the lower Hill and Downtown area, while the arena redevelopment is focused on the large area that has been utilised as

parking lot (featured in the 2016 and 2017 news images; Figure 7.1 and Figure 6.3 respectively). As discussed in the excerpts from 2014, this 2019c excerpt is similar in that it construes Impact by remarking on the effects that the redevelopment will have in the community – ‘providing business and job opportunities’ for Hill residents and minorities.

The opportunities suggested in the 2014 and 2019c news articles are more clearly defined in the 2014 article when it is reported that,

Possible uses could include street and utility improvements, grants for housing down payments and closing costs, subsidies to support mixed-income housing development, loans to help repair existing apartment units, and residential facade grants. (Belko, 2014)

In the excerpt we see the news value Impact, illustrated in the way the article describes the more specific anticipated outcomes of the redevelopment in the *community benefits* frame. These are positive outcomes, showing the anticipated impact of the redevelopment, such as improvements in utilities and the availability of affordable housing.

In the *community benefits* frame Impact is also revealed in the way the 2014 redevelopment is described as fixing problems caused by the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. As will be discussed later in the chapter, prominent redevelopment stakeholders, Mayor Peduto and Councilman Lavelle, often bring this up when quoted. One example of drawing a contrast between the 2014 redevelopment and the 1960s renewal is the following excerpt,

Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to ‘mend and heal’ the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings levelled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan build around the Civic Arena construction. (Belko, 2014)

The excerpt above is another instance of Impact construed through references to effects on individuals and entities. For instance, the focus on the 2014 redevelopment as the solution to ‘mend and heal’ illustrates the *community*

benefits frame, referring to the context of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Moreover, in Peduto's indirect quote the verb 'levelled' is used to depict the action of the 1960s construction and the subsequent displacement of people and businesses. Here the verb 'levelled' is negative, but the negative construal helps to put the 2014 redevelopment in opposition (to the 1960s Urban Renewal plan) and project it as having a positive Impact as Peduto suggests (see also section 7.3.2 on Negativity).

As described in section 7.2, one of the causes of the problem as defined in the *community benefits* frame is the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, and the 2014 redevelopment is suggested as the solution to the problem as defined. When the news articles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2019b, 2019c) reference the effects of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and impact of the 2014 redevelopment, they highlight the anticipated change for the community, showing here the news value Impact. For example,

"Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways," said Governor Tom Wolf.' "Fifty years later we're trying to re-transform this area and undo some of the problems that we caused. This is a transformative project. It's taking place in a really good area and it's really important to the heart soul and life of Pittsburgh." (Morrow, 2015)

In the excerpt, Morrow (2015) quotes Governor Tom Wolf on the past 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and suggests the 2014 redevelopment is a 'transformative project'. The two redevelopments (1960 and 2014) are set in contrast with each other once again to construe the negative Impact of the former and the positive Impact of the latter. We can infer that when the Governor references 'nice legacy' he is referring to the Hill District culture, which from the political and historical context is understood as a significant aspect of the Hill District identity, especially as before the 1960s Urban Renewal, the Hill District was known as an epicentre for Black culture (see Chapter 5 for more details).

Similarly, in the 2019c news article, Impact is construed in the *community benefits* frame when the 1960s urban renewal plan is put in contrast with the 2014 redevelopment. For example,

Likewise, former city councilman Sala Udin, who also represented the Hill, said he see the redevelopment itself playing a bigger role in righting the wrongs caused by the Civic Arena construction than the park itself. (Belko, 2019c)

In the excerpt, no specific benefits of the redevelopment are mentioned but Udin suggests that it will aid in 'righting the wrongs caused by the Civic Arena construction', one of the phases of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Like in the other examples, the Impact is constructed when the redevelopment is positioned as the solution to the Hill District problems like poor infrastructure and housing conditions, lack of amenities and jobs (see Chapter 5 for more details). The *economic benefits* frame described in Chapter 6 used a similar way of showing the Impact of the planned redevelopment.

Impact is also implied in the images that accompany the news articles which communicate the *community benefits* frame. For instance, across the news articles that employ the *community benefits* frame the redevelopment is described as providing benefits like jobs, business opportunities, and housing. As such, the 2019b and 2019c news images (Figure 7.2, Figure 7.3) generally reflect these opportunities in that the representation of the redeveloped space, using a computer-generated image, visualizes the idea of these opportunities with storefronts, apartment and office buildings, and open green spaces that are pictured to connect the lower Hill with the Downtown area.



Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site



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Figure 7.2 2019b news article



Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District



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Figure 7.3 2019c news article

In both news images, the digital renderings of the redevelopment visual represent similar content to what is expressed verbally in the news articles, in a complementary way. The two (text and image) further support each other as the news headlines are prominently featured in the bottom left corner of both. In addition to construing Impact, each image features a few colours from the street and building lights in Figure 7.2 to the green grass in Figure 7.3 construing Positivity as well. For instance, the images construe Positivity in the *community benefits* frame by depicting green grass, people socializing and having a picnic on the lawns in what looks like a safe and well-kept community space. According to Chang and Lin (2010) the colour green when used in marketing often evokes nature, health, rest, and growth, fostering construal of Positivity and employment of *community benefits* frame. At the same time, the image is a visualization of the opportunities described in the news articles, thus complementing how the text uses the news value Impact.

More specifically in terms of Impact, in the 2019b news image there is a clear visual connection made between the Lower Hill District and the Downtown area (at the top of image). All the news articles in the *community benefits* frame make note of how the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan disconnected the two areas with the construction of the highway and the entertainment arena, Civic Arena. This is similar to the findings of the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6), but in the *community benefits* frame the positive Impact is the reconnection for the community both physically and symbolically.

In the 2019c news image, Impact is used in terms of providing a clear visual of the park and reconnection to Downtown as the headline states in the bottom left corner. Additionally, the focus in the middle and bottom half of the image depicts open space in between the buildings that has pathways interspersed with green areas, visually representing a park. The glass windows of the buildings show many people inside, as well as there being many people outside, in the open space between the buildings—suggesting that the area will be lively and popular—further visually showing people in the image fits the *community benefits* frame for it displays the reconnection. This also shows the positive Impact suggested in the news article.

7.3.2 Negativity

The news value Negativity was used in the *community benefits* frame and expressed through evaluative language. In the news articles Negativity is construed on the following occasions: when the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan is mentioned, when the lack of community involvement is discussed, when the articles present the affordable housing debate, and when the changing of the Hill District name is discussed. Moreover, Negativity is construed in two situations, 1) when acknowledging the frame problem, causes, and consequences and, 2) used as a way to highlight Positivity (i.e., the negative aspects of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan are juxtaposed to the purported positive aspects of the 2014 redevelopment).

For example, Negativity is construed in the following quote of a Hill District resident commenting on the changing of the Hill District's name to the 'Centre District'. The resident, C. Denise Johnson, construes Negativity through evaluative language.

'That does not respect the history or the culture,' said C. Denise Johnson. 'I understand this is different, but can we at least have some semblance of the Hill?' (Belko, 2019b)

In the excerpt, 'does not respect', negatively evaluates the changing of the Hill District name. The city and private investors leading the redevelopment have proposed changing the area's name from the Lower Hill to the Centre District—as seen in the 2019b news article, this has been met with disagreement from the Hill District community. As discussed in Chapter 2, this may be a way to rebrand an area to make it more attractive to affluent people (home buyers and businesses) and also minimise the community's history of crime rates, current demographics, and an area's stereotype. This negative evaluation should be seen in the context of the community's general feelings of mistreatment that relate to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, which included the Civic Arena construction and subsequently displaced more than 8000 people and 400 local businesses (Chapter 5). Prior to the renewal plan, the Hill District was known for its vibrant history and culture, especially for Black musicians and artists (Jones et al., 2016), and this is what

Johnson's words refer to in the above. Johnson's rhetorical question seems to have been included to engage the audience through a common experience or feeling, especially as another resident's is quoted on the question of the name change in the sentences that follow Johnson's word.

As Belko introduces to his article another resident, Deirdra Washington who comments on the 2014 redevelopment construing Negativity. Belko draws on Washington's words and how she questioned the changing of the Hill District name, before then providing a direct quote from Washington.

Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the Hill and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there.

'If they want to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the Hill District] name?' she asked. (Belko, 2019b)

In Washington's quote, she creates an 'us versus them' situation where we can assume that it is Hill District residents versus "them", presumably politicians and the Penguins Team who are for rebranding the area.

The 2016 news image (Figure 7.1) employs the *community benefits* frame for it generally depicts the negative impact that the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan had in the lower Hill District (same image is used in 2017 news article and also employs the *economic benefits* frame—see Chapter 6).

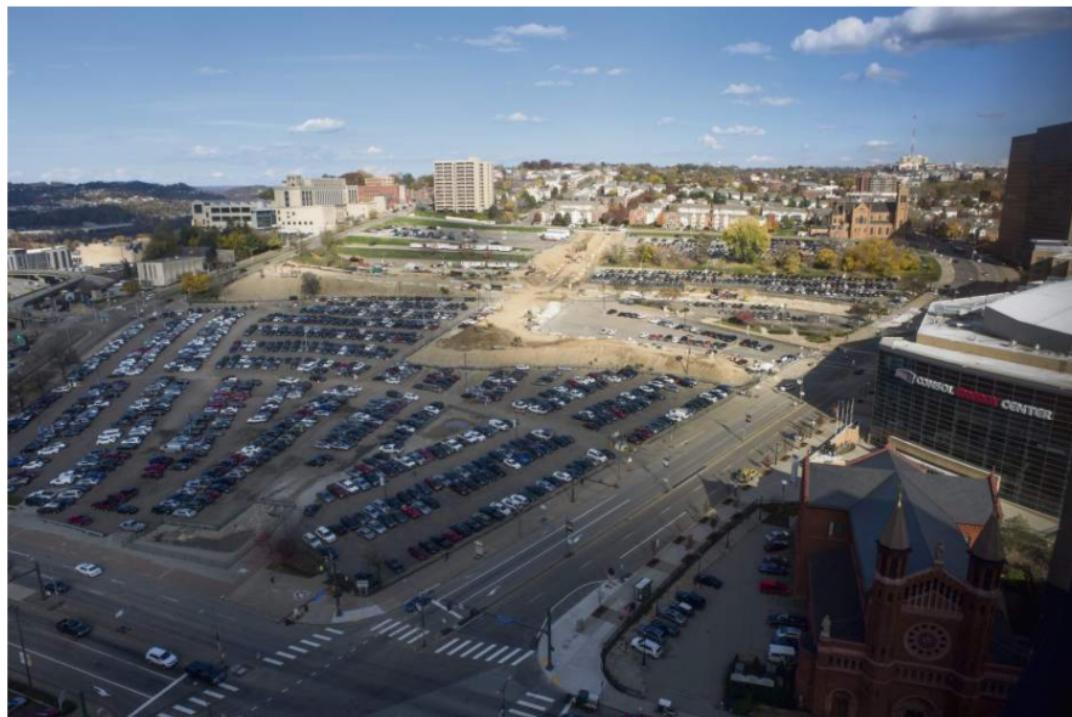


Figure 7.1 2016 news article

As explained in Chapter 6, images that depict negative effects like damage or aftermath from an event can construe Negativity (Caple, 2013). I argue that the image construes Negativity in the *community benefits* frame, in a similar way it construes Negativity in the *economic benefits* frame described in Chapter 6.

The image depicts a sprawling parking lot in an area that used to be filled with houses and business prior the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Moreover, the bottom half of the image (that of the parking lot) is in low light and seemingly grey in colour and cast in shadow, while the bright part of the image is towards the top in the built-up area, featuring a blue sky and buildings. This sets up a visual dichotomy of the Positive and the Negative, where the negative is the parking lot created by the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, or more specifically the demolition of the Civic Arena. More specific to the *community benefits* frame however is that the image is of just cars and buildings and indicates that this is a place not for people, this is directly related to the lack of community amenities and further shows the difficulty for residents to traverse the area in order to get to jobs or other necessities like stores. To be clear, the 2016 news article employs the *community benefits* frame (and *gentrification* frame; Chapter 8) with this news image, while

the 2017 news article only employs the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6) with this image. This is an example of how important it is to consider the visual-verbal overlap, as meaning can shift as multiple frames and news values can be employed in a text and image.

7.3.3 Personalisation

In the *community benefits* frame the news value Personalisation is used to convey both community complaints as well as the benefits of the redevelopment for the people of the Hill District. Bednarek and Caple (2012a) state that Personalisation is 'the personal or human-interest aspects of an event' (p. 41) and in construing Personalisation in news gives a human face to the news. Personalisation is specific to the *community benefits* frame and is used in the May 2019 and June 2019 articles, when the journalist quotes people from the community. An example is the excerpt where Belko (2019b) reports Deidra Washington who speaks on the redevelopment done by the Penguins team and partners (city officials and private investors). I discussed this excerpt above in section 7.3.2 Negativity.

The article includes quotes from residents in the community that support the redevelopment as a whole, but in some cases opposes the name change and rebranding. In Washington's report, she mentions the redevelopment's aims in language that has been used by city officials and company executives (i.e., to provide jobs and other opportunities—potentially like minority-owned business prospects); more specifically, we've seen this phrasing in the other news articles that use the frame, particularly in the 2014 news article on the redevelopment announcement (see section 7.3.1 Impact). Thus, Washington's statement suggests she is in alignment with the prominent redevelopment stakeholders. Her position as a Hill resident evaluating the redevelopment favourably construes Personalisation in the *community benefits* frame and supports its positive framing. Personalisation is a key aspect of the *community benefits* frame (and a significant divergence from the *economic benefits* frame) as journalists who use the former give voice to residents, to the community; in the latter, such community and individual views are less relevant and thus not included.

Personalisation defined as 'rendering an issue personal as we get to hear [someone's] view or how it has impacted them' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 53) is also construed in the two excerpts below. Personalisation can also be seen here by references to credibility as a Hill District resident.

For Brenda Tate, who has lived on the same block of Webster Avenue in the Hill for all of her 70s, the park once again will give her the chance to traverse Wylie Avenue to the park then into Downtown and back. (Belko, 2017c)

But Ms. Tate, who with her 98-year-old aunt will be attending Friday's groundbreaking, sees positives in the park's construction. (Belko, 2017c)

In the first extract above, Hill District resident Brenda Tate is quoted on that the park construction will allow new access to the downtown area. Personalisation is constructed in the clause that discusses her connection to the Hill District, through location and length of residency. Not only does this construe Personalisation in the news article, but this evokes a sense of authority and authenticity on the subject of Hill District culture and living as she is presented as a long-standing resident.

In addition to Tate's evaluation of the park construction as Positive, her quote construes Personalisation by providing the news of the park with a human face (or two human faces; Tate and her 98-year-old aunt). Not only is Personalisation used to make it clear that the community is involved, but also to show that the community is in favour of the construction and the redevelopment. Moreover, their age and connection to the Hill District lends authority to their statements about the positivity surrounding the park construction.

As seen in this sub-section in the *community benefits* frame Personalisation, illustrate the expected positive impact of the redevelopment, from the point of view of community members. In the five news articles that use the *community benefits* frame, Personalisation together with Impact, see above section 7.3.1 support illustrate the way the redevelopment is presented within this frame, with regards to the problems and the proposed solutions. In the next section, I look at Positivity within the *community benefits* frame.

7.3.4 Positivity

In the five news articles that employ the *community benefits* frame, the news value Positivity is primarily associated with the solutions that the redevelopment would create. In the *community benefits* frame, Positivity was used when the expected positive outcomes of the development for the community of the Hill District were emphasized. As the *community benefits* frame proposes that the redevelopment is good for the community of the Lower Hill district, the Positivity news value is prominent in the articles that display the frame. This can be seen in the 2014 excerpts which were also quoted earlier as an example of the news value of Impact:

'Today is transformative,' Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. 'This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past' (Belko, 2014).

Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to 'mend and heal' the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings levelled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan build around the Civic Arena construction. (Belko, 2014)

In the two excerpts the *community benefits* frame, is described with language that evaluates the development in positive terms, as in the adjective 'transformative' and the noun 'opportunities'. Moreover, the use of the adjective 'transformative' connotes a significant change and considering the context of the Hill District's past with the urban renewal (as mentioned in the excerpt), a significant change construes Positivity. The focus of the expected change here is on the community, or the residents of the Hill District, unlike in the economic benefits frame, where the emphasis was on overall economic growth (as explained in Chapter 6).

Positivity to highlight community benefits is further supported when Fitzgerald uses positive vocabulary to indicate that the redevelopment will 'provide opportunities'. The reference to the Negativity of the past ('opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past') seems to serve to emphasize the positivity of the plans, and in a similar way, in the next extract, Peduto implicitly

references the past Negativity and past issues. In both cases, the explicit focus is on the Positive developments happening because of the redevelopment.

Another example that situates the redevelopment as the solution to past problems, is the clause of 'mend and heal', where both verbs connote positivity in the context of an implied previous issue, something that requires healing and mending. The focus on the transformational quality of the redevelopment is not only construed through the Positivity news value, but also supports the narrative that the redevelopment is the solution in the *community benefits* frame. As explained in Chapter 5, the negative past event that needs to be mended and healed is from the negative impact of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan that 'separated [the Hill District] from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings levelled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction' (Belko, 2014).

Similar to the 2014 news article, the 2015 news article posits the redevelopment as the solution in the *community benefits* frame. The redevelopment is presented through positive evaluative language, construing Positivity.

'Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything around us,' he said. 'Today we are building community.'

(Morrow, 2015)

In the excerpt, Positivity is construed in the sentence 'Today we are building community'. The redevelopment is described as a process and an active verb, which in the combination of what is built, i.e., a community, is Positive. Here, building, as a verb is inherently positive as its antonym 'destroying' is inherently negative. Thus, coupled with community (a concept that is usually seen as positive) construes Positivity. In the first sentence, building is used in the common sense, relating to physical infrastructure and is positive because it is reported to 'benefit everything around us', while in the second sentence 'building' is used as a metaphor.

The metaphor 'building a community' constructs Positivity, as the verb 'building' is positive and combined with positive lexis 'community'. In respect to the *community benefits* frame, the redevelopment is construed as Positive, as a

solution to the lack of development and the focus in this frame. More specifically, the *community benefits* frame's focus is on benefits to the community, whereas in the *economic benefits* frame, the focus is on economic benefits, which may not be for the community alone but also for other actors, like investors (see Chapter 9 for more details on the co-existence of frames).

Another instance of Positivity construed through evaluative language is in the 2019c news article about one of the 2014 redevelopment phases, the park construction, that is meant to reconnect the Lower Hill District with the Downtown area.

'There won't be separation. There will be a clear avenue to come back and forth. It's symbolic,' she [Tate] said. (Belko, 2019c)

In the excerpt, long-time resident Brenda Tate is quoted remarking on how the redevelopment park phase will connect the lower Hill District and the Downtown area. We can assume that the adjective 'symbolic' is used to evaluate by Brenda Tate the refer to the wider impact of the park's construction going beyond specific practical and economic benefits that the new link creates but alluding to a more abstract positive impact on the community feeling less disconnected than in the past. This impact, while not defined in any detail, is positive, so, Positivity is used here. A 'clear' avenue suggests an easy-to-use road or walkway appropriate for pedestrians to use to go to work or access CBD amenities, as the current road systems are difficult to navigate. This is particularly relevant to the *community benefits* frame as Tate is a long-time resident (i.e., she's lived in the Hill for 70 years) because her Positive evaluation of the redevelopment supports its positioning as the solution to the problem as defined within this frame.

7.3.5 Prominence

Similar to the construal of Prominence in the *economic benefits* frame, the news value is constructed through reported speech and role labels. More specifically in the *community benefits* frame, Prominence is signalled through descriptive noun phrases.

Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, said the administration 'has been very aggressive in our commitments to affordable housing.' (Fontaine, 2016)

Likewise, former city councilman Sala Udin, who also represented the Hill, said he sees the redevelopment itself playing a bigger role in righting the wrongs caused by the Civic Arena construction than the park itself. (Belko, 2019c)

In the two excerpts above, descriptive noun phrases are used to construe Prominence in the *community benefits* frame. The noun phrases help to construe the authority of the quoted individuals' statements about the 2014 redevelopment. More specifically, Acklin is associated with Mayor Peduto through his role as 'chief of staff and chief development officer', and in doing so his statement about his commitment to affordable housing constructs authority, who because of the role and status, he can be seen as credible on the promise of affordable housing. As discussed previously (see also Chapter 5), affordable housing is a sensitive subject in the debate around the Hill District's redevelopment. The extracts here show that it is a core element of the *community benefits* frame.

In the second of the two excerpts above, Belko (2019c) uses a descriptive noun phrase to give credibility to Sala Udin, who also makes a statement about the positive nature of the 2014 redevelopment. Udin 'represents' the Hill District, and he is a former councilman. That his words are included by Belko shows the role the *community benefits* frame takes in Belko's reporting in this specific article. Therefore, the construal of Prominence through the descriptive noun phrase shows is that the *community benefits* frame is elaborated by conventionally authoritative sources.

Prominence is also construed when sources identify their roles. For instance, Lavelle is quoted by Fontaine stating:

'Certainly, as a member of council, I do not have a policy to try to gentrify the city or drive African-Americans out of the city. I'm doing everything I

can to reverse that trend,' Lavelle said, noting the task force is expected to issue its first report by May 27. (Fontaine, 2016)

In the excerpt, Lavelle asserts his authority, while aligning himself with the Hill District community, as he states he is trying to avoid gentrification in the Hill District. Lavelle's use of the adverb 'certainly' is used to emphasize that what he is saying is unquestionable or definitive. That Fontaine includes this longer quote in his paper, may indicate his positioning within the *community benefits* frame.

Additionally, in the paragraph preceding this excerpt in the 2016 news article, Fontaine introduces Lavelle as 'Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill District and co-chairs the city's recently established Affordable Housing Task Force' (2016); this use of both role label and descriptive noun phrase from the journalist, not only construes Prominence but lays the groundwork for Lavelle's direct quote to connote authority within the news value Prominence.

Prominence in the *community benefits* frame is construed through role labels and descriptive noun phrases that confer an authoritative stance to the voices included by the journalists. These voices emphasize that the 2014 redevelopment will provide benefits to the community through actions such as commitments to affordable housing, righting the wrongs of the past, and the creation of an Affordable Housing Task Force. In addition to the ordinary people quoted construing Personalisation (see above, section 7.3.3) the *community benefits* frame is also elaborated by Prominent people such as politicians.

Prominence is also construed in the *community benefits* frame via the news images of the 2014 (Figure 6.1) and 2015 (Figure 6.2) news articles (the announcement of the 2014 redevelopment and the breaking ground of the redevelopment respectively) (Belko, 2014; Morrow, 2015). The images help to inform the accompanying text. They contribute to both the *economic benefits* frame discussed in Chapter 6 and the *community benefits* frame. For instance, the 2014 image featuring prominent redevelopment stakeholders, like politicians and private investors, constructs authority surrounding any 2014-redevelopment deal. In Chapter 6, I suggested that this image supports the *economic benefits* frame. We can say though that it also supports the *community benefits* frame, in an indirect

way, as it gives authority to the planned redevelopment which, as explained in the articles, is expected to benefit the community. In addition, Lavelle, the Hill District's Councilman is featured next to Mayor Peduto; this provides a visual representation of a prominent leader who is expected to be the voice of the community in redevelopment deals. This then suggests the image relates at least in part to the *community benefits* frame.



Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site

Darrell Sapp/Post-Gazette

ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 6.1 2014 news article

Additionally, in terms of a visual analysis, Peduto and Lavelle are looking forward speaking or looking to what the viewer can assume is an audience of journalists at the press conference, while the other prominent men in suits are looking to Peduto, the speaker. The image (also described in section 6.3.4, pp. 124-125) proposes that Peduto and Lavelle are the more prominent figures at the press conference or leading stakeholders in the 2014-redevelopment decisions by the foregrounding of Peduto in the left front of the image, and that the men are wearing suits and standing at the front of a press conference. Moreover, the composition of the image places Peduto as the largest shape in the image because

of the photograph's angle and positioned over the headline. The gazes of the other men (except Lavelle) are towards Peduto the speaker, further supporting his role as a prominent figure, one to be listened to. Furthermore, the image expresses the *community benefits* frame because it presents the exact people who are quoted elaborating the frame in the accompanying text. It is important to note that while a similar argument is made in the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6), a text and image can elaborate more than one frame (see Table 6.1).

Similarly, the 2015 (Figure 6.2) news image features state and local leaders breaking ground (also described on p. 125). In the *community benefits* frame, the importance is located in that 'local partners' were included in the ceremony as the image caption states. Although the local partners are not explicitly named, their apparent involvement in the redevelopment shows this image being related to the *community benefits* frame.



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

Figure 6.2 2015 news article

It is also important that the image does not just feature prominent white males, but three Black men are included. This suggests representation of the Hill District community, since it is historically and predominately a Black area. The image construes Prominence and features the source types that elaborate the *community benefits* frame in the accompanying text.

7.4 Sources and Reported Speech

This section analyses source types that appear most often in the news articles that employ the *community benefits* frame and how these voices are incorporated in the news articles (i.e., reporting verbs). I also consider what reporting verbs are used to introduce certain source types and how such use of reporting verbs relates to the *community benefits* frame.

All news articles except one (the 2019b news article in which the most quoted source type was ordinary people) featured an about equal number of quotations from politicians, private investors, and Hill District residents. News producers use a range of verbal speech-act signs (direct, indirect, and free indirect speech) to incorporate statements from these sources into their news articles (Fairclough, 2003). While incorporating other voices, journalists relied mostly on neutral structuring reporting verbs, like 'said' and 'added' when quoting politicians, private investors, and community voices.

Table 7.2 Breakdown of sources quoted in Community Benefits Frame in the news articles

Article	Source Type	Source	Number of times quoted elaborating the <i>community benefits</i> frame	Type of report	Reporting verb
2014	Politician	The city	1	Indirect	said
	Politician	Bill Peduto, Mayor	2	Indirect/Direct	said
	Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	2	Direct	said
				Indirect	said
				Direct	said

	Politician	Rich Fitzgerald, Allegheny County Executive	1	Direct	said
2015	Politician	Bill Peduto, Mayor	2	Indirect	said
				Direct	said/said
2016	Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	2	Indirect	expressed
		Direct		said	
	Politician	Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Peduto	2	Direct	said
	Private Investor	Travis Williams, Penguins' Chief Operating Officer (COO)	1	Indirect	said
2019b	Private Investor/Politician	Kevin Acklin, now development officer for Penguins Team	4	Indirect	said
				Direct	said
				Direct	said
				Direct	said
	Ordinary citizen	C. Denise Johnson, Hill District resident	1	Direct	said
2019c	Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	4	Indirect	said
				Direct	said
				Indirect	said
				Direct	said
	Politician	Sala Udin, former city councilman for the Hill District	2	Indirect	said
	Private Investor	David Morehouse, Penguins' CEO	1	Direct	said
	Ordinary citizen	Brenda Tate, Hill District resident	2	Direct	said
				Direct	said

7.4.1 Politicians and Private Investors

Politicians and private investors are more readily quoted than other sources in the *community benefits* frame, in the five news articles (2014, 2015, 2016, 2019b, 2019c). These sources include elite figures like Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto, Penguins CEO David Morehouse and other Penguins' executives, as well as Allegheny County Executive, Rich Fitzgerald.

The *community benefits* frame includes quotes from politicians at the city and county level (i.e., more local politicians), while the *economic benefits* frame includes politicians at all government levels (particularly in the 2015 news article: quotes from Pennsylvania state politicians, Governor, House Representative and Senator). So, while there is support from prominent political people in both frames, the *community benefits* frame features more local political voices. This is an important distinction between the two frames and will be discussed further in Chapter 9 and in the conclusion.

Similar to what we saw in the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6) Peduto is a voice who is used to support the 2014 redevelopment. As the extracts below will show his quotes often position Peduto as the mediator in the redevelopment, his quotes are introduced with neutral structuring verbs (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994), particularly the verb 'said'. For example,

Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to 'mend and heal' the neighbourhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings levelled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction. (Belko, 2014)

'Today we're going to do something quite different,' he said. 'We're going to invest back in that community.' (Belko, 2014)

In the two excerpts above from the 2014 news article, Peduto is quoted in two instances, one with indirect speech and the other with direct speech, respectively. The first excerpt mixes indirect and direct speech, with the neutral reporting verb 'said'. Using the reporting verb 'say' suggests that the journalist takes a neutral

stance towards what the source says, not explicitly evaluating it. It is then a way to bring in different views into the article, perhaps even opposing views, without the journalist being seen as one-sided. In the case above, Belko draws on Peduto to make a point about the plans not only leading to redevelopment (which can be assumed to refer to economic benefits) but that it will 'mend and heal' the neighbourhood. In other words, Peduto's views are selected by Belko—as Caldas-Coulthard (1994) points out authors, here journalists, select sources and their views in line with their (the author's) 'aims and ideological views' (p. 303). In the above case, that Belko includes Peduto's words reveals the presence of the *community benefits* frame in Belko's article. Put differently, in this article, Belko puts forward and elaborates not only on the economic benefits but also and strongly on the community benefits that the redevelopment will bring (see Chapter 9 for corresponding findings on frame dominance).

Despite using the reporting verb 'said' with Belko not explicitly endorsing Peduto's words, the next paragraph, (excerpt 2 above) where Belko quotes Peduto—this time with direct speech, which, as Caldas-Coulthard (1994, p. 304) suggests 'dramatizes the narrative, legitimizes or evaluates the story being told'. Peduto's words have a certain dramatic quality, explicitly employing the *community benefits* frame, which here implies that the redevelopment will be significant for the community as they will be 'invested'— 'something quite different'. This implicitly alludes to regeneration, discussed in Chapter 2, where the community invests in itself and redevelops in accordance with the current members needs so as to avoid gentrification (Lees, 2008).

Peduto's speech is quoted similarly in the 2015 news article by Morrow, where there is use of indirect and direct speech to incorporate Peduto as a source elaborating the *community benefits* frame. For instance,

Peduto said that 50 years ago they had a strange, different way to deal with development. (Morrow, 2015)

'It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of,' he said. 'Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to

benefit everything around us,' he said. 'Today we are building community' (Morrow, 2015)

In the two excerpts above (consecutive paragraphs), Peduto is again quoted speaking about the past decisions (the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and demolition of the Civic Arena in 2011; see Chapter 5) with implicit negativity and positioning the 2014 redevelopment as a positive solution, with a clear focus on benefits for the community.

Morrow (2015) uses the reporting verb 'said' and the illocutionary force or intended meaning is derived from the reported speech itself (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987)—more simply this means the intended meaning is not commented upon or qualified by the journalist, thus it is included here for the reader to follow Peduto's meaning. As such, this suggests that Morrow here has included this quote to express the *community benefits* frame and, as in the previous example, seems to implicitly endorse what Peduto says.

Morrow includes Peduto's quotes directly. Harry (2014) suggests that 'direct quotes are almost always used to embrace colorful and/or contentious views, and in this way add relevant drama...to a story' (p. 1048). In this case, it is Peduto's evaluative language and setting of scenes that includes metaphor (e.g., 'disconnecting a community', 'building a community'), colourful language and dramatization (e.g., 'it was with a wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer...'). Furthermore, these two excerpts above are the last paragraphs of the 2015 news article, leaving the reader with these images and positive evaluation of the redevelopment—thus further suggesting Morrow's stance towards the positive representation of the redevelopment as described by Peduto (see Chapter 9 for more on frame dominance).

Another politician who is quoted elaborating the *community benefits* frame is Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle. Lavelle's statements are reported as indirect or direct speech in three of the news articles – from 2014, 2016, and 2019c. For example,

Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill District and co-chairs the city's recently established Affordable Housing Task Force, expressed mixed feelings about the Consensus Group's claims.

'Certainly, as a member of council, I do not have a policy to try to gentrify the city or drive African-Americans out of the city. I'm doing everything I can to reverse the trend,' Lavelle said, noting the task force is expected to issue its first report by May 27.

'At the same time, the numbers do speak for themselves.' (Fontaine, 2016)

The three excerpts above come from Fontaine's (2016) news article that focuses primarily on the affordable housing debate. Here the neutral structuring reporting verb 'said' is used as well as, a metapropositional expressive verb 'expressed mixed feelings' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987). In the first instance, Lavelle is introduced with a role label to provide context and credibility to his following statement. Although indirect speech is used to incorporate Lavelle's quote, it seems to create distance between Lavelle's stance (i.e., mixed feelings) and the claims that there are city-imposed policies that support gentrification.

Fontaine uses Lavelle to show a view that disagrees from what the Consensus Group has said. I argue that the journalists used different sources to set their views of against each other and that, in a subtle way, the journalist, while presenting different positions, take a stance. Here Fontaine uses 'expressed mixed feelings' and 'claims', then Lavelle 'said'—this appears to give credibility to Lavelle's view not that of the Consensus Group. This is supported by referring to the Consensus Group more vaguely, but Lavelle is personalized with his title, and also with a strong personal statement offering a commitment to 'to reverse the trend'.

Fontaine may do this in an effort to balance the employment of the *community benefits* frame and the *gentrification* frame (which is dominant in this article- see Chapter 9), in addition to balancing the sources included throughout the 2016 news article (i.e., Peduto, Lavelle, and Redwood). While, these chosen quotes by Fontaine may suggest that Fontaine frames the redevelopment issue from the perspective of the *community benefits* frame (not the *gentrification* frame), the

dominance of the *gentrification* frame in the 2016 news article (see Chapter 9) suggest that Fontaine may agree with the stance presented in the third statement (e.g., ‘the number do speak for themselves’), associating himself with those who may be evaluating the 2014 redevelopment as negative (see Chapter 8 *gentrification* frame).

Lavelle is used as a source in the June 2019 news article (2019c), where Belko reports on the construction to reconnect the lower Hill District with the Downtown area.

‘What we’re going to begin doing [Friday] is finally righting those wrongs of 50 or 60 years ago,’ added Mr. Lavelle, who represents the Hill. (Belko, 2019c)

While the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities. (Belko, 2019c)

In the above consecutive quotes from the 2019c news article, Lavelle is quoted on the importance of the park construction that is suggested to reconnect the Lower Hill with the Downtown area. Here Lavelle is utilised as a source similar to how I suggest Mayor Peduto is used –as a mediator who acknowledges the wrongs of the past but puts emphasis on the positives of the 2014 redevelopment. For instance, in the first excerpt above, Lavelle is reported with direct speech to describe that the redevelopment, or the park construction, is correcting the problems caused from the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Belko uses the discourse signalling verb ‘added’, which suggests that Belko is attempting to guide the reader through the development of the news article (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987)—and highlighting more of the *community benefits* frame, as the following paragraphs in the 2019c news article employ the frame as they discuss opportunities that the redevelopment (specifically the park construction) will have for the community once the Lower Hill is reconnected with the CBD area.

In the following extract, Lavelle continues his positive evaluation of the 2014 redevelopment saying that while the park construction is important, the main

significance of the redevelopment is in terms of the opportunities it will create (i.e., business and job opportunities for the community). Here the *community benefits* frame is employed as the quote specifically states that the job and opportunities will be for 'Hill residents and minorities', whereas in the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6) jobs and opportunities are discussed more generally and primarily focused on spurring economic growth. The quote above is more broadly linked to the context of politics of race in Pittsburgh and in the Hill District (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 8, section 8.3.1).

Belko uses indirect speech to incorporate the report with the neutral-structuring verb 'said'. I argue that Belko's stance aligns with those who argue the redevelopment positively—more specific to the excerpts above, positively in the *community benefits* frame.

7.4.2 Ordinary People: Community Residents

While the *economic benefits* frame is not elaborated by ordinary people in the analysed articles, in the *community benefits* frame, there are community voices. This is a key difference between the two frames.

Specific to the *community benefits* frame, community residents are quoted as sources in the May 2019 and June 2019 articles by Belko (2019b, 2019c). The previous section has shown that politicians and private investors are used as sources in order to positively evaluate and support the 2014 redevelopment specifically with regards to economic impact (in cooccurrence with the *economic benefits* frame). Interestingly, community residents are quoted positively evaluating the 2014 redevelopment as a whole but negatively evaluating certain aspects of it, such as the changing of the Hill District name to the Centre District in the 2019b news article. For example,

'That does not respect the history or the culture,' said C. Denise Johnson. 'I understand that is different, but can we at least have some semblance of the Hill?' (Belko, 2019b)

Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the Hill and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there. (Belko, 2019b)

'If they want to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the Hill District] name?' she asked. (Belko, 2019b)

The three excerpts above appear in the same order in the 2019b news article. These voices are used as sponsors of the *community benefits* frames, to highlight certain aspects of the frame—the problem that the community has not been included in discussions and that as consequence the redevelopment is not culturally sensitive. The community voices are introduced indirectly and directly. By using indirect speech, the news producer is re-voicing and in doing so highlights the information the news producer wishes to present or what he or she feels is the most important information to prioritise in the paraphrased report. More specifically, I assume the use of other voices, whether via indirect or direct speech or paraphrased, is always a matter of selection on the side of the journalist. That selection is made to make certain points—and in this instance, it is to highlight aspects of the *community benefits* frame. The three community voices that are included, one after the other, signal the importance of community voices in the *community benefits* frame.

In the third excerpt above, Belko includes a direct quote from Washington with the reporting verb 'asked'. By Belko including this direct quote, it suggests he viewed the question merited inclusion unchanged and not paraphrased. Immediately after, Belko includes a quote from Acklin, the new development officer for the Penguins that implicitly answers Washington's quote, stating:

Mr. Acklin said the intent was not to slight the neighborhood. "It will always be the lower Hill District," he said.

Here, Acklin is introduced like the many of the other quotes with the neutral structuring verb 'said' which not overtly endorses the views, but not discrediting or questioning them either. I argue that the structure of these quotes implies

Belko's stance towards the information reported. For instance, while the residents are quoted in back-to-back, supporting each other's claims about the rebranding, Belko decides to directly quote Acklin (above), seemingly diminishing and weakening any potential concerns raised by the residents. Thus, this signals the journalist endorsing, implicitly, the views expressed by Acklin and other powerful stakeholders in the *community benefits* frame.

To reiterate, in the 2019b news article in the *community benefits* frame ordinary people are included to provide a resident's view of the Hill District inclusion in redevelopment decisions, the renaming (the topic of the news article) and in the view of both sources this is to be seen as something negative. The inclusion of these quotes from ordinary people is important to the *community benefits* frame because it offers a differing view or highlights an issue within the *community benefits* frame, in that the benefits for the community may be seen differently by different stakeholders, specially by local people compared to by other stakeholders, like the city politicians and private investors.

7.5 Summary of the *Community Benefits* Frame

In summary (Table 7.1), in the *community benefits* frame it is suggested that the problem is lack of benefits for the community such as adequate housing, food shops and cultural venues, as a result of/and little involvement of the community in decision-making about the redevelopment, but that the 2014 redevelopment will solve these. This is particularly relevant to the topic of affordable housing and renovating derelict buildings and restoring those cultural institutions like jazz clubs and theatres. In the frame it is suggested that the cause of these problems (i.e., the lack of benefits for the community) was caused by an earlier redevelopment plan –the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. One of the consequences that is presented is that the rebranding as part of the 2014 redevelopment—it proposes a change of name from the Lower Hill to the Centre District, and residents state that it does not respect the Hill District's culture or history, nor were they involved in any discussions. In order to solve the problems presented in the *community benefits* frame, the solution that is suggested is the redevelopment

because it will provide community benefits to the Hill District. This analysis shows that the frame is focused primarily on the solutions that the redevelopment will bring to the Hill District area in terms of community vitality through housing and opportunities for the community, like jobs and business prospects targeted at current residents, an important difference in emphasis compared to the *economic benefits* frame. This is also depicted in the 2019b (Figure 7.2) and 2019c (Figure 7.3) digital renderings of the redevelopment in the images as it depicts better infrastructure, housing, and businesses, especially in contrast to the parking lot image of 2016 (Figure 7.1) and 2017 (Figure 6.3).

Furthermore, the analysis shows that in the *community benefits* frame we find news values like Impact, Negativity, Positivity, Prominence, and Personalisation. Journalists (Belko, 2014, 2019b, 2019c; Morrow, 2015; Fontaine, 2017) use these news values to highlight the redevelopment's community benefits, and in doing so, we can assume that they seek to catch readers' (such as community members) interest in their reporting of the redevelopment and issues relating to it. An important distinction between the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frame is the use of Personalisation, focussing on members of the community, which highlights that the 2014 redevelopment will be positive for those who are arguably most impacted.

Likewise, this analysis identifies that elite and community voices were used in the news articles to convey the *community benefits* frame. More specifically, journalists quoted politician and private investors, as well as ordinary citizens to support the *community benefits* frame. Additionally, much of the reported speech was introduced through the neutral structuring verb 'said'. I argue that using the reporting verb 'say' meant that the journalist is not taking an explicit stance towards what the source says, in other words, not evaluating it explicitly, but possibly taking a side implicitly. Instead, this is then a way to bring in different views into the article, perhaps even opposing views without the journalist being seen as one-sided (e.g., see above; the 2016 news article about affordable housing and gentrification, and the residents' negative views about the rebranding of the Lower Hill).

Chapter 8: Gentrification Frame

This chapter will describe the *gentrification* frame. The chapter will start with summaries of the news articles where the *gentrification* frame featured and then move on to present the frame as it was communicated through text and image. As in Chapters 6 and 7, I will then examine the news values associated with this frame and the types of sources that were drawn on (and how their statements were incorporated in the text through the use of reporting verbs).

As described in Chapter 2, gentrification is a process where an area (in the case of this study a poor urban area) experiences an influx of people of a higher socio-economic status than the previous residents. Those newcomers then revitalise homes and businesses in the area which in turn increases property values and ultimately displaces the earlier residents of the neighbourhood, especially in situations where there is a lack of affordable housing (Clark, 2005). The Hill District redevelopment is argued to encourage an influx of middle-class or wealthy people as well as lead to lack of affordable housing, prompting residents to worry about gentrification.

8.1 Summary of the news articles featuring the *gentrification* frame

The *gentrification* frame appears in four of the seven news articles, dating 2014, 2016, 2019b, and 2019c [the last two of the 2019 texts, May and June]. While the *gentrification* frame is employed in a similar number of articles as the other two frames (four articles for the *economic benefits* frame and five articles for the *community benefits* frame), it will be shown that news producers tend to employ the other two frames over the *gentrification* frame (hence the lesser amount of close analysis in the following sections). In Chapter 9, I will discuss in more detail the presence of the three frames across the data set.

One of the news articles in which the frame is employed is the 2014 news article the “Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site” by Mark Belko which was published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and covered the press conference about the redevelopment new deal. While the majority of the article is devoted to discussing the benefits of the redevelopment, in the *economic benefits* frame, (see Chapter 6; Table 6.1) and the *community benefits* frame (see Chapter 7; Table 6.1) portions of the news article discuss negatives and potential problems of the redevelopment deal. For example, the article mentions allegations that the community was not consulted in the creation of the redevelopment plan. Additionally, the article reports that the 2014 redevelopment deal did not meet the amount of affordable housing the community requested.

The second text in which the *gentrification* frame is employed is from 7 January 2016 titled ‘Hill District Group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents’ by Tom Fontaine published in the *Tribune Review*. The article’s focus is on the community, but more specifically, the Black residents of the community. While some benefits of the redevelopment are discussed in the article (see Chapter 7 *community benefits* frame), the primary focus of the article is devoted to the affordable housing debate, in other words the percentage of new housing designated as affordable (by way of controlling rent) in the 2014 redevelopment plan. Fontaine quotes community leaders who discuss how the redevelopment plan is problematic in terms of the limits to affordable housing that they say will lead to displacement and gentrification in the area (note: they explicitly use the term gentrification).

The third news article that employs the *gentrification* frame is from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, published 15 May 2019 titled ‘Welcome to the ‘Centre District’ – or the former Civic Arena site’ by Mark Belko. The article describes the changing of the name from the Hill District to the ‘Centre District’ (2019b). The article, which I have previously discussed in Chapter 7 – in relation to the *community benefits* frame - describes how the new vision for the Hill District creates another disagreement between the city and private investors and community residents about changing the name of the Hill District, in addition to the disagreement about

affordable housing. Residents are quoted about the Hill District's rebranding and their beliefs that the name change disrespects the history of the area.

The final news article, also discussed in Chapter 7 (Table 6.1), in which the *gentrification* frame is used is from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and is titled 'Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District', again by Mark Belko, published 14 June 2019. The article focuses on the 'three-acre park' that is to connect the Lower Hill District with the downtown business district (Belko, 2019c). In this article Hill leader, Carl Redwood is quoted saying that the area is for the community and that the park, as planned, will not be a reflection of the 'true' (his words) Hill District.

8.2 The *gentrification* frame: problem definition, causes, consequences and solutions

The *gentrification* frame (Table 8.1) highlights possible negative consequences of the redevelopment, which is in direct opposition to the positive representations in the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames. As will be discussed, solutions may be to stop the redevelopment, have more community involvement, and increase affordable housing.

In the *gentrification* frame, the **problem** is defined as the redevelopment itself – first, because community members were not consulted when the redevelopment plans were made and second, because of the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plans which disadvantages community members, particularly Black residents in an area that has been historically Black. In the 2014 article that covers the redevelopment press conference, Belko includes a community voice [Redwood] to suggest that the community was not consulted about the 2014 redevelopment deal.

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal. (Belko, 2014)

The 2019b article defines the problem similarly - that 'One aspect that continues to be a point of contention with some residents is the plan to make 20% of the housing affordable to households at 80% of the area median income' (2019b). The issue here is that having only 20% of affordable housing (as Redwood argues in the news article, he requests at least 30% affordable housing). Furthermore, with the majority of the residents only making 80% of the area median income (see Chapter 5), when properties become available for purchase, the housing will still be unaffordable and thus may cause their displacement. This is something that is also discussed by Redwood in the 2014, 2016, and 2019b news articles.

When discussing the problem of affordable housing, the 2016 news article refers to how the lack of affordable housing impacts on Black people in particular. As explained in Chapter 5, the Hill District is a historically Black area, and as such arguments about policies that discriminate against marginalised people and help create housing discrimination employs the *gentrification* frame. For example, Fontaine (2016) reports that,

Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to "the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs," with the black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from about 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop. (Fontaine, 2016)

The petition, which requests more affordable housing, is meant to apply pressure on redevelopment stakeholders to increase the affordable housing percentages and include the community in decisions made about the redevelopment. Again, we see that Redwood elaborates the *gentrification* frame and expresses the problem that the redevelopment does not provide adequate affordable housing for the community. In the excerpt above, Redwood seems to include the whole Pittsburgh when discussing displacement, as it is a city-wide problem for Black people, not just in the Hill District. While he does not talk about gentrification explicitly, he discusses how Black people are being forced to leave the city—implicitly this can be assumed to refer to gentrification, considering the definition of gentrification introduced in Chapter 2.

The 2019c article by Belko discusses the creation of a park that will reconnect the Lower Hill District to the Downtown area and reports that 'not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill' and that Carl Redwood defines the reconnection as 'Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around' (Belko, 2019c).

A **cause** of the problem as defined in the *gentrification* frame generally is that the Pittsburgh Penguins and city officials primarily led the 2014 redevelopment creation and decision-making, which includes important decisions on affordable housing in the Hill District. In the 2019b news article, Belko reports that the lack of affordable housing is due to:

The Penguins last year lost out on a bid to secure low-income tax credits that would have allowed for deeper levels of affordable housing. The commitment it now has in place was negotiated with Hill leaders several years ago. (Belko 2019b)

The loss of the bid to secure the low-income tax credits resulted in the original 'agreement' of the 2014 redevelopment deal (discussed in the 2014 news article) going forward which was 20 percent of the 1,100 units planned (Belko, 2014). In the 2014 news article, the percentage of affordable housing was already a contentious point; so, a decrease in the amount of affordable housing in the redevelopment further complicates the relationship between the Hill District and the City and Penguins.

The **consequence** of the problem (the problem being the redevelopment in and of itself) is the exclusion of Hill District residents from the housing market, particularly Black residents in an area that has been historically and culturally marginalised—'that's not affordable for the average black family' (Fontaine, 2017) and that the Hill District Consensus Group (a community group focused on aid in the Hill District, be it job and food insecurity, or affordable housing aid) fears 'the team's [Penguins Hockey Team] plan will exclude many African Americans from being able to rent units' (Belko, 2019b).

It is implied that the **solution** is to stop the redevelopment, for in its current form with a lack of affordable housing and no involvement from community members it does not benefit the current Hill District community for there is a fear of displacement and gentrification.

The *gentrification* frame functions as a counter-frame to the more positive depiction of the redevelopment. The *economic benefits* and the *community benefits* frames, both present the redevelopment as the solution to a problem (defined in terms of lack of economic or community opportunities, respectively). In contrast, the *gentrification* frame presents the redevelopment as a problem in itself —thus switching the problem definition and the solution in the *economic benefits* and the *community benefits* frames and *gentrification* counter-frame (Benford & Snow, 2000).

In summary the *gentrification* frame suggests the redevelopment is the problem because community members have not been consulted when the redevelopment plans were made and also, due to the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plans which is detrimental to community residents, particularly Black people. The frame assumes that gentrification is inevitable given the current 2014 redevelopment agreement and city policies. Overall, the *gentrification* frame presents the plans as negative, as opposed to the positive presentation of the redevelopment in the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames of Chapter 6 and 7. The *gentrification* frame did not appear in any of the images.

Table 8.1 Gentrification Frame Table

Frame	Verbal definition of the problem	Verbal cause (why is it a problem?)	Verbal consequences	Verbal solutions/actions	Verbal and visual elaborated news values	Verbal and visual elaborated source types	Verbal metaphors	Visual elaboration of the frame according to thematic analysis
Gentrification Frame	The problem is defined as the redevelopment itself – first, because community members were not consulted when the redevelopment plans were made and second, because of the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plans which disadvantages community members.	The cause of the problem is that the Penguins have lost out on a bid to secure more affordable housing.	A consequence of the problem is that the redevelopment will lead to displacement and gentrification.	The implied solution is to stop the redevelopment.	Impact; Negativity; Prominence	Politicians; Grassroots Organisations	Dismemberment	None

8.3 News Values

In this section, I analyse the news values construed in the news articles that feature the *gentrification* frame. The focus is on documenting their co-existence with the *gentrification* frame through a close textual analysis (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 2 individual analyses).

This section begins with a summary analysis of each news value that I identified as related to the *gentrification* frame. Then a more detailed analysis of the news value is conducted in text and image. This is done for each of the four news articles that employ the frame, 2014, 2016, 2019b, and 2019c. I have ordered the news values that co-existed with the *gentrification* frame alphabetically. It should be noted that, just like with frames, some news articles employed more than one news value and the same quote may be used again in a different part of the chapter to discuss another news value. The *gentrification* frame is the least represented frame in the news articles in the data set (see Chapter 9), and as such this is reflected in how many excerpts are drawn upon in the analysis of news values, and later in the analysis of sources and reported speech.

8.3.1 Impact and Negativity

In the four news articles that employ the *gentrification* frame (2014, 2016, 2019b, 2019c), Impact and Negativity are construed within discussions about the lack of community involvement in the 2014 redevelopment deal, the lack of affordable housing, and the issue of displacement.

While the Impact of the redevelopment was presented as positive within the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame, news articles in the *gentrification* frame portrayed the negative Impact of the redevelopment in terms of inadequate affordable housing and community involvement, and as a consequence, expected gentrification. As explained previously, the Impact news value is defined as 'the effects or consequences of an event' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 43); this is especially relevant if the event is presented to have positive or negative repercussions on a local scale, and in this case, it is the expected

negative repercussions for the Hill District community. In the *gentrification* frame Impact is construed through evaluative language, with references to emotion, and to the redevelopment's effects on individuals. The following examples illustrate this.

The Negativity news value is thought to be the most readily used in journalism (Bell, 1991; Bednarek & Caple, 2012a), however in the two other frames *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6) and *community benefits* frame (Chapter 7), Negativity was sparse as a news value and where it was present seemed to be used with the effect of highlighting Positivity of the expected impact of the redevelopment. Conversely, in the *gentrification* frame, Negativity is construed when the news articles discuss the lack of affordable housing, displacement, and gentrification. Negativity is used explicitly through evaluative language references to emotion, and negative vocabulary.

In respect to not including the community in decisions made about the 2014 redevelopment, Belko (2014) writes:

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal. (Belko, 2014)

In the extract, Impact is construed when stating that the community should be included in 2014 redevelopment decisions, particularly decisions about affordable housing. In the news article, the community, represented by Redwood, suggests there are negative implications to not being included in 'crafting the final deal'. More specifically, that the redevelopment does not meet the demands of the Hill District because the redevelopment creators (the city politicians and Penguins, private investors) did not get community input.

One of the demands of the Hill District community during the 2014-redevelopment negotiations was that of affordable housing. As a low-income area, negatively affected by the City's past actions like the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and the years of disinvestment that followed, the community argued their need for affordable

housing for its residents. This would help ensure that the 2014 redevelopment was done in accordance with their vision, while guaranteeing that residents would not be out priced from new housing developments, increased rent, and increased land value that would lead to displacement and gentrification. From the context of the data set, affordable housing continued to be a debate between the City and Penguins and those who represent the Hill District, namely Carl Redwood, Head of the Hill District Consensus Group. Affordable housing is a main topic in the 2016 news article and when discussed is often associated with the news value Impact, for example:

Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents. (Fontaine, 2016)

The excerpt above is the headline of the 2016 news article by Fontaine. The headline not only employs the *gentrification* frame for it describes one of the problems defined in the frame- discrimination by way of affordable housing. The headline also construes Impact. The use of 'unfair' is an evaluation of the Civic Arena plan, another term for the 2014 redevelopment of the Lower Hill District. 'Unfair' construes Negativity, but also Impact as the headline suggests the redevelopment is unfair to a group of people — 'black residents'.

There are further examples in the 2016 news article that support the Impact and Negativity construed in the headline as the focus of the 2016 news article is affordable housing and more specifically policies that may lead to gentrification. For example:

A Hill District group renewed demands for more affordable housing on the former Civic Arena site, circulating a petition that accuses the city of clinging to policies that discriminate against blacks. (Fontaine, 2016)

As the excerpt shows, the Hill District Group (The Hill District Consensus Group) is quoted suggesting that the Hill District community have not been considered sufficiently in the redevelopment plan, as they have 'renewed demands' for more affordable housing. This suggests that they had demanded more affordable housing in the past and action was not taken by the city and Penguins.

The second half of the excerpt above indicates the Impact of a lack of affordable housing as it disproportionately affects Black residents. More specifically it relies on the context that the Hill District was negatively affected in the past (i.e., 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and disinvestment) and continues to be negatively impacted by the 2014 redevelopment.

Additionally, the quote construes Negativity by including information on the 'renewed demands' and the petition created by the 'Hill District group', which is the Hill District Consensus Group chaired by Redwood. Moreover, we can see that Fontaine includes that the petition, 'accuses the city of clinging to policies that discriminate against blacks'. In this instance, using the verb 'accuses' further construes Negativity, in addition to the noun phrase 'discriminate against blacks'.

In the second half of the quote the problem as identified in the *gentrification* frame is turned into something much broader—a more general accusation of racism and discrimination against Black people in Pittsburgh by who we can presume is the city government. It takes the issue beyond the scope of the Hill District. This construes Impact as it suggests the issue is much broader than the problems with the 2014 redevelopment. This is important due to historical discrimination of Black communities across the United States (see Chapter 5), in the Pittsburgh area, and more specifically in the Hill District. As Fontaine reports in the article, the discrimination was primarily seen through the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan where substantial displacement occurred because of the construction of the Civic Arena and the highway. The 1960s plan and policies, which were based on a federal law, gave the power to city elites to clear neighbourhoods they deemed as slums, usually areas that had a high minority population already facing disinvestment, and lack of infrastructure (Small, 2017). In this case, this law gave Pittsburgh elites (city and state politicians and private investors) power to clear the Lower Hill for construction of the Civic Arena and interstate in the 1960s. The 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and historical racial discrimination are discussed further in the news article, for example:

Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project, said there is 'residual emotional impact from the dismemberment of the Lower Hill that has never totally gone away.' (Fontaine, 2016)

In this excerpt, Fontaine includes Stevens who implicitly refers to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and does so with references to emotion and negative vocabulary. For instance, the noun phrase 'residual emotional impact' construes Negativity as it describes the community members' emotional response, assumed to be still present, to the 1960 Urban Renewal Plan. Although not explicitly linked to the 2014 redevelopment deal, Hill District grassroots leaders, like Redwood and Stevens, suggest similar discriminating policies are still in place, in addition to the accusation of insufficient community involvement in the 2014 deal. Moreover, Negativity is construed with the noun 'dismemberment' which has a negative connotation. In the excerpt it functions as a metaphor, as the act of cutting off a person's or animal's limbs becomes synonymous with the separation of the Hill District with Pittsburgh CBD that occurred in the 1960s that resulted in displacement, disinvestment, lack of key amenities and poor living conditions

Another example of Impact and Negativity in the *gentrification* frame is when Redwood is quoted referring to more widespread effects of urban policies that discriminate against Black people in Pittsburgh. Redwood is quoted to state the following:

Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to "the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs," with the black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from about 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop. (Fontaine, 2016)

As the excerpt shows, Redwood's petition refers to the 'past four decades' or in other words, the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, the Civic Arena demolition in 2011, and the disinvestment particularly throughout those times into the present day (see Chapter 5 for more contextual detail and history on the Hill District). The quote does not directly refer to the Hill District, but rather to the policies and developments throughout the city more widely, construing Impact and Negativity by showing the wider context. Furthermore, by including this view and quote from

Redwood, Fontaine seems to make a point about displacement being a much broader issue in Pittsburgh, not limited to the Hill District. Fontaine then includes statistical information on the decrease in the Black population in the city area. This construes Impact through referencing the effects on a group of people, which is emphasised by using quantification.

Impact and Negativity are further construed in the *gentrification* frame in the 2016 news article when Lavelle is quoted saying:

Lavelle said many black residents are being "priced out" of the city, with skyrocketing housing costs in East Liberty and other East End neighborhoods driving them to more affordable suburban communities such as Penn Hills.

"Affordability is not just a black issue, but it would be disingenuous to say there are not racial dimensions to this, particularly as it relates to the Lower Hill," Lavelle said, referring to the section of the historically black neighborhood where 8,000 residents and more than 400 businesses were displaced to make way for construction of the Civic Arena. (Fontaine, 2016)

Impact is construed strongly here by discussing the effects of Black people in the wider Pittsburgh area, like East Liberty and the East End, two places that have undergone redevelopments and gentrification in the past decade, situated north of the Hill District area. Penn Hills is now a predominantly Black suburban neighbourhood because the displacement of the Pittsburgh city neighbourhoods, like East Liberty, have forced Black residents into the suburbs, while wealthy middle-class works have moved back to the city. As stated earlier, Negativity and Impact are strengthened because the issue is taken beyond the Hill District and presented as a much wider problem in Pittsburgh area.

Three years on from the 2016 new article, the 2019b news article reports on the same topic, where Redwood (the head of the Hill District Consensus Group) suggests that the 2014 redevelopment plan will create displacement and gentrification implicitly as the focus of the quotes is on the percentage of the affordable housing and the area's median income. The article published in May

2019 covers the changing of the Hill District name to the 'Centre District', but Belko (2014, 2019b) also reports on the debate about affordable housing that began at the redevelopment deal's inception in 2014.

It (The Hill District Consensus Group) fears the team's plan will exclude many African Americans from being able to rent units. (Belko, 2019b)

The excerpt construes Impact by referring to emotion and by talking about the (2014) redevelopment's effects on individuals. Belko uses the verb 'fears' to describe the response of what he presents as 'many' of Hill District community residents, i.e., that they [African Americans] will not be able to afford housing if the Penguins Hockey team's redevelopment plan goes ahead. This quote is an example of how, in the *gentrification* frame, the Impact associated with the redevelopment is construed negatively, linked to what is seen as the problem – the redevelopment in its current form and its consequences. The quote is also reminiscent of the fears that the community had during the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan, which is defined as the problem's cause in the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames (see Chapter 6 and 7).

As already discussed above, in the *gentrification* frame the topic of affordable housing is seen as a primary concern for the Hill District community. New developments in affordable housing discussions are regularly reported in the news articles (Belko, 2014, 2019b, 2019c; Fontaine, 2016) within the *gentrification* frame:

The Penguins last year lost out on a bid to secure low-income tax credits that would have allowed for deeper levels of affordable housing. The commitment it now has in place was negotiated with Hill leaders several years ago. (Belko, 2019b)

In the excerpt, Belko reports on how the Penguins sports team, the private investors in the redevelopment deal, 'lost out on a bid' that would have enabled more affordable housing in the area—here Impact is construed in a negative way as the community argues it needs more affordable housing or they risk displacement. Belko's (2019b) mention that the current commitment was one that

was negotiated 'several years ago' alludes to the 2014 news article (Belko, 2014) where Redwood was quoted accusing the city and the Penguins for not including the community in the negotiations on affordable housing despite the city and Penguins' claim that more than 50 meetings took place (Belko, 2014).

8.3.2 Prominence

In the *gentrification* frame the news value Prominence or Eliteness was used when discussing the negative Impact of the redevelopment, and those Prominent people imply that the redevelopment in its current form is not in the best interest of the community. The use of role labels (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a) was the most used linguistic device to signify Prominence as a news value in the *gentrification* frame.

In addition to Redwood being the most cited source elaborating the *gentrification* frame (see section 8.4 for more detail; Table 8.2), Prominence is construed when Redwood is quoted, for he represents the Hill District as a figurehead because of his position as the chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group.

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal. (Belko, 2014)

'You can stop the current city policy of gentrification and the displacement of black people from the city,' Hill District Consensus Group Chairman Carl Redwood wrote in the online petition that had more than 100 signatures by Thursday afternoon. (Fontaine, 2016)

Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, said the park 'represents Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around.' (Belko, 2019c)

In the three excerpts above Redwood is not identified as a resident or grassroots organiser, but a chairman. The Consensus Group is a strategic planning group working with the Hill District community and other Hill District organisation in an

effort to support residents by cultivating leadership and economic justice. Although he is heading a grassroots organisation (qualifying him as an ordinary person), he is presented as a leader in an official capacity as chairman. This not only construes Prominence, but in doing so conveys Redwood as an authority on the 2014 redevelopment and knowledgeable of the Hill District community's needs.

Redwood is a significant voice in the *gentrification* frame, in terms of the number of times he is quoted throughout the four news articles (Belko, 2014, 2019b, 2019c; Fontaine, 2016) that employ the frame. For instance, of the fifteen quotations that elaborate the *gentrification* frame, Redwood is quoted seven times and the Consensus Group (as an entity) is quoted four times—thus eleven of the fifteen quotations are associated with Carl Redwood, and every quote from Redwood is an elaboration of the frame (Table 8.2). The remaining four quotations are associated with other Prominent stakeholders Councilman Lavelle (two quotes) and Tim Stevens, Chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project (two quotes) (see section 8.4 for more detail; Table 8.2).

In addition to quoting Redwood, the Hill District Consensus Group is quoted elaborating the *gentrification* frame and construing Prominence. Bednarek and Caple (2012a) state that Prominence can be construed through the elite status of 'organisations... involved in an event, including quoted sources' (p. 41). Thus, Prominence is construed when the Consensus Group is presented as making demands or 'complaining'. For example,

The Hill District Consensus Group has complained that the neighborhood master plan calls for at least 30% of the units affordable to households at or below 50% of the [Average Median Income]. (Belko, 2019b)

In the above excerpt from the 2019b news article the *gentrification* frame is employed and construing Negativity in the indirect speech that is used to state that the Group 'has complained' about the level of affordable housing the deal promises, which is below what the Group had asked for. The reporting verb 'complained' is used as an expressive, to indicate the dissatisfaction with the current affordable housing agreement with illocutionary force that Caldas-

Coulthard (1987) says eliminates 'misinterpretation on the part of the reader' (p. 157)—or in other words states exactly how the speaker is feeling, in this case negatively. Their status as a grassroots organisation based in the Hill District and chaired by Carl Redwood aids in the construal of Prominence.

In addition to Redwood's quotes (2014, 2016, 2019b, 2019c), Prominence is also constructed when other sources employ the *gentrification* frame, like Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project (also discussed in section 8.3.1). Stevens is only quoted twice in the analysed news articles:

Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project said there is 'residual emotional impact from the dismemberment of the Lower Hill that has never totally gone away.' (Fontaine, 2016)

In the excerpt, Stevens is presented to readers with a role label that construes Prominence – 'chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project' which is an initiative to provide resources (educational and vocational) to empower and support Black people Pittsburgh. The construal of Prominence through the role label helps to convey authority about his statement regarding the separation of the lower Hill District and the downtown area (due to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan). Not only is authority conveyed, but the construal of Prominence helps to enhance the construal of Negativity in the excerpt – 'residual emotional impact from the dismemberment' (refer to section 8.3.1 Impact and Negativity).

Finally, Prominence is also construed when Lavelle is quoted in the 2016 news article. While Lavelle is quoted throughout the 2016 news article, he only elaborates the *gentrification* frame in two of the instances. In both instances, Lavelle's position is not included however earlier in the news article he is referred to as 'Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill District and co-chairs the city's recently established Affordable Housing Task Force' (Fontaine, 2016).

In summary, when Prominence is construed in the *gentrification* frame it is construed to construct authority on the issues that are contentious in the redevelopment plans, for example the question of affordable housing, the lack of

community involvement, and the fears of displacement and gentrification. Moreover, Prominence is construed in the *gentrification* frame through three people, Carl Redwood, Councilman Lavelle, and in a minor way, Tim Stevens (i.e., he is only quoted twice in the full data set). The few instances of Prominence can be attributed to the minor role the *gentrification* frame plays in the four news articles (Belko, 2014, 2019b, 2019c; Fontaine, 2016) (more information in Chapter 9).

8.4 Sources and Reported Speech

In this section I analyse the type of sources or frame sponsors that are quoted in relation to the gentrification frame and how their voices are incorporated in news articles through reporting verbs. This section will show that one community leader, Redwood, was the predominant voice in the frame (see Table 8.2 below, and above, section 8.3.2 on Prominence). In the news article from 2016, the author, Fontaine includes two other sources, Lavelle and Tim Stevens, a city councilman and community leader respectively.

Table 8.2 Breakdown of sources reported in Gentrification Frame in each news article

Article	Source Type	Source	Number of times quoted elaborating the <i>gentrification</i> frame	Type of report	Reporting verb
2014	Grassroots Organisation	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group	2	Indirect	said/accused
				Direct	said
2016	Grassroots Organisation	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group	3	Direct	wrote
				Direct	said
				Direct	said
	Grassroots Organisation	Hill District Consensus Group (as an entity)	3	Indirect	said
				Indirect	thinks
				Indirect	urged
	Politician	R. Daniel Lavelle, Councilman of the Hill District	2	Indirect	said
				Direct	said
	Grassroots Organisation	Tim Stevens, Chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project	2	Indirect	said
				Direct	said

2019b	Grassroots Organisation	Hill District Consensus Group (as an entity)	1	Indirect	has complained
2019c	Grassroots Organisation	Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group	2	Direct	said

8.4.1 Grassroots Organisation Leaders

As shown in Chapter 6, in the *economic benefits* frame, voices from politicians and private investors were dominant. Analysis of the *community benefits* frame in Chapter 7 showed similar results, where the leading voices were politicians and private investors. Additionally, the *community benefits* frame included quotes from ordinary people (Hill District residents) in the May 2019 and June 2019 articles (see Chapter 7). Despite the accusation of resident displacement and gentrification due to the 2014 redevelopment, resident voices are not drawn on in the *gentrification* frame in any of the four news articles that employ the frame (Belko, 2014, 2019b, 2019c; Fontaine, 2016), apart from Carl Redwood, who is a resident of the Hill District but is quoted in an official capacity (e.g., ‘Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group’).

In the four news articles (2014, 2016, 2019b and 2019c) that employ the *gentrification* frame Redwood is quoted as the dissenting voice to the redevelopment dealings. Redwood is quoted directly and indirectly and introduced through a range of reporting verbs some of which include “said” and “accused” as in the following excerpt.

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal. (Belko, 2014)

The above extract from the 2014 news article about the start of the redevelopment deal is the first use of the *gentrification* frame in that article. In the first statement, the indirect quote is presented with a neutral structuring verb (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994)—the verb ‘said’. ‘Said’ is understood to be a neutral verb which ‘simply

signal[s] the illocutionary act—the saying; the intended meaning (illocutionary force) has to be derived from the dialogue itself' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987, p. 153). By using a neutral reporting verb, the reported view is not discredited by the journalist, nor is it explicitly judged or amplified. This could mean that Belko, the journalist, here does not want to take a stance and does simply report this view as one of the views in the debate over the issue.

In the second sentence however, Redwood is quoted with the reporting verb 'accused', a metapropositional speech-reporting verb (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994) that in addition to signalling the upcoming statement, also reveals 'what kind of illocutionary act we are confronted with' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987, p. 158). The reporting verb creates semantic distance between the journalist and speaker; that by choosing the reporting verb 'accuse', Belko distances himself from what Redwood says—in this case aligning himself [Belko] with the more present positive *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames (see Chapter 9 for more on frame dominance).

Belko uses indirect quotes to include Redwood's quotes, which means the author has 'control of the character's supposed talk, since a speech act verb generally introduces reported utterances that are averred by the author' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1992, p. 79). This could mean that while Belko wants to include a differing view of the redevelopment to present a more balanced news article, he does not believe that Redwood's utterances merit being directly reported, and instead highlights what information should be present and thus paraphrases the speaker.

In the 2016 news article (Fontaine, 2016), much of the reported speech is introduced with neutral structuring, from what seems to be interviews or extracts from Redwood's petition, as seen in the quote from the text below.

Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to 'the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs,' with black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop. (Fontaine, 2016)

'That's not affordable for the average black family,' Redwood said.
(Fontaine, 2016)

The neutral reporting verb 'said' in both excerpts suggests that Fontaine simply quotes Redwood's views without clearly advocating the views nor dismissing them, as suggested in the quotes in Belko's news article (2014 above). The excerpts above are representative of the *gentrification* frame in that they rely on how the consequences and the problem are defined within the *gentrification* frame respectively. However, as will become clear in Chapter 9, the *gentrification* frame is the dominant frame in the 2016 news article and Redwood (and the Consensus Group) are quoted extensively throughout the article (Table 8.2), therefore this may suggest that Fontaine implicitly endorses or supports the views expressed, as the repetitive use of 'said' implies factual reporting.

Specifically, the second excerpt, is a direct quote from Redwood introduced with a neutral structuring verb. This is representative of how Fontaine includes Redwood's statements throughout the 2016 news article. It is clear that Redwood emerges as the main voice of the *gentrification* frame, and the primary frame sponsor across the four texts that employ the frame (Belko, 2014; 2019b, 2019c; Fontaine, 2016).

While Fontaine and Belko quote the Consensus Group as a source in the 2016 and 2019b news articles (Table 8.2), we can assume they are quoting Redwood as he is the chairman of the group speaking on their behalf. As shown in Chapters 6 and 7, in the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frame, journalists do not include Redwood and the Hill District Consensus Group as sources, but in the four texts that employ the *gentrification* frame they are the primary sources and frame sponsors.

Another source that is quoted in the *gentrification* frame is Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project. As mentioned in the news values section (see section 8.3 above), he only appears twice in the analysed news articles (see Table 8.2) and his words reveal the presence of the *gentrification* frame in the article by Fontaine.

Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project, said there is 'residual emotional impact from the dismemberment of the Lower Hill that has never totally gone away.' (Fontaine, 2016)

'These things on paper sound good, look good, but they need to be good,' Stevens said. (Fontaine, 2016)

Stevens is quoted in the 2016 news article (Text 3; Fontaine), where the primary focus is on the lack of affordable housing for Black residents and that the redevelopment is unfair to the community. Stevens' title is used in the introduction of the direct quote referencing status and provides credibility to the statements made. Fontaine uses the neutral reporting verb, 'said', which suggests factual reporting, and when combined the inclusion of his role label, and with the dominant employment of the *gentrification* frame in the news article (see Chapter 9), also suggests credibility of the statement. Stevens' utterance remarks on the community's past, referencing the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and how it reflects on the 2014 redevelopment deal. Stevens is a particularly relevant source for the community on the topic of empowerment for Black people due to his community leadership position. This is similar to how Fontaine introduces and utilises another community leader -Redwood - as a source in his 2016 news article (as discussed above).

In the news articles discussed here, Redwood and Stevens are the primary sponsors of the *gentrification* frame and its positioning as a counter-frame. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) suggest that frames are dialectic and there is no frame without a counter-frame. In this case, the *gentrification* frame is the counter-frame to the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames. Here, Redwood and Stevens take the existing representation of the 2014 redevelopment as positive and redefine it as negative by expressing their concerns about lack of affordable housing, lack of community involvement, displacement, and gentrification.

It is not just the content of their quotations that convey the *gentrification* frame, but counter-frames are often sponsored or elaborated by sources that are typically seen in opposition to politicians and businesses (conventionally powerful elite), such as grassroots organisations, ordinary citizens, activists, etc. In this case, the

gentrification frame is elaborated by Redwood and Stevens who are the chairmen of the Hill District Consensus Group and the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project, respectively—therefore constructing a counter-frame.

8.4.2 Politicians

Unlike the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames, politicians and private investors are not the primary voices elaborating the *gentrification* frame. As shown in the previous section (8.4.1), the *gentrification* frame is primarily elaborated by community leaders, however Lavelle, the Councilman for the Hill District is quoted twice in the 2016 news article. The quote seems to support the view of community leaders who are raising the issue of lack of affordable housing and its impact on the community.

Lavelle said many black residents are being ‘priced out’ of the city, with skyrocketing housing costs in East Liberty and other East End neighborhoods driving them to more affordable suburban communities such as Penn Hills. (Fontaine, 2016)

‘Affordability is not just a black issue, but it would be disingenuous to say there are not racial dimensions to this, particularly as it relates to the Lower Hill,’ Lavelle said, referring to the section of the historically black neighborhood where 8,000 residents and more than 400 businesses were displaced to make way for construction of the Civic Arena. (Fontaine, 2016)

In the two extracts above, Lavelle is very clearly elaborating the *gentrification* frame. This is important because he could be seen to be representative of the political side of the redevelopment deal, as in representative of the city and city government. Lavelle’s statements are reported in a similar manner to Redwood and Stevens, in that the neutral structuring verb ‘said’ is used.

In the wider 2016 news article however, Lavelle is also quoted elaborating the *community benefits* frame (see Chapter 7). Lavelle’s quote may be included in an effort to balance the employment of frames and sources in the news article (Table

8.2)—particularly as the *gentrification* frame is almost always elaborated by a Grassroots Organisation Leader. Thus, it is novel that an example is found of a politician elaborating a counter-frame in the two excerpts above, even if that politician is also quoted elaborating the other co-existing frame in the news article (see Chapter 9) and across the data set (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7).

8.5 Summary of findings

This chapter examined the *gentrification* frame of the redevelopment. In summary (Table 8.1), in the *gentrification* frame it is suggested that the problem is the redevelopment—particularly the lack of community consultation and the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plans which disadvantages community members and disproportionately negatively affects Black people. A cause that is suggested is that the Penguins have lost out on a bid to secure more affordable housing (than the 20% that is stated in the redevelopment plan). A consequence of the defined problem is that the redevelopment will cause displacement and gentrification. Therefore, the implied solution of the *gentrification* frame is to stop the redevelopment.

As suggested earlier in the chapter, the *gentrification* frame functions as a counter-frame to the positive frames: the *economic benefits* frame (Chapter 6) and the *community benefits* frame (Chapter 7). The *gentrification* frame tries to re-frame the 2014 redevelopment by presenting it as a problem in itself, which is in opposition to the other two frames which posit that the redevelopment is the solution to other existing problems. As Benford (1987) suggests, a counter-frame is often the denial of another frame in an attempt to neutralise ‘a person’s or group’s myths, versions of reality, or interpretive framework’ (Benford, 1987, p. 5)—so denying the positive representation of the 2014 redevelopment and instead presenting it as a negative deal for the community.

An attempt of re-framing can be seen in the construal of news values that co-occur with the *gentrification* frame. For even though similar news values are construed in all three frames, the news values Impact, Negativity, and Prominence are

construed when opposite perspectives (to the two positive frames) are discussed in the *gentrification* frame. As the frame highlights the negative consequences of the deal and does not believe in it being a good deal for the Hill District community, the news values Impact and Negativity are construed in the frame. The news value Impact is used in all three frames, however the difference in its usage in the previous frames and the *gentrification* frame, is that Impact is construed with a negative meaning, whereas it has a positive meaning and implications in the other frames. In addition to Impact and Negativity, Prominence is also construed in the *gentrification* frame, however through a limited number of speakers/actors.

Analysis of source types shows that the *gentrification* frame was most frequently elaborated by grassroots organisation leaders. While not inherently elite sources, their inclusion construed Prominence. Also, when quoted the statements from these sources tended to be introduced through the neutral structuring verb 'said'. As suggested in Chapter 3 and also earlier in this chapter, a particular marker of a counter-frame is the source types that elaborate a frame, for example grassroots sources and activists are typically associated with counter-frames (Benford & Snow, 2000); the same is true for the *gentrification* frame. With the exception of Councilman Lavelle, the sources that elaborate the *gentrification* frame are Carl Redwood, Chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group and Tim Stevens, Chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project—both grassroots organisations in the Pittsburgh Hill District.

In conclusion, the *gentrification* frame offers a "new" perspective on the redevelopment by challenging the idea (and the other two frames) that the redevelopment is beneficial for the Hill District. This is an important finding to note because when dissenting voices are not represented in the news, and attitudes become one sided and exclude voices of those most directly affected. In this case without the *gentrification* frame, attitudes about the redevelopment are presented as overtly positive and would ignore the community's concerns about displacement and gentrification. The dominance of the frames will be discussed at length in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Frame Co-existence

This chapter will describe the co-existence of the frames presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 with a focus on identifying which frame is dominant in each news article. The next section begins with an explanation of the criteria for determining frame dominance when several frames co-exist. I then discuss frame co-existence article by article and identify the dominant frame in each article where several frames co-existed. I conclude by offering possible explanations for frame dominance and potential implications for how the redevelopment of the Hill District is discussed in Pittsburgh news media and implications for the future of the Hill District more broadly.

As stated at the beginning of Chapter 6 (describing the *economic benefits* frame), in Chapter 7 (the *community benefits* frame) and Chapter 8 (the *gentrification* frame), each frame is not used alone in the seven news articles in the data set with two exceptions (see Table 6.1). This is not unusual, as multiple frames can be employed in a news article, for an event or issue can be discussed from different perspectives (e.g., van Gorp, 2007, 2010).

As discussed in the previous chapters, two frames (the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame) represent the planned redevelopment as positive and suggest that it is the solution to problems in the Hill District – whether pertaining to the economy or the community, respectively. Conversely, as shown in Chapter 8, the *gentrification* frame presents the redevelopment as negative and implies that it needs to be stopped. The *gentrification* frame is thus what has been described in the literature as a counter-frame because it challenges the status of the redevelopment as the solution to existing problems and instead positions it as a problem in itself (see Chapter 8).

9.1 Criteria for Identifying Frame Dominance

I consider four factors to determine which frame appeared in a dominant role. At the most basic level, I start by documenting the volume of coverage that was dedicated to each frame in a news article in terms of word count. Secondly, beyond simple word count, positioning also matters - I examine whether a frame appears in more prominent places in an article (e.g., headline and lead paragraph). Thirdly, I also analyse the visual-verbal repetition of a frame, as a frame can be made more dominant in people's minds because it is communicated through two modes (e.g., in both text and image). Finally, I consider how frame dominance may be related to the types of sources used to elaborate a frame. Journalists (and the public) are likely to consider sources with different degrees of importance and credibility, and those with official, conventionally authoritative positions are likely to receive more attention while statements from other sources might be ignored (Hall, 1978; Manning, 2001).

9.1.1 Word Count

Word count helps (in a simple but powerful way) to determine whether an article devotes more space to a particular frame over others. By giving more space to a particular frame in an article, its potential to stay memorable and dominant in readers' minds is increased and the frame has higher potential to shape the reader's perceptions about the 2014 Hill District redevelopment. It can be assumed that the journalist who gives more words to a specific frame may take a position themselves or taking a stance in the debate over the Hill District redevelopment.

9.1.2 News Structure

News producers structure news to maximise newsworthiness and audience understanding. When news producers report the news, they make choices in terms of what to report and how much importance to devote to it. These are referred to

in framing as selection and salience (Entman, 1993). Salience, as discussed earlier, can be achieved by means of prominent placement (where in the news article text the information appears) (e.g., Entman, 1993). To analyse prominent placement, I draw on theories and research about the inverted pyramid structure of news texts.

Various scholars (including Bell, 1994; Tuchman, 1972 and van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b and more recently, Bednarek & Caple, 2012a and Caldas-Coulthard, 1997) have considered the linguistic and journalistic perspectives of news structure, particularly pertaining to the headline, lead paragraph, and body of a news article. In brief, the headline functions to summarise the event and to attract attention. Similarly, the lead paragraph includes the most newsworthy aspects of the news item. Finally, the body of a news article illustrates the event or issue in more detail, which can include describing the background and context (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a).

Tuchman (1972) refers to common news structuring as the 'inverted pyramid' (see Figure 9.1 below). The model suggests how information should be arranged to maximise newsworthiness, where the most significant information is provided towards the beginning of the article in the headline and lead. In contrast, less important information could be provided later in the news article. For example, Pan and Kosicki (1993) state that:

Headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds; it is thus the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure. A lead is the next most important device to use. A good lead will give a story a newsworthy angle, suggesting a particular perspective to view the event reported (p. 59-60).

Tuchman (1972) suggests that the 'inverted pyramid' model serves to 'simultaneously present and yet background conflicting, uncomfortable or alternative "facts"' (Tuchman, 1972 as cited in Richardson, 2004, p. 228). As Pan and Kosicki (1993) also suggest (see above quote), where a frame is present in the headline or somewhere in the middle of the article, it allows the journalist to highlight certain frames, or more simply put, make a frame more dominant while placing other frames in less significant areas of the text. This then may show the

journalist's position, in the sense of how they frame the event—whether they view one frame as the dominant and if, regardless of that, other frames are brought in too, or perhaps completely left out.

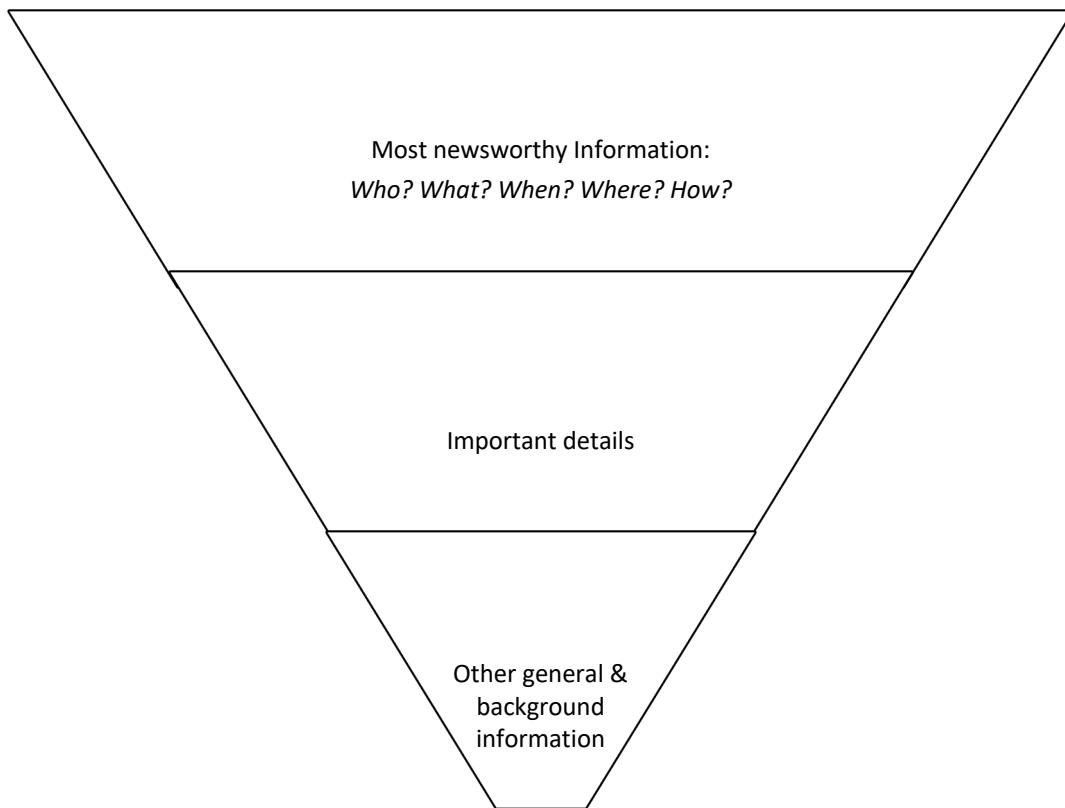


Figure 9.1 News Articles' Inverted Pyramid Structure (Tuchman, 1972)

The importance of considering where in the news article text a frame is employed is also underlined by the findings of research on the attention span of typical newspaper readers. Experimental studies have shown that readers tend not to read the whole news article but instead mainly glance at the headline (Gabielskov et al., 2016). This suggests that if the frame is employed in the salient areas of a news article like the headline and lead, then it is more than likely to be read and potentially remembered by readers, and by extension to influence their understanding of the Hill District redevelopment.

9.1.3 Visual-Verbal Repetition

My study also builds upon the point of salience in terms of repetition. As per Entman's (1993) seminal definition of framing, salience can also be achieved through repetition, not only prominent placement. In terms of repetition, I focus on whether the frame is repeated across text and image. In the previous chapters, I have argued the importance of treating news images at the same level of importance as the text of a news article when conducting frame analysis. Following on from that, I consider visual-verbal overlap - whether a particular frame is being repeated across two modes - in the text and in the image. Research that has studied visual-verbal overlap (Reese, 1984 and more recently, Powell et al., 2018) has shown that visual-verbal redundancy (also referred to as repetition) markedly increases readers' retention of the information. The argument here is that the more easily a certain frame is to be remembered, the higher the likelihood that it will dominate readers' understanding of the issue in question.

I analyse whether the reasoning devices that form part of a particular frame appear in both the text and the image, thus repeating the frame across two modes. This is important, as other frames may be only communicated in one mode. Powell et al. (2018, p. 580), for example, argue that 'unimodal insights fail to capture the stylistic-semiotic combination of image and text that determines how news frames resonate with viewers' internal frames of references, and, in turn, affect citizens opinions and behaviors (de Vreese, 2005; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996)'. Many studies (e.g., Drew & Grimes, 1987; Graber, 1996; Reese, 1984) have shown 'that a close semantic correspondence between textual and pictorial information may enhance news recall, whereas indirect text-picture relations or text-picture divergences could impair learning' (Walma van der Molen & Klijn, 2004, p. 91).

9.1.4 Source Type

In addition to the criteria presented above, I consider whether the elaboration of frames is by conventionally authoritative source types as they can create salience for a message, and therefore this can help establish whether a certain frame

appears in a dominant role. ‘[M]edia privilege “official sources”’ (Kitzinger, 2007, p. 65), and official sources are ranked higher up in the hierarchy of sources by both journalists and newsreaders (Hall, 1978; Manning, 2001). Manning (2001) suggests that this hierarchy of sources is in part based on credibility, where ‘sources close to government [are] regarded as more credible than more politically marginal [sources]’ (p. 71). These credible sources are regarded as ‘primary definers’ as their privileged position allows for insider knowledge and the ability to frame an event or issue (Manning, 2001). Their status as conventionally authoritative also means that their statements might be attended to by readers, while statements from other sources may be ignored.

9.2 Frame Co-existence

In this section I consider each news article in turn, and I analyse how the three identified frames (*economic benefits*, *community benefits*, and *gentrification*) co-exist in the news article. I look at each news article separately. It should be noted that I do not discuss the news article titled ‘Peduto: Pittsburgh has “agreement in principle” with Penguins over Civic Arena property’ published in 2017 and the news article titled “Let’s do something great” –Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site’ published in 2019a, as they both feature only one frame – the *economic benefits* frame. For the five other news articles, I examine – (a) word count, (b) news structure, (c) visual-verbal repetition, and (d) news sources to determine dominance.

9.2.1 News Article 1 (2014) ‘Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site’

This news article covers the press conference for announcing the new redevelopment plans which includes the redevelopment’s economic benefits like tax increment plans and property development and other benefits that the redevelopment was to have for the community, like job and business opportunities. Both the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frame were

present in this text. The *gentrification* frame was present as the article also discussed existing disagreements around community involvement and affordable housing.

In this article, the *economic benefits* frame emerges as dominant. Not only does the *economic benefits* frame account for a high word count and is encountered across about half of the article's text (431 words in a news article which is 819 words-long), as opposed to the 178 words for *community benefits* frame and the 74 words for *gentrification* frame. The *economic benefits* frame is also employed in more salient areas of the text (in the lead paragraph), is repeated across the visual and verbal modes (elaborated in the image which also appears right at the top of the article) and is conveyed by prominent source types (politicians and private investors) (see Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 Frame Dominance News Article 1 (2014)

News Article 1 (2014)			Total word count of the article: 819			
Frame	Word count of each frame	Visual elaboration of the frame	Source Types elaborating the frame	Specific sources elaborating the frame	Type of quote	Reporting verb
<i>Economic benefits</i>	431	Yes	Private Investor	Travis Williams, Penguins' Chief Operating Officer	Indirect	said
		Visual elaboration of topic described in the text, the press conference. Image shows individuals in authoritative positions in suits and podium. Composition foregrounds Mayor Peduto to the left front of the image, near the headline. He is not only presented as an authority due to the event		Councilman Lavelle	Indirect	said

		described and the gazes on him, but also he is conventionally authoritative due to the title 'Mayor' and as quoted source in the text. These individuals visually represent the official sources who are quoted in the article, thereby confirming, and elaborating on the frame, supporting its dominance				
<i>Community benefits</i>	178	No	Politician	Mayor Peduto	Direct	said
			Politician	Councilman Lavelle	Indirect	said
			Politician	Rich Fitzgerald, Allegheny County Executive	Direct	said
<i>Gentrification</i>	74	No	Grassroots Organisation Leader	Carl Redwood	Direct	said
					Indirect	said

In the 2014 news article (Appendix 1) the *economic benefits* frame is the dominant frame among the three frames employed, in that it is employed in significant parts of the news article, like the lead paragraph (shown below).

Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started. (Belko, 2014)

In addition to being employed in a prominent place - the lead paragraph, the *economic benefits* frame is also employed in the accompanying news image (Figure 6.1 reproduced here). The image is a visual depiction of the content of the news article, (i.e., the press conference held by politicians and private investors). The sources quoted in the body of the news text elaborating the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame are also depicted in the image. From left to right: Mayor Peduto, Councilman Lavelle, Senator Costa, Travis Williams Penguins' Chief Operating Officer, and Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald.



Figure 6.5 2014 News Article

Thirdly, the sources that elaborate the *economic benefits* frame are prominent people-politicians and private investors. It can be argued that these sources which are regarded as particularly authoritative by both journalists and readers lend salience to the frame therefore making it a dominant frame.

In addition to the dominant *economic benefits* frame, the *community benefits* frame, which shares reasoning devices with the *economic benefits* frame (e.g., presenting

the redevelopment as the solution to the defined problem(s) and the 1960s Urban Renewal as the cause), is employed throughout some of the body of the news text but in less prominent areas (178 words of the 819-word article; Table 9.1). The *community benefits* frame is not employed in the image. The two frames - *economic benefits* and *community benefits* - mutually reinforce each other. Reasoning devices unique to the *community benefits* frame consistently appeared subsequently to the reasoning devices that the two frames share. For instance, the *economic benefits* frame is employed in paragraph 1 of the article and followed by the *community benefits* frame in paragraph 3:

Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.

"Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past." (Belko, 2014)

In paragraph 1 above the redevelopment is discussed in terms of creating a large tax diversion (i.e., with a focus on money and benefits), whereas in paragraph 3 the redevelopment is discussed in terms of opportunities for Hill District residents (i.e., with a focus on community benefits). This is just one instance in the 2014 article where the *community benefits* frame appears after and reinforces the *economic benefits* frame (refer to Appendix 2 for detailed analysis of the 2014 news article; refer to Appendix 3 for summary frame tables).

The *gentrification* counter-frame is employed briefly (74 words of the 819-word article; Table 9.1) and is elaborated by the key *gentrification* frame source, Carl Redwood. Redwood is quoted describing the redevelopment deal's lack of affordable housing and the lack of community input in shaping the redevelopment—for instance:

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He

accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.

It's not a community deal unless the community is involved," Mr. Redwood said. "This is a Democratic Party deal."

The two paragraphs that employ the frame are in a rather insignificant or more concealed place - towards the end of the article (paragraphs 18-19 of a 22-paragraph news article). It finds no representation in the image which accompanies the text.

9.2.2 News Article 2 (2015) 'Governor Joins to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District'

The news article titled 'Governor Joins to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District,' by Christian Morrow published in 2015 employs two frames, the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame. The news article discusses the first phase of construction which is intended to reconnect the Lower Hill District to Pittsburgh's Downtown area, a link that was cut off during the 1960s Urban Renewal plan. The article's primary focus is on the finances and prospective profits of the redevelopment, more specifically the expenses of the redevelopment construction that will create better vehicle and pedestrian routes throughout the lower Hill District (Appendix 1).

In this article, the *economic benefits* frame emerges as dominant. It is employed in 261 of the 536-words in the article, almost half of the text. This is compared to the 51 words dedicated to elaborating the *community benefits* frame. The *economic benefits* frame is also employed in more salient areas of the text, the lead paragraph, is repeated across the visual and verbal modes (elaborated in the image, in the image caption, and repeated in the text) and is conveyed by prominent sources (politicians) (see Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 Frame Dominance News Article 2 (2015)

News Article 2 (2015)			Total word count of the article: 536			
Frame	Word count of each frame	Visual elaboration of the frame	Source Types elaborating the frame	Specific sources elaborating the frame	Type of quote	Reporting verb
<i>Economic benefits</i>	261	Yes	Politician	Governor Tom Wolf	Direct	said
		Visual representation of the topic described in the text—the ground breaking which is the start of the multi-million-dollar project.	Politician	United States Rep. Mike Doyle	Direct	said
		Colour of the image is bright, and with the visual of smiling faces and accompanied positive lexis—image construes Positivity.	Politician	Sports and Exhibition Chair and state Sen. Wayne Fontana	Direct	said
		Image features men in suits, construing authority.	Politician	Mayor Peduto	Indirect	said
		Composition foregrounds the men across the centre of the image, wielding spades in the act of shovelling or breaking ground.				
		The individuals are visual representations of official sources elaborating the frame in text.				

Community benefits	51	No	Politician	Mayor Peduto	Direct	said
Gentrification	-	-	-	-	-	-



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

Figure 6.2 2015 News Article

The news image is a visual representation of the article lead (Figure 6.2). Not only does the lead employ the *economic benefits* frame, setting the tone for the remainder of the article, but the image employs the frame also. The image depicts the sources that elaborate the frame throughout the article, politicians and private investors, as well as depicts the solution that is advocated through this frame - redevelopment construction. The image caption also contributes to the dominance of the frame. For instance,

A NEW DAY DAWNS –Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Morrow, 2015)

As seen in the image and caption above, there is visual-verbal repetition of the core reasoning devices of the *economic benefits* frame—in other words the image is

visually showing men in suits (federal, state and local partners) with shovels in hand breaking ground for the redevelopment, just as the caption and lead paragraph state verbally. This repetition is not just between the image and caption, but also found in other salient areas of the article—such as when the blue sky in the image is described in the lead paragraph when it is stated that 'the sun shown brightly' (Morrow, 2015).

The news sources that are quoted elaborating the frame in the text are conventionally authoritative sources - politicians (Table 9.2). The quotes from these sources elaborating the *economic benefits* frame were direct reports. Direct report can be considered, 'rhetorical[ly] unbounded..., free of any restrictions' (Harry, 2014, p. 1048), so not only is the frame elaborated through quotations of conventionally authoritative source types, but also their utterances appear unaffected and unaltered to the reader. When employing a direct quote over, for example, a partial quote or a paraphrase, the news producer implies that the content of the quote was important enough to warrant its appearance in full and without editing.

The other frame that is employed in the 2015 news article is the *community benefits* frame; however, it is sparingly employed (51 words of the 536-word article), for example, it is used in the last paragraph of the news article and little elsewhere.

"It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of," he said. "Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything around us," he said. "Today we are building community." (Morrow, 2015)

It represents the redevelopment as positive as well as suggests that the redevelopment is the solution to Hill District problems (like in the *economic benefits* frame). As such, like in the 2014 news article, the two frames mutually reinforce each other.

9.2.3 News Article 3 (2016) 'Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents'

The news article by Tom Fontaine was published in 2016 in the *Tribune-Review* newspaper. Its primary focus is on the 2014 redevelopment's affordable housing debate between the politicians and private investors and community leaders. It is suggested in the news article that the current policies on housing and the redevelopment's plans for affordable housing will lead to displacement and gentrification—and are particularly discriminatory towards Black people. Thus, the article employs the *gentrification* frame. It also employs the *community benefits* frame when some of the stakeholders suggest however they are committed to providing adequate affordable housing.

The *gentrification* counter-frame is employed in 452 words within a 762 word-article (accounting for just under two-thirds of the article text). It also features in salient areas of the text (headline and lead) (see Table 9.3) and is conveyed through conventionally authoritative sources. While it is not repeated across the visual and verbal mode, I argue that by meeting the other three criteria for frame dominance the *gentrification* counter-frame is the dominant one in the 2016 news article. This is notable because in other news articles it tends to be employed in insignificant or concealed places.

Table 9.3 Frame Dominance News Article 3 (2016)

News Article 3 (2016)			Total word count of the article: 762			
Frame	Word count of each frame	Visual elaboration of the frame	Source Types elaborating the frame	Specific sources elaborating the frame	Type of quote	Reporting verb
<i>Economic benefits</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Community benefits</i>	216	<p>Yes</p> <p>Visual representation of the effects of the 1960s</p> <p>Urban Renewal, which ultimately became a large parking lot, described in the text—and discussed in the frame's causation reasoning device</p> <p>Composition shows parking lot of the lower Hill in the foreground and upper Hill at the top of the image, not in shadow.</p> <p>Foregrounding of the parking lot catches the viewer's attention and, therewith, makes viewer aware of the negative effect of the 1960s Urban Renewal described in the article</p>	<p>Politician</p> <p>Politician</p> <p>Politician</p> <p>Private Investor</p>	<p>Mayor Peduto</p> <p>Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer</p> <p>Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle</p> <p>Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams</p>	<p>Direct</p> <p>Direct</p> <p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p>	<p>said</p> <p>said</p> <p>expressed</p> <p>said</p>

<i>Gentrification</i>	452	No	Grassroots Organisation Leader	Carl Redwood	Direct	wrote	
			Politician	Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle	Direct	said	
			Grassroots Organisation Leader	Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project	Direct	said	
					Direct	said	

In addition to taking up the largest number of words in the 2016 news article, the *gentrification* counter-frame is the dominant frame among the two frames employed in the news article, in that it features in the headline and lead paragraph (shown below).

'Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents'

A Hill District group renewed demands for more affordable housing on the former Civic Arena site, circulating a petition that accuses the city of clinging to policies that discriminate against blacks. (Fontaine, 2016)

Throughout the news article the frame sponsors Carl Redwood, Chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group and Tim Stevens, Chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project are quoted remarking on the fear of displacement and gentrification felt by the community. While these two sources are not politicians or private investors related to the redevelopment, they do have a hierarchy of credibility in a different way (Manning, 2001) for they are significant people in the Hill District community and are presented as leaders in the news articles. Moreover, considering the specific context of the article on displacement and gentrification, Redwood and Stevens are authorities on these topics and therefore can be considered credible sources in this article. Additionally, both are quoted directly—this is important because as suggested earlier, when a news producer provides a direct quote, he or she implies that the content of the quote was important enough to include in full and without paraphrasing or summarising.

The other frame employed in this article - the *community benefits* frame - is employed by prominent source types including politicians and private investors (refer to Chapter 7, section 7.3.5) like Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Peduto, Councilman Daniel Lavelle, and Penguin's Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams and repeated across the visual and verbal mode. However, it is featured in comparatively less prominent places - the new article's body (paragraphs 5-9 and 15; appendix 2; 216 words of 762-words) which, as research has suggested, may not even be read. I thus argue that the frame is not employed in a dominant role.

9.2.4 News Article 6 (2019b) 'Welcome to the "Centre District" – or the former Civic Arena site'

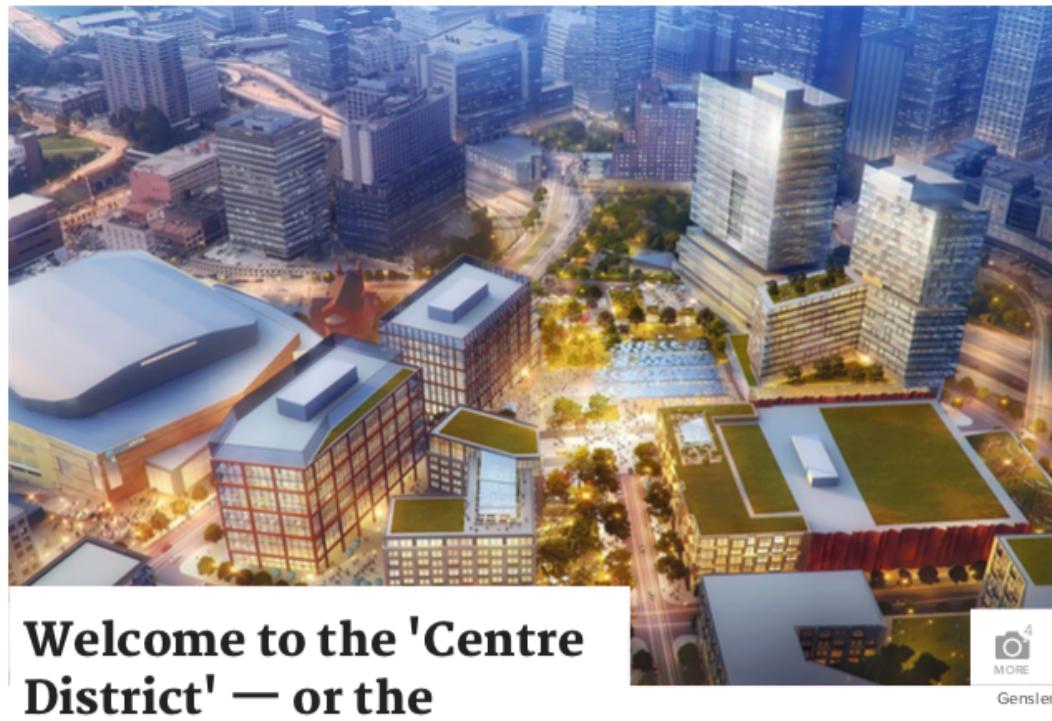
In the news article published in *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* in May 2019, the *community benefits* frame and the *gentrification* counter-frame are employed. The news article discusses the rebranding of the Hill District as the 'Centre District' and also presents the redevelopment as positive and providing opportunities for the community in response to the suggested problem that there is a lack of benefits for the community such as adequate housing, food shops and cultural venues. The *community benefits* frame is employed throughout the news article, particularly in the news text about what the 2014 redevelopment will provide for the community, like jobs and other opportunities.

The *community benefits* frame is employed in 188 words of the 609-word article, while the *gentrification* frame is employed in 117 words of the 609-word article, the remaining words of the news article do not employ a frame (Table 9.4). The two frames are proportionally similar in their employment, but the *community benefits* frame is also employed in the news image (visual-verbal repetition) and is elaborated by a prominent source (a private investor), thus considering these criteria for frame dominance the *community benefits* frame is the dominant frame.

Table 9.4 Frame Dominance News Article 6 (2019b)

News Article 6 (2019b)			Total word count of the article: 609			
Frame	Word count of each frame	Visual elaboration of the frame	Source Types elaborating the frame	Specific sources elaborating the frame	Type of quote	Reporting verb
<i>Economic benefits</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Community benefits</i>	188	<p>Yes</p> <p>Visual representation of the topic as described in the text—the completed 'Centre District'.</p> <p>Image shows completed redevelopment with the buildings, infrastructure, and possible amenities discussed in the textual component of the frame</p> <p>Image ariel directionality also shows that the Lower Hill (bottom of image) is connected to the Downtown area (top of image)— construing Positivity as is also described in the text.</p>	<p>Private Investor</p> <p>Kevin Acklin, the Penguins' senior vice president</p> <p>Ordinary Person</p> <p>Ordinary Person</p>	<p>Kevin Acklin, the Penguins' senior vice president</p> <p>C. Denise Johnson</p> <p>Deidra Washington</p>	<p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p>	said
					<p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p>	said
<i>Gentrification</i>	117	No	-	-	-	-

In the 2019b news article, the *community benefits* frame is the dominant frame as it has visual-verbal repetition, for it is employed in both the image and the text—the news image below (Figure 7.2) is representative of the news text it accompanies for it depicts the completion of the redevelopment of the lower Hill District, i.e., the 'Centre District'.



Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site

ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 7.2 2019b News article

As seen above (Figure 7.2) and in Chapter 7, the news image is a digital rendering depicting the completed 2014 redevelopment in the lower Hill District. The image employs the *community benefits* frame by illustrating benefits that the redevelopment will create in the Hill District, such as better infrastructure, housing, and businesses. This image echoes the contents of the 2019b news text, thus presenting the *community benefits* frame as dominant because it is repeated across text and image.

In addition, the news sources that are quoted elaborating the frame in the text is a conventionally authoritative source and a source that provides authenticity (Table 9.4). Kevin Acklin, the Penguins' senior vice president is a particularly important

source because when the redevelopment deal was crafted and accepted in 2014, Acklin (from 2014-2018) was the chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, and also chaired the Urban Redevelopment Authority. In 2018, the Penguins' asked Acklin to work for their organisation to further the redevelopment efforts, and consequently he had to step down from his positions in local government due to a conflict of interest. Thus, Acklin is an authoritative source as he is privy to all the redevelopment dealings due to his positions over the years.

Secondly, the *community benefits* frame is elaborated by ordinary people, more specifically long time Hill District residents. Due to their knowledge of the area and their own vested interest in the success of the redevelopment, they offer credibility and authority on the topic of the redevelopment. Below the two sources, Johnson and Washington, do not agree with the changing of the Lower Hill name to the Centre District.

"That does not respect the history or the culture," said C. Denise Johnson. "I understand this is different, but can we at least have some semblance of the Hill?"

Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the Hill and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there.

"If they want [the development] to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the Hill District] name?" she asked.

As seen above, the quotes do not support the changing of the Lower Hill name, as they state it 'does not respect the history or the culture'. This reflects the concerns addressed by the *community benefits* frame—namely that there is little involvement of the community in decision-making about the redevelopment.

The final few paragraphs of the 2019b news article employ the *gentrification* counter-frame (117 words of the 609-word article). There is a clear switch in the news article's topic from the rebranding of the Hill District to the affordable

housing debate. Here the Hill District Consensus Group chaired by Carl Redwood is briefly quoted about the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plan and how it will 'exclude many African Americans from being able to rent units' (Belko, 2019b). The positioning of the *gentrification* frame in a non-salient place towards the end of the article text makes it less likely to attract readers' attention, as suggested by experimental studies of typical reading patterns for news.

9.2.5 News Article 7 (2019c) 'Righting a wrong: New Park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District'

The most recent news article within the analysed data set was published in June 2019 in the broadsheet newspaper *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. The *community benefits* frame and the *gentrification* counter-frame are both employed in the news text. The 2019c article discusses the creation of a park that will reconnect the Lower Hill District to the Downtown area and is presented as a positive development for the Hill District, where the residents will benefit from the opportunities expected to result from the reconnection like job opportunities, increased access to amenities, and better infrastructure (commuter roads, pedestrian pavements, and green spaces for leisure). Also discussed in the news article is that 'not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill' and Redwood defines the reconnection as 'Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around' (Belko, 2019c) – evaluating the redevelopment as negative.

As Table 9.5 shows, the *community benefits* frame is employed in 370 words within a 1060-word news article compared to the 107 words dedicated to elaborating the *gentrification* frame. The remaining words of the news article do not employ a frame. The *community benefits* frame is also employed in salient areas of the text, in the image (visual-verbal repetition), as well as elaborated by conventionally authoritative source types, which suggests that it is the dominant frame in the news article.

Table 9.5 Frame Dominance News Article 7 (2019c)

News Article 7 (2019c)			Total word count of the article: 1060			
Frame	Word count of each frame	Visual elaboration of the frame	Source Types elaborating the frame	Specific sources elaborating the frame	Type of quote	Reporting verb
<i>Economic benefits</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Community benefits</i>	370	<p>Yes</p> <p>Visual representation of the text's topic—the park connecting the Lower Hill in foreground to downtown area (not pictured at bottom)</p> <p>The image depicts buildings, infrastructure, and possible amenities discussed in the frame, particularly the benefits that the redevelopment would bring to the area.</p> <p>The digital rendering shows many people utilising the area and thus is making a judgement on the usability and possibly the positivity that the redevelopment will have for the community and visitors.</p>	<p>Politician</p> <p>Ordinary Person</p> <p>Private Investor</p> <p>Politician</p>	<p>Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle</p> <p>Brenda Tate</p> <p>Mr. Morehouse, Penguins CEO</p> <p>Sala Udin, former city councilman</p>	<p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p> <p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p> <p>Direct</p> <p>Indirect</p> <p>Direct</p>	<p>said</p> <p>added</p> <p>said</p> <p>said</p> <p>said</p> <p>said</p> <p>said</p>

<i>Gentrification</i>	107	No	Grassroots Organisation Leader	Carl Redwood	Direct	said
					Direct	said

In the 2019c news article, the *community benefits* frame is the dominant frame as it is employed in salient areas of the news article—the headline and lead. For instance,

‘Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District’

A \$32 million effort to “right a wrong” that occurred half a century ago gets its start Friday. (Belko, 2019c)

In the above excerpts (headline and lead respectively), the *community benefits* frame is employed as both imply the cause of the Hill District’s problem being the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and suggest that the 2014 redevelopment will be ‘righting the wrong’ that this previous Plan caused.

In addition to the frame employment in the headline and lead, the frame is also featured in the news image (Figure 7.3), providing visual-verbal repetition and therefore further salience for the reader.



Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District



ADVERTISEMENT

Figure 7.3 2019c News article

The image (2019c), like those found in the 2019a and 2019b news articles, is a digital rendering of the completed redevelopment. Here the image employs the *community benefits* frame by depicting benefits that the redevelopment will create in the Hill District, such as better infrastructure, housing and businesses—depicted in features such as green spaces and pedestrian pavements. Another significant aspect to the news image is that the headline is presented in the bottom left of the image and therefore further supports the employment of the *community benefits* frame for it is represented in both text and image.

In addition, the news sources that are quoted elaborating the frame in the text are conventionally authoritative sources (Table 9.5). For instance, R. Daniel Lavelle, the current Hill District Councilman and the former Councilman Udin Sala are both quoted (directly and indirectly) in the 2019c news article elaborating the frame with the reporting verb ‘said’. Not only are they both conventionally credible sources close to the government, but they have a collective political, cultural, and geopolitical knowledge of the Hill District area of over three decades (e.g., Sala was

councilman from 1995-2005; Lavelle was Sala's legislative aide and councilman from 2010-present). Thus, the *community benefits* frame is dominant for it is employed in the headline and lead, repeated across the text and the image, and is elaborated by authoritative sources.

Towards the end of the news article, the *gentrification* counter-frame is employed by suggesting that the redevelopment is not indicative of the needs of the community. The source who is the primary elaborator of the *gentrification* counter-frame, Redwood, is quoted suggesting that the construction does not represent the Hill but instead an extension of the downtown area instead (see extracts below; Table 9.6). He states that the new park construction is an extension of the Downtown area, and not a rebuilding of the Hill District. Considering historical and political contexts, this is to say that the culture and community are not a real consideration in the park construction, and that the benefit of the park will be for middle class renters and buyers of homes and businesses that will ultimately displace Hill District residents. The *gentrification* counter-frame is employed in a less salient area of the article, i.e., towards the end of the news article and actually enfolded within with *community benefits* frame, for the dominant *community benefits* frame is employed right before and right after the counter-frame (see Table 9.6 below). For example,

Table 9.6 Extracts from 2019c news article showing gentrification frame enfolded in community benefits frame at end of article

31	"You will be able to sense the connection once the 28 acres gets to be filled out," said Mr. Udin, a board member of the Sports & Exhibition Authority, which owns the bulk of the redevelopment site.
...	...
33	Not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill.
34	Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, said the park "represents Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around."
35	"They want the lower Hill, including this cap, to look like a hockey game. What I mean by that is not many black people will be participating," he said.
...
37	But Ms. Tate, who with her 98-year-old aunt will be attending Friday's groundbreaking, sees positives in the park's construction.

The news article ends with a positive representation of the redevelopment where a resident (Ms. Tate) states her excitement for the park construction and its importance for 'people who want to come into the community' (Belko, 2019c). So, while the end of a news article is a less salient area of the text, enfolding the *gentrification* frame and ending the news article with the *community benefits* frame reinforces the frame as dominant in the text.

9.3 Conclusion

In the previous sections in this chapter, I discussed the co-existence of the three frames in each of the five news articles of the data set in which more than one frame was employed - except two of the articles in which only the *economic benefits* frame was employed (2017 and 2019a). In the news articles with more than one frame, I identified one frame as the dominant frame. Dominance of a

frame was determined based on four criteria: (a) word count, (b) news structure, (c) visual-verbal repetition, and (d) sources. This section comments on the possible explanations for frame dominance and the potential implications for the Hill District redevelopment.

Across the five news articles that employ more than one frame, a frame that represents the redevelopment as positive is positioned as a dominant frame in four of the articles (see Table 9.7). The *economic benefits* frame is employed as dominant in two of the five news articles, and the *community benefits* frame is also employed as dominant in two of the five news articles. The *gentrification* counter-frame is employed in four of the five articles and is dominant in one of the five.

Table 9.7 Dominant frame in the news articles that employ more than one frame

Frame	News article 1 (2014)	News article 2 (2015)	News article 3 (2016)	News article 6 (2019b)	News article 7 (2019c)
<i>Economic Benefits frame</i>	Dominant	Dominant			
<i>Community Benefits frame</i>	X	X	X	Dominant	Dominant
<i>Gentrification frame</i>	X		Dominant	X	X

*Table 9.7 shows the news articles that feature more than one frame; however, it is important to note that news article 4 (2017) and news article 5 (2019a) both employ the *economic benefits* frame, however alone.

These findings show that the two frames which presented the redevelopment in a positive light (the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame) are proportionally more dominant in the data set. A divergence from the dominant, more positive of the redevelopment frames, is in the 2016 news article published in January where the *gentrification* counter-frame that presents the redevelopment as negative is dominant. While this is just one news article within the data set, this can be interpreted as a success for the frame sponsors (the grassroots organisation leaders) behind that frame. One possible explanation for the dominance of the *gentrification* counter-frame in this news article is the U.S.

presidential campaign of Trump v Clinton which began in 2015. This campaign had significant impact on local communities across the U.S., particularly in relation to the topics of race and gender. Furthermore, during this time there were many protests in support of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement across the U.S. (Eligon, 2015). In addition to these more national accounts of discrimination conversations, discussions of housing discrimination, gentrification and displacement were happening locally in Pittsburgh, as many neighbourhoods had been redeveloped prior to and during the time period of 2014 -2019. These accounts, as discussed in the 2016 news article (see Chapter 8), focused on how many Black residents were forced to move to suburban neighbourhoods like Penn Hills because of the gentrification of the neighbourhoods, East Liberty and East End (Fontaine, 2016). It can be argued that the presidential campaigns, the BLM movement, and local redevelopments could have propelled conversations of institutional racism and discrimination into the public discourse and thus the media, making it more likely there to be salient coverage of discriminating housing policies in the Hill District redevelopment in the Pittsburgh news in 2016.

While both the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame each appeared in a dominant role in two of the five news articles where several frames co-existed, the *economic benefits* frame was also employed on its own (without competition for readers' attention from other frames) in two articles (Table 9.7). While, the analysed sample is not exhaustive, it is significant that this frame was employed this often and in salient places within news texts at key points in the 2014 Hill District redevelopment timeline. The *economic benefits* frame consistently represents the 2014 Hill District redevelopment as positive, and suggests that it would create economic vitality, in terms of new businesses, tax reductions, and modern apartments – all to create a prosperous and popular Pittsburgh neighbourhood.

The use of this frame could be linked to dominant ideas in American society. The United States has been described as a neoliberal state for the past five decades due to previous economic crises that laid the foundation for the rise of neoliberalism. The economic crises of the 1930s and 1950s helped to create what scholars (Marglin, 2000; Abramovitz, 2012) refer to as a 'welfare state', which was argued

to “save capitalism from itself” by carrying out a complex set of social, economic and political functions that mediated poverty, enhanced profits, and muted social unrest’ (Abramovitz, 2012, p. 227). Despite the welfare state’s success for the masses, particularly those in the working and middle classes (low to mid-income respectively), the welfare state meant falling profits for the elite and their corporations (Abramovitz, 2012). As such, national elite (politicians and wealthy people in the upper-class) lobbied to dismantle the welfare state in favour of neoliberal policies, like cutting taxes for wealthy individuals and corporations, shifting the responsibility for social welfare from the federal and state government to the private sector and to individuals themselves, reducing federal oversight of the labour market, and influencing sociocultural behaviours and beliefs (Abramovitz, 2012). Neoliberal ideas affect not only the functioning of the government and the economy, but also society and sociocultural behaviours and beliefs, like that of ‘the American Dream’.

These neoliberal ideas are further emphasised through urban policies, like social mixing initiatives (Davidson, 2008; see Chapter 2). For example, for decades federal and state governments did not invest in neglected neighbourhoods, often neighbourhoods with a high percentage of marginalised residents (e.g., Black people, people of colour, and immigrants) (Adelman, 2004; Adelman & Gocker, 2007). This exacerbates racial residential segregation which fosters social inequality and disadvantage—for instance, Massey and Denton (1993) argue that ‘racial residential segregation – and its characteristic institutional form, the black ghetto—are the key structural factors responsible for the perpetuation of black poverty in the United States’ (p. 9). As suggested in Chapter 2, this paves the way for redevelopment rhetoric perpetuated by private investors, arguing the need for revitalisation, social mixing, and positive gentrification (Chaskin, 2013; Huning et al., 2015; Lees, 2008; Rose, 2004). Neoliberal ideology suggests that public investment should not be the key driver of redevelopment, and in many situations of U.S. neglected neighbourhoods, the governments (federal, state and local) do not have the funds to invest, so instead create urban policies that enable private investors to redevelop an area. As is the case with neoliberal urban policies and private investment, the aim is to seek profit which often limits social aid, like

affordable housing. This can be seen in the case of the Hill District, for the Penguins are financing the redevelopment and in turn want to profit from it, so they look to limit the number of rent controlled houses. Thus, the emphasis on the *economic benefits* frame within the analysed coverage is consistent with the wider predominant neoliberal context in the U.S., for the redevelopment is argued to bring about economic prosperity to a disadvantaged community through positive recognition of the area and the support of private businesses and enterprises.

The emphasis on the *economic benefits* frame in news reporting at key points during the Hill District redevelopment timeline is not without implications for the Hill District community. Framing theory would suggest that the *economic benefits* frame may have a key role in influencing people's understanding of the Hill District redevelopment, as it was employed in a dominant role or without competition from other frames in four of the seven news articles published at key points during the redevelopment timeline. Understanding the redevelopment in economic terms, might result in greater support for going ahead with the redevelopment plans. This could result (as the *gentrification* counter-frame suggests) in gentrification - for research suggests that gentrification is probable when urban redevelopment is driven by private investment, in line with neoliberal housing policies (van Weesep, 1994; Wyly & Hammel, 2005).

Moreover, the consistent positive representation of the redevelopment in the media as seen in the *economic benefits* frame might attract the attention of potential gentrifiers—in other words, the readers of the newspapers could become interested in the potential of the Hill District area and decide to move to the area. This calls to mind the production and consumption side of urban development discussed in Chapter 2 (Beauregard & Holcomb, 1981; Smith 1987a, 1987b). For instance, research into the production-side of land development suggests that people move back to parts of the city based entirely on economic values and incentives (i.e., governmental control, rent gap, land value, etc.), while research into the consumption-side suggest that people move because arts and culture already resided in the city areas, so that is where people naturally wanted to be (e.g., the mutually reinforcing *community benefits* frame). The Hill District is representative of both of these arguments for the *economic benefits* frame presents

the redevelopment as providing economic incentives, while also suggesting that it will be revitalising cultural establishments that were eliminated due to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 An Overview of the Thesis

In the Introduction to this thesis, I presented my primary motivation: how the Hill District redevelopment in Pittsburgh is represented in news media. A look further into the urban planning and development literature showed that gentrification is a controversial social phenomenon often discussed in the media and a growing area of research in media analysis studies. As such, in Chapter 2, I conducted a review on urban development and gentrification in the media and found that the analysis of frames and sources were a promising area of research, however much of these analyses were text-based and neglected analysing images, an important aspect of media (as argued in this thesis). Other notable aspects of news that also deserve analysis when examining the reporting of urban developments are news values. Therefore, this thesis aimed to provide a detailed examination of the concept of framing, particularly in relation to journalism and journalistic practices. The theoretical framework draws on the understanding of news as: (1) manufactured by journalists, employing frames to shape audience perceptions (Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010), (2) driven by values that journalists are trained to work with (news values) (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Caple, 2013), and (3) comprising polyphonic language (sources and embedded language, like reported speech) (Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994).

The focus of this study is the 2014 redevelopment in the Hill District neighbourhood of Pittsburgh. The Hill District is a significant area of Pittsburgh for its location is geographically and historically relevant to urban development. For instance, the Hill District is geographically significant as it is positioned just north of the central business district (downtown area) patronized by white-collar workers, and the Hill District is historically significant, in that it has faced mass displacement before due to government-led urban renewal.

In this concluding chapter, I will address the research questions individually and briefly summarise the main findings of the thesis in order to address the research questions and the contributions made to various academic fields. I will then identify the limitations of this thesis and outline possible avenues for further research on the topic. Finally, the chapter finishes with concluding remarks.

10.2 Addressing the research questions

The research investigates the representation of the 2014 Hill District redevelopment in three prominent mainstream local Pittsburgh news outlets—to achieve this, I conducted an integrative analysis of frames (Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2007, 2010; Dan, 2018; Atanasova & Koteyko, 2012), news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Caple, 2013), and the use of sources and reported speech (Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994).

CDS uses varied interdisciplinary approaches, from a 'toolbox', to understand how social problems are presented through discourses. As such, I combined these frameworks as a comprehensive approach because I argue that it is especially fruitful to study the 2014 Hill District redevelopment by analysing frames, news values and source selection to understand the views on the redevelopment that are advanced through influential and mainstream news outlets. As framing is about selection and salience and can help identify why an issue or event is news, so too can news value theory. News value theory is perhaps the most elaborate theory on news selection, and an analysis of news values can aid in understanding why certain events or issues are selected for coverage and how they are covered. Similarly, frames and sources are linked, for news reporting always involves selection and 'reporting' of events and issues, and as such can indicate a journalist's stance. The elaboration of frames by sources is important to consider because not all sources have equal access to the news and not all sources are treated equally when reported (i.e., types of quotation and reporting verbs).

RQ1: How is the Hill District redevelopment framed in prominent Pittsburgh news media at key points in the redevelopment timeline?

The first stage of analysis revealed that three frames were employed to represent the 2014 Hill District Redevelopment: *economic benefits* frame, *community benefits* frame, and *gentrification* frame (see Appendix 3 for summary frame tables). These frames emerged from conducting an inductive frame analysis (Entman, 1993, 2010; van Gorp, 2007, 2010), where a blank frame matrix was compiled through repetitive and comparative readings of the news articles (refer to section 4.3.1 methodology). In addition to identifying the frames in the texts of the news articles, I also identified the frames in the news images. The same process of analysis took place for the images; however, the framing devices that were uncovered in the analysis were specific to image analysis (e.g., composition, colour, people included, etc.). In contrast, textual framing devices can include word choice, key words, metaphors, sources, etc.

Chapters 6-8 discussed each frame in turn in detail. Each chapter describes the reasoning devices (also referred to as frame elements; Entman, 1993; van Gorp, 2010) that make up each frame, revealing how the problem is defined, the causes of the defined problem, the associated consequences, and proposed solutions, that were expressed in the news articles. It was through these analyses that I identified that both the *economic benefits* frame and *community benefits* frame represent the Hill District redevelopment as positive, identifying that redevelopment will bring about economic prosperity, better amenities and infrastructure, and jobs and opportunities for the community, among others. Additionally, I identified that the *gentrification* frame functions as a counter-frame, in that through analysis of the reasoning devices it became clear that the solution proposed (to stop the redevelopment) is in direct opposition to the solution (the redevelopment) of the *economic benefits* frame and *community benefits* frame.

Noteworthy findings emerged from these analyses, such as the overlapping of the *economic benefits* frame and *community benefits* frame. For instance, the two frames shared many of the same reasoning devices, and the overall representation of the 2014 redevelopment as positive. This made analysis of the news articles

important and acknowledging each frame's distinctive markers essential. Some distinct markers included the news values construed (see RQ2 below) and the sources elaborating the frames (see RQ3 below). Furthermore, the overlapping of these two frames was an important aspect to consider when both were employed in a news article, and thus a more focused analysis of which frame was presented as more dominant helped to inform the findings (see RQ4).

The findings of the two positive frames (*economic benefits* and *community benefits*) correspond with wider academic research on urban development and gentrification in fields beyond media and communications, and linguistics. For instance, as gentrification grew as an empirical phenomenon in cities around the world, academics sought to find explanations for the process, posing questions about suburban living and the 'back to the city' movement. From these questions, studies in economics identified the key factors in explaining gentrification—what is referred to as production and consumption of land and housing in these areas (Beauregard & Holcomb 1981; Ley, 2009; Smith & Williams, 1986; Smith 1987a, 1987b). The production-side of the debate believes that people move back to parts of the city based entirely on economic values and incentives (i.e., governmental control, private investment, rent gap, land value, etc.), while the consumption-side believes that people move because arts and culture already reside in the city area, so that is where people naturally wanted to be. Here, we can see how the two positive frames identified in the news in this study reflect the two reasons why an area may be redeveloped and then gentrified—in other words, the *economic benefits* frame is closely related to the production-side, and the *community benefits* frame is related to the consumption-side of the debate. The *economic benefits* frame proposes the economic benefits of the redevelopment, discussing the possibility for profitable land development, creation of businesses and jobs, etc., while the *community benefits* frame is focused more on the benefits that the redevelopment will bring to the community (in some cases this is economical) but also this frame discusses the history and culture of the Hill District. Initially the theories behind production and consumption as drivers of urban redevelopment and gentrification created a lot of debate amongst scholars, but eventually many academics came to the consensus that production and consumption are

complimentary factors both contributing to gentrification (Clark, 2005; Lees et al., 2010). Thus, the similarity and overlap are present in the reasoning devices identified in the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame.

As stated in Chapter 2, while research that analyses how urban development is framed in news media is growing, it is still limited. Although, some researchers have sought to analyse what is often referred to as 'urban development discourse' and 'gentrification discourse' which is to say, a way of describing the idea or act of gentrification and redevelopment in a particular manner, that informs social actions, ideas, and perpetuates ideologies (Fairclough, 2003). Studies of urban development and gentrification discourse (Gin & Taylor, 2010; Liu & Blomley, 2013; Modan & Wells, 2015, among others) have focused on the representation of urban development in the media.

Similar findings to those that have been identified in my study have emerged among the literature covered. One such instance, is that of Liu and Blomley's (2013), for they found that three frames (medicalization, criminalization, and socialization) were utilised in the local news in order to legitimise the need for redevelopment. More specifically these frames were used to represent the current urban area as negative and problematic, thus presenting the need for a redevelopment to occur. This is similar to the causal frame element identified in the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame (see Appendix 3 for frame summary tables), which identified the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan as need for redevelopment. Here, the 1960s Pittsburgh Urban Renewal Plan was described in the news articles in detail on how it separated the Lower Hill District from the CBD, forcibly displaced more than 8000 people and over 400 businesses and led to decades of disinvestment. While the *economic benefits* and *community benefits* frames are overall positive and just an element of them is negative, in contrast with Liu and Blomley's (2013) findings, the aspect of representing a negative facet of the area in order to validate the need for urban development is comparable. Furthermore, Liu and Blomley (2013) found that prominent people (what they call 'claim makers') were often quoted elaborating these frames. As described in this study, the key frame sponsors of the two positive frames were identified as being politicians and private investors (and ordinary people; see RQ3). In both cases, Liu

and Blomley (2013) and in this thesis, the elaboration of the frames by conventionally authoritative people further legitimises the frames and the claim that redevelopment is needed in the two urban areas, respectively.

Another relevant study is Gin and Taylor's (2010) who identified three frames (affordable housing frame, community identity frame, and equitable development frame) put forth by activists and covered in the news. Gin and Taylor (2010) recognised that there is an uneven access to media and the possible difficulties that arise in promoting a particular frame. For instance, the difficulty for activists to take a prominent role in the media, hence the frames they elaborate (challenger frames; Gin & Taylor, 2010) are oftentimes not as present as other frames that may be elaborated by more conventionally authoritative sources.

The challenger frames (referred to as counter-frames in this study) elaborated by the activists identified in Gin and Taylor's (2010) study are similar to the *gentrification* counter-frame identified in this thesis, for the *gentrification* counter-frame covered issues such as lack of affordable housing and lack of community involvement in redevelopment decisions and were elaborated almost exclusively by grassroots organization leaders (with few exceptions). Despite the possible limited access to media and therefore the difficulty in promoting a counter-frame, the employment, however limited, in the news can be significant. Furthermore, as described below in RQ4, the employment of the *gentrification* counter-frame in a dominant position in one of the news articles can be considered a success on the part of the frame sponsors elaborating the frame—this could begin the shift away from more mainstream ideological perspectives.

RQ2: What are the news values within the redevelopment news coverage on the redevelopment, and do certain news values tend to co-occur with certain frames?

The second stage of analysis identified that certain news values tended to co-occur with specific frames. I conducted a discursive news values analysis (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017) and news value analysis of images (Caple,

2013), in which key features in text and image function to construe certain news values in news. Such features include evaluative language, negative or positive language, metaphor, images of individuals (elite and ordinary), images of after-effects, and many others.

Through analysis I identified the *economic benefits* frame co-occurs with the news values Impact, Negativity, Positivity, and Prominence. Further, in Chapter 6, I examined how each of these news values are construed in the employment of the *economic benefits* frame. When these news values were construed in co-occurrence with the *economic benefits* frame, they support particular frame elements—for instance, Impact was construed when discussing the proposed solution, the 2014 redevelopment. Impact was also construed when news articles discussed economic benefits relating to the redevelopment, for example tax-break plans, reinvestment of money, and the ability to bring in new businesses to the area. The analysis further shows that Negativity was only construed when relating to the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan or in an effort to act in opposition to positive aspects, i.e., to support or heighten the construal of Positivity. Like with the construal of Impact, Positivity tends to be construed when the frame discusses economic advantages that the redevelopment would bring about in the Hill District. Positivity is also construed in many of the images through bright colours, depiction of economic improvements, and featuring politicians with smiling faces, to name a few. Finally, Prominence is construed in co-occurrence with the *economic benefits* frame when politicians and private investors are quoted in the articles discussing the economic opportunities of the 2014 redevelopment.

Next, through discursive news value analysis, I identified that the *community benefits* frame co-occurs with the news values Impact, Negativity, Positivity, Prominence, and Personalization. Like in Chapter 6, in Chapter 7 I examined how each of the construed news values co-occurs with the frame, or in other words which frame elements did the construed news values seem to support. As I explained in detail in the chapter, Impact is construed when the news articles discuss the negative consequences of the 1960s urban renewal plan and the positive solutions offered in the new agreement. This was often done through linguistic devices such as evaluative language, metaphor, and alluding to

opportunities that would be explicitly for the community. The construal of Negativity and Positivity are similar to those analysed in the *economic benefits* frame, where Negativity is construed when past mistakes (Urban Renewal Plan) were discussed and/or in an effort to support the construal of Positivity. Again, similar to the *economic benefits* frame, Prominence is construed in co-occurrence with the *community benefits* frame when politicians and private investors are quoted in the articles discussing community opportunities that the redevelopment would enable. A difference between the two positive frames (*economic benefits* and *community benefits*) is that the *community benefits* frame co-occurred with the construal of Personalization. Personalization is construed when there are references to individuals, particularly Hill District residents, discussing the benefits of the redevelopment for the community and positively evaluating it.

Finally, I identified that the *gentrification* counter-frame co-occurred with the news values Impact, Negativity, and Prominence. As the frame functions to reframe the redevelopment as negative and suggests that the solution is to stop the redevelopment, it follows that the news values that co-occur with this frame support those propositions. Thus, Impact is construed when there were debates about the lack of community involvement in the 2014 redevelopment deal, the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment, and the issue of displacement. Moreover, the construal of Impact in the counter-frame tends to coincide with the construal of Negativity, for displacement and gentrification are inherently negative and discussed in the frame. Finally, Prominence is construed in the counter-frame, but in a different way to that of the other two positive frames—for the source type that construes Prominence is the grassroots organization leader, Carl Redwood the chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, who is not a politician or private investor.

As the news value analyses in Chapters 6-8 have shown certain news values co-occurred with the identified frames: Impact, Negativity, Positivity, Prominence, Personalization. News values help us understand why events and issues are selected for coverage, but also how they are covered – e.g., what aspects of an event or issue are highlighted as positive, negative, surprising, etc. They are an important

addition to frame analysis as they add a layer of understanding of event/issue representation in the news.

RQ3: What are the sources quoted in the news articles and how, and do certain sources and quotation strategies tend to co-occur with certain frames?

The third stage of analysis identified that particular source types tend to co-occur with certain frames. I conducted an analysis of source types (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) to identify possible frame sponsors. In addition to identifying the sources, I found that the news producers used quotation strategies like reported speech and reporting verbs (Fairclough, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994) in order to report the sources.

As discussed in Chapter 3, as a key aspect of critical discourse studies, I considered the macro and micro aspects of each news article when conducting the analyses—more simply put a macro analysis examines the social and political contexts that give rise to power structures. Thus, I considered the frame sponsors of the different frames and their possible unequal access to the news. Conversely, a microanalysis is focused on the understanding of the semiotic features of spoken, written, and visual texts that (re)produce ideologies and legitimate actions (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001)—thus analysing how the sources were quoted in the news article, in terms of types of quotation used and the journalist's incorporation of the quotes (e.g., reporting verbs – 'said' versus 'claimed' for instance) in the articles.

I identified that the sources that are quoted elaborating the *economic benefits* frame could be placed in two categories: politicians and private investors. Explained further in Chapter 6, direct report and indirect report are used in order to quote these source types, and tend to be quoted with what Caldas-Coulthard (1994) refers to as neutral structuring verbs (e.g. 'say' or 'said'). Further in the analysis, I suggested that particular sources, such as Mayor Bill Peduto, are frame sponsors. Peduto for example, is often quoted elaborating the *economic benefits*

frame and some of Peduto's utterances tend to include metaphors and evaluative language supporting the redevelopment, as seen in the direct quotes in the news articles. This is just one example of how source types, frame sponsors and reporting verbs co-occur with the *economic benefits* frame.

Analysis in Chapter 7 has shown that the *community benefits* frame is elaborated by politicians, private investors, and ordinary people. A difference between the *economic benefits* frame and the *community benefits* frame is that different types of politicians are quoted in the frames, for instance the *community benefits* frame includes quotes from politicians at the city and county level (i.e., more local politicians), while the *economic benefits* frame includes politicians at all government levels (particularly in the 2015 news article: quotes from Pennsylvania state politicians, Governor, House Representative and Senator). So, while there is support from prominent political people in both frames, the *community benefits* frame features more local political voices. This is an important distinction between the two frames. As I suggest in the chapter, the difference in sources (within the same source type) is important because the frame has similar frame propositions as those that form the *economic benefits* frame.

Another important distinction between the two positive frames, is that the *community benefits* frames is elaborated by ordinary people, which is specific to this frame. The Hill District residents were quoted negatively evaluating a particular aspect of the plan, the changing of the Hill District name to the Centre District but were also quoted positively evaluating the 2014 redevelopment as a whole in the 2019b and 2019c news articles. The community residents' quotes elaborating the frame are both direct and indirect quotes and are signalled by neutral-structuring reporting verbs like 'said', just like the quotations from the other source types.

Analysis of the *gentrification* counter-frame in Chapter 8 showed that the frame is elaborated by a politician and grassroots organization leaders. However, the only politician that elaborates the *gentrification* counter-frame is R. Daniel Lavelle, the Councilman for the Hill District (in contrast to the other two frames being elaborated primarily by politicians, especially the *economic benefits* frame). I

suggest in the chapter that Lavelle may be used as a source elaborating the *gentrification* counter-frame in order to represent the political side of the redevelopment deal, for while he represents the community's interests, he is ultimately a politician and a board member of the URA [Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh]. The other source type quoted elaborating the counter-frame is grassroots organization leaders—the primary frame sponsor of this source type is Carl Redwood, the Chairman for the Hill District Consensus Group. As stated in the chapter, Redwood is quoted both directly and indirectly as the dissenting voice to the redevelopment dealings. This is an interesting finding because despite the accusation of resident displacement and gentrification due to the 2014 redevelopment in the *gentrification* counter-frame, resident voices are not reported elaborating the frame, only grassroots organization leaders.

These findings correspond with analyses of the use of sources in representing urban developments in the media (Gibson, 2004; Kaniss, 1991; Lavy et al., 2016; as described in Chapter 2). For instance, these studies (Gibson, 2004; Kaniss, 1991; Lavy et al., 2016) found that sources were important to the media representations of urban developments. For instance, Kaniss (1991) found that journalists privilege sources with insider knowledge or who have close ties to urban developments, such as politicians and government officials. Similarly, Gibson (2004) and Lavy et al. (2016) found that journalists opted to quote 'official voices' (e.g., business leaders and politicians) over dissenting voices to legitimise the urban development.

As the source type analyses found in Chapters 6-8 have shown, certain source types are found to elaborate the identified frames, and more specifically individual sources are analysed as frame sponsors. As I argued in Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework, frame sponsors can have a significant effect on the creation and implementation of a news frame (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) and this tends to happen through activities such as interviews, speeches, and advertising to promote the preferred frames. Therefore, I argued that source types and their quotations (i.e., frame elaborations) should be considered in the overall frame analysis.

RQ4: How do frames that co-exist in one news article relate to each other?

In the final stage of analysis, I identified that the three frames co-existed in different combinations in each of the news articles (Table 6.1; Table 9.1). As I explained in Chapter 9, four factors were considered to decide if a frame appeared in a dominant role - (a) word count, (b) news structure, (c) visual-verbal repetition, and (d) sources. I argued that these factors contributed to a frame's dominant employment, but not all factors need be present for the frame to be dominant.

First, I analysed each news article for the volume of the frame's employment (i.e., in how many words is the frame employed). This provided a figure that was used to determine if an article devoted more space to a particular frame. I argued that a frame could be more memorable and influential to a reader if employed more than another frame. Secondly, I argued that news structure is an important consideration to selection and salience, and that news producers employ frames in salient places (e.g., headline and lead) within a news article to highlight a frame, while placing co-existing frames in less salient areas of an article (Tuchman, 1972; Pan & Kosicki. 1993). Next, I considered visual-verbal repetition or overlap, where the frame employed in the text may be elaborated in the corresponding news image. Research has shown (Reese, 1984 and more recently, Powell et al., 2018) that visual-verbal overlap can significantly increase a readers' retention of the information, and therefore there is a likelihood that a frame could dictate readers' understanding of the issue covered. Finally, I analysed sources to determine frame dominance because it is argued that the elaboration of frames by conventionally authoritative source types (like politicians and private investors) is another form of creating salience, and thus can help establish whether a frame appears in a dominant role (Hall et al., 1978; Manning, 2001).

As stated in the chapter, I found that of the seven news articles the two positive frames (*economic benefits* frame and *community benefits* frame) are positioned as dominant frames in all the articles they featured with the exception of the 2016 news article (see Table 9.1). The outlier is in the 2016 news article where the *gentrification* counter-frame that presents the redevelopment as negative is

determined as dominant. While this is only exhibited in one news article in the data set, I argued that it can be interpreted as a success for the *gentrification* counter-frame sponsors—grassroots organization leaders.

The dominance in the analysed news coverage of the two frames that offered positive evaluations of the redevelopment, particularly the dominance of the *economic benefits* frame, can also be explained by reference to the broader culture and economy of news production. For instance, the sources that elaborated the two frames (see RQ3) were identified as mainly politicians and private investors. These source types often have more developed relationships and established channels of communication with news producers and the media broadly. They are regarded as conventionally authoritative and have the economic resources to maintain regular channels of communication with news outlets. Therefore, there is an inevitable influence on the production of news, such as through access to interviews and press releases, to more economic incentives through media sponsorship, endorsement, and in some cases ownership of a media industry. As such, these findings suggest there is likely to be a link between the dominance of the two positives frames, especially that of the *economic benefits* frame and the access of prominent sources (e.g., politicians and private investors) who elaborate these frames.

Another aspect of economic pressures is that media organisations are finding themselves with less economic resources to produce original content. As such, this results in more reliance on readily available texts, such as reworking press releases into news stories and relying on easily accessible sources for interviews and comments (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2018). In Chapter 4 when describing the newspapers in the data set (see section 4.1), I reference the changing of political affiliation for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and that the Tribune-Review is now published online only—there is a high probability that these shifts are a result of the economic pressures facing US newspapers. For instance, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette was acquired by a new owner, thus shifting the political view. The economic pressures affecting the two most popular (in circulation and readership) newspapers in Pittsburgh will no doubt affect journalistic practices, as suggested above. Therefore, I argue that the journalists

may rely on conventionally authoritative, easily accessible sources to comment on the 2014 Hill District Redevelopment, with these sources highlighting the positive aspects of the planned redevelopment and there for the dominant *economic benefits* frame.

Another topic covered in Chapter 9 is the possible explanations for frame dominance and any potential implications for how the redevelopment of the Hill District is discussed in news media and possible consequences for the future of the Hill District more broadly. I relied on the historical context and background on the Hill District covered in Chapter 5, as well as the evolution of urban development and gentrification in urban areas through the United States of America. This chapter aimed to provide information on prominent stakeholders in the 2014 redevelopment, while also presenting any dissenting voices and reasons for the debate. This information, in addition to the findings shown above led way to a discussion of neoliberalism in Chapter 9. I argued that the *economic benefits* frame emerges in a dominant role proportionately higher than the other two frames and thus is consistent with neoliberalism in media and also mirrors neoliberal urban policies that are argued to be transpiring in the Hill District neighbourhood of Pittsburgh.

10.3 Contributions to wider research

As I suggest in the Introduction, this research makes unique contributions in key areas, including framing research generally and the study of urban development and gentrification communication in the media.

This thesis has identified news frames inductively in both text and image. While this form of analysis is not novel in itself, my thesis combined inductive frame analysis with the analysis of news values and news sources through a critical discourse lens. This hybrid approach provided a holistic analysis of the redevelopment frames and the journalistic routines that co-occurred with the employment of those frames. Thus, framing research should include analysis of how journalistic routines (e.g., news values) and the interaction with external

actors (e.g., sources) lead to the construction and employment of frames (van Gorp, 2007, 2010). In addition to the novelty of integrating frameworks, I also treated news images as texts in this thesis. Again, this is not novel in itself but is a relatively new conceptualization in frame research, and thus adds to the holistic nature of the thesis.

In addition to the contributions made to framing research, my study also makes contributions to several different fields of study in relation to language, media, and gentrification research. As I explained in Chapter 2, there have been few studies that have conducted close linguistic analyses of gentrification and urban development in the media. This is not only true for the lack of research found in the fields of human geography and urban studies covered in the literature review, but also true for the field of linguistics—for there is a relative dearth of linguistic research on the gentrification social phenomenon.

10.4 Limitations of this research and further research

While the comprehensive nature of the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis is a particular strength, a possible shortcoming is the selective size of the data set. The close textual analysis that took place in this thesis requires a small data set, however due its size, some may argue that the findings are not generalizable to the representation of the 2014 redevelopment in other media sources. While I do think that the three identified frames (*economic benefits, community benefits, gentrification*) would be identified in other news articles discussing the 2014 Hill District redevelopment plan, it cannot be confirmed without a wider analysis.

Another possible shortcoming to the thesis, is that the thesis is entirely qualitative. While the qualitative nature of the thesis is valid due to extensive analyses conducted on the data set (frame analysis, news values, and sources and reported speech), quantifying the existence of frames and the identified news values and sources could provide interesting information on prominence of these elements in the news articles.

Based on these limitations, a possibility for further research could be an expanded data set. This can be interpreted in many ways, some being 1) including more texts in the data set/ including more years, 2) including different types of texts in the data, like blogs, tabloids, and social media posts, or 3) conducting a comparative analysis of the media representation of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and the 2014 Hill District redevelopment. In the first of these suggestions, the data set could possibly be expanded to include past years (i.e., Civic Arena demolition debate) or more recent years (i.e., 2020-2021). This could possibly capture more community voices and debates over how the land should be utilised, as well as covering the lack of development in recent years.

The second suggestion of further research would have the possibility of capturing more counterarguments as alternative media sources often capture voices from grassroots organizations and ordinary people. Therefore, by including other genres of texts like alternative media, there is the possibility of discovering other counter-frames or finding further elaboration of the *gentrification* counter-frame identified in this study.

A third suggestion of further research is conducting a comparative study of the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan and the 2014 redevelopment plan. In both the positive frames identified in this study, the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan is used as an antithesis to the 2014 redevelopment—assuring the community that the same mistakes (from the previous renewal) will not happen again. However, there is a possibility that similar frames (or more broadly similar discourses) were employed in the media in the 1950s and 1960s about the Urban Renewal Plan of Pittsburgh, and thus would make an interesting comparative study to that of the frame employment in recent years.

A final suggestion for further research is a more contextual study on the history of the Hill District. In Chapter 5, I provide context as it relates to the redevelopment deal and the area's history with gentrification. Maharawal (2017) has expanded the explanation of gentrification to include more detail relating to its interconnectedness with social, political, and economic developments, and as such in-depth studies (see studies Avila & Rose, 2009; Grantmyre, 2014; Maharawal,

2017) reflect gentrifications' connection to history, racial capitalism, and political protests, to name a few.

Therefore, a more in-depth study on the historical patterns of displacement in the Hill District and Pittsburgh at large as it relates to movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter movement, could add a more nuanced historical understanding of the contextual underpinnings to Pittsburgh's more recent neoliberal policies and the gentrification affecting many of its neighbourhoods.

10.5 Final remarks

To conclude, there were three identified frames employed in the news articles of the data set, the *economic benefits* frame, *community benefits* frame, and the *gentrification* counter-frame. Both the *economic benefits* frame and *community benefits* frame presented the 2014 redevelopment as positive, whereas the *gentrification* counter-frame represented the 2014 redevelopment as negative. Even based on the small data set the two positive frames representations, primarily the *economic benefits* frame, seem to align with neoliberal ideologies. I argue this, as the redevelopment not only supports the concept of individuality (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009) through neoliberal urban policies like tax breaks, grants, and other opportunities that favour the private sector, but also because the representation of the 2014 redevelopment in the media is consistent with neoliberal ideologies seen through the source types and frame sponsors that were quoted in the frames. Despite this, the employment of the *gentrification* counter-frame is an important finding in this thesis, for it not only tries to re-frame the redevelopment and represent it as negative for the community, but also inherently opposes neoliberal policies that are argued to enable displacement and gentrification. Therefore, I am optimistic that the Hill District is being heard (however minimally) and that their demands for the redevelopment may still be met in the future, in the hope that the past does not repeat itself.

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Appendix 1

News Article 2014

25/07/2021

Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site

 MARK BELKO
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
mbelko@post-gazette.com 

SEP 10, 2014 4:14 AM

Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.

The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District.

"Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past."

Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to "mend and heal" the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings leveled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction.

<https://www.post-gazette.com/local/city/2014/09/09/Penguins-Pittsburgh-reach-agreement-on-redeveloping-former-Civic-Arena-site/stories/201409090208>

1/4

“Today we’re going to do something quite different,” he said. “We’re going to invest back in that community.”

At the center of the agreement is a tax increment financing plan that will generate at least \$22 million — some estimates are as high as \$50 million — over 20 years for redevelopment activities in the Hill and adjacent Uptown.

The tax increment district will be largest in city history. But under the plan, virtually all of the revenue for the improvements will be generated by the arena redevelopment itself.

Under the TIF, 65 percent of the new tax revenue produced by the project will be used for improvements. The other 35 percent will go to the city, county and city school district.

Most of the money will go into a Hill reinvestment fund overseen by the city Urban Redevelopment Authority. An advisory board made up in part by community representatives would make recommendations on spending the money.

Possible uses could include street and utility improvements, grants for housing down payments and closing costs, subsidies to support mixed-income housing development, loans to help repair existing apartment units, and residential facade grants.

Compromises were made. Minority and women’s business participation in the arena development is set at 30 percent and 15 percent, respectively — the highest in the city’s history. But on the minority side, it’s 5 percent lower than what the Hill demanded.

The agreement sets the percentage of affordable housing on the site at 20 percent of the 1,100 units planned, far lower than the 30 percent city Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill, and other Hill leaders wanted.

But the Penguins also compromised. Under the deal, 15 percent of the affordable units will be reserved for those making 80 percent of the area median income, as the team wanted. But the other 5 percent will be reserved for those making 60 or 70 percent of the area median.

That’s not as low as the 30 percent Hill leaders sought. But Mr. Lavelle said that with the changes, some apartments may rent for as low as \$600 a month.

Travis Williams, the Penguins' chief operating officer, said public subsidies may be required for the units that will be at 60 to 70 percent of the area median. That, he said, could come from the TIF or other sources.

Under the agreement, the team, which owns the development rights to the 28-acre site, will get another year, until Oct. 22, 2015, to begin the work, which in addition to the housing will include 500,000 to 600,000 square feet of office space and 250,000 square feet of retail.

Not everybody is happy with the agreement.

Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.

"It's not a community deal unless the community is involved," Mr. Redwood said. "This is a Democratic Party deal."

The city said the agreement was the result of more than 50 meetings, many with community representatives.

If all goes well, the Penguins hope to start development in nine to 12 months. They have agreed to pay market value for the publicly owned land, not the appraised value, as previously had been negotiated.

The team has hired St. Louis-based McCormack Baron Salazar, the same developer that did Crawford Square, to do the new residences. Of the 1,100 units planned, at least 250 of them will be done by a minority developer.

With the deal done, Mr. Lavelle said the real work is just beginning to equip people and businesses to take advantages of the opportunities it created.

"For me, this is actually just round one of a 12-round fight," he said.

News Article 2015

Pittsburgh Courier

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Metro

Governor joins officials to break ground on former Civic Arena site in Hill District

Courier Classifieds
March 25, 2015



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

If all goes as they plan, the sun that shone brightly as federal, state and local officials gathered to break ground on \$440 million project at the former Civic Arena site, will mark a new dawn for the Hill District and beyond.

Though largely ceremonial, the event was not entirely so because the groundbreaking marked the beginning of infrastructure work on the 28-acre

site that was created in the late 1950s by destroying more than 1,000 buildings, hundreds of businesses and displacing more than 8,000 residents—all of them Black.

"Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways," said Governor Tom Wolf. "Fifty years later we're trying to retransform this area and undo some of the problems that we caused. This is a transformative project. It's taking place in a really good area and it's really important to the heart soul and life of Pittsburgh."

The first phase of the project will involve building two new streets. The first will connect Bedford Avenue to Centre Avenue, with a separate street connecting that new road to Crawford Street. Work is scheduled to be completed in July of 2016.

A second street connecting Bedford Avenue to Centre Avenue is expected to begin in the near future. A \$15 million Redevelopment Assistance Capital Program grant will cover the costs of the initial work on the site. The street grid portion alone is projected at \$36 million, including roadways, sidewalks, energy efficient street lighting, stormwater planters and street trees, and storm, sanitary and water lines.

The anchor tenant for the project will be U.S. Steel. But their five-story office building design has yet to pass the city planning commission, which had more than one member say it was not distinctive enough.

United States Rep. Mike Doyle, D-Pittsburgh, said the project was a long time coming.

"This is our chance to fix the mistakes that were made decades ago. I've been very supportive of the plans to revitalize the Hill District and reconnect it to the downtown," he said. "I worked hard to help secure a federal planning grant for this redevelopment, and I will continue to cooperate with local officials and community leaders to bring this project to successful completion."

Also present were Mayor Bill Peduto, Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald, State Sen. Jay Costa, D-Wilkinsburg, city Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle as well as representatives from U.S. Steel developer Clayco Realty, the Sports and Exhibition Authority, the Urban Redevelopment Authority, Sports and Exhibition Chair and state Sen. Wayne Fontana called the day historic.

"It's an enormous milestone and undertaking going forward," he said. "And it will serve as a gateway between the hill district and downtown."

Peduto said that 50 years ago they had a strange, different way to deal with development.

"It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of," he said. "Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything around us," he said. "Today we are building community."

(Send comments to cmorrow@newpittsburghcourier.com.)

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Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents | TribLIVE.com



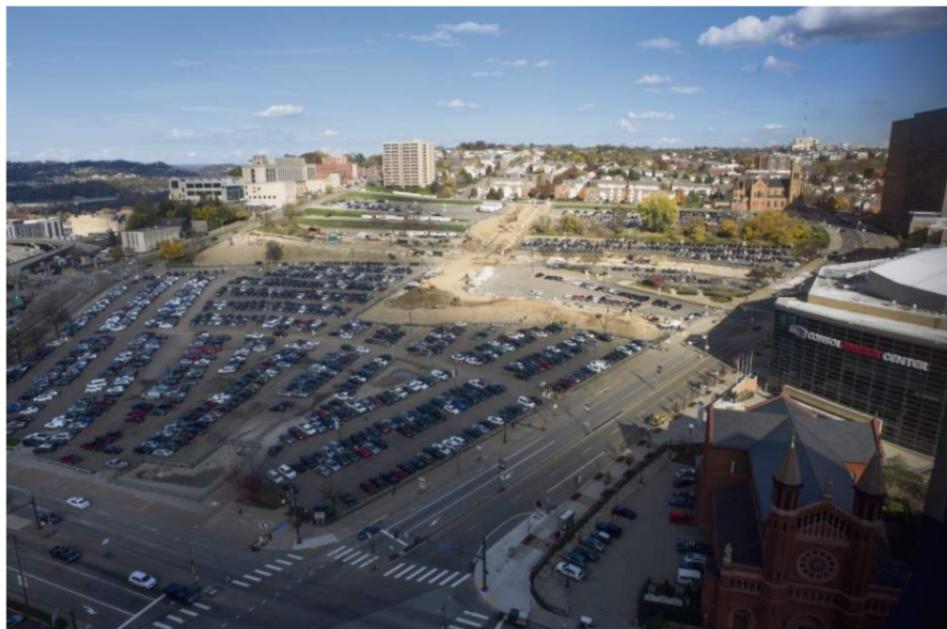
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Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents



TOM FONTAINE | Friday, January 8, 2016 4:05 a.m.



ANDREW RUSSELL | TRIBUNE-REVIEW

The former site of the Civic Arena in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District is seen from the 20th floor of the Marriott City Center.

A Hill District group renewed demands for more affordable housing on the former Civic Arena site, circulating a petition that accuses the city of clinging to policies that discriminate against blacks.

It's the latest hurdle for the Pittsburgh Penguins' anticipated \$500 million redevelopment project that has faced criticism from some Hill District residents and continues to lack an anchor tenant.

"You can stop the current city policy of gentrification and the displacement of black people from the city," Hill District Consensus Group Chairman Carl Redwood wrote in the online petition that had more than 100 signatures by Thursday afternoon.

<https://archive.triblive.com/local/pittsburgh-allegeny/hill-district-group-civic-arena-plan-unfair-to-black-residents/?printfriendly=true>

1/4

The Consensus Group filed a complaint in late November with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development that made similar allegations. HUD would not comment on the pending review.

Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, said the administration "has been very aggressive in our commitments to affordable housing."

Acklin pointed to an agreement that will help relocate 200 lower-income, mostly black residents of East Liberty's Penn Plaza Apartments and pave the way for more affordable housing in that booming area, along with a 2014 agreement among city, neighborhood and Penguins representatives that spells out the project's goals for affordable housing and minority business participation and exceeds the city's traditional benchmarks.

A related plan will divert added tax revenue from the development into revitalizing other areas of the Hill.

Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill District and co-chairs the city's recently established Affordable Housing Task Force, expressed mixed feelings about the Consensus Group's claims.

"Certainly, as a member of council, I do not have a policy to try to gentrify the city or drive African-Americans out of the city. I'm doing everything I can to reverse that trend," Lavelle said, noting the task force is expected to issue its first report by May 27. "At the same time, the numbers do speak for themselves."

Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to "the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs," with the black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from about 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop.

In the same span, the city's white population went to 201,765 in 2010 from about 317,000 in 1980, a 36 percent drop, census figures show.

Lavelle said many black residents are being "priced out" of the city, with skyrocketing housing costs in East Liberty and other East End neighborhoods driving them to more affordable suburban communities such as Penn Hills.

"Affordability is not just a black issue, but it would be disingenuous to say there are not racial dimensions to this, particularly as it relates to the Lower Hill," Lavelle said, referring to the section of the historically black neighborhood where 8,000 residents and more than 400 businesses were displaced to make way for construction of the Civic Arena.

Tim Stevens, chairman of the Hill-based Black Political Empowerment Project, said there is "residual emotional impact from the dismemberment of the Lower Hill that has never totally gone away."

Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams said the franchise, in concert with the lead housing and commercial developers it has retained, aims to "move development forward in the spirit" of the 2014 agreement known as the Community Collaboration and Implementation Plan.

"These things on paper sound good, look good, but they need to be good," Stevens said.

The Penguins have exclusive rights to develop the 28-acre former arena site across from Consol Energy Center. In addition to office and retail space, the franchise is planning about 1,200 apartments, with 20 percent of them affordable for lower-income residents earning between 60 and 80 percent of the area's median income.

"That's not affordable for the average black family," Redwood said.

At 80 percent of the median income, the Consensus Group has said that a person would need to make \$39,100 a year to afford a one-bedroom apartment.

The Consensus Group thinks 30 percent of the housing should be affordable for lower-income residents, with all of the units affordable to those earning 50 percent or less of the median income. The team, city and neighborhood leaders agreed those levels of affordability should be met "to the greatest extent feasible."

The Consensus Group has urged the Penguins to seek housing tax credits from the Pennsylvania Housing Finance Agency to help boost the share and level of affordable housing, but Williams said that housing developer McCormack Baron Salazar of St. Louis does not intend to do so. Friday is the deadline for developers seeking the highly competitive credits to submit a letter of intent.

Tom Fontaine is a Tribune-Review staff writer. Reach him at 412-320-7847 or tfontaine@tribweb.com.

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Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property | TribLIVE.com



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Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property



BOB BAUDER | Tuesday, October 31, 2017 5:45 p.m.



ANDREW RUSSELL | TRIBUNE-REVIEW

The former site of the Civic Arena in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District is seen from the 20th floor of the Marriott City Center.

After four years of negotiations, all it took for the city to reach "an agreement in principle" with the Penguins over development of former Civic Arena land was some Italian food in a Strip District restaurant.

Mayor Bill Peduto said he met for about an hour Tuesday with Penguins President and CEO David Morehouse over sandwiches at DiAnoia's Eatery. He called the meeting "very positive" and said the two sides should finalize a new development agreement within 24 hours.

"We have an agreement in principle over the main issues," Peduto said Tuesday afternoon. (It's) a plan that will allow development to occur, but will also protect public investment."

The Penguins declined comment.

<https://archive.triblive.com/local/pittsburgh-allegeny/peduto-pittsburgh-has-agreement-in-principle-with-penguins-over-civic-arena-property/?printfriendly=true> 1/3

Peduto said the biggest stumbling block was a \$15 million credit that the Penguins could draw on to purchase parcels that make up the 28-acre Hill District property. The current agreement requires the city to pay the Penguins any money left over after the entire site is developed.

"As they looked at this site they viewed it as being worth about \$7 million," Peduto said. "We obviously viewed it as being worth a lot more than that. The difference would have had to be made up by taxpayers."

Kevin Acklin, Peduto's chief of staff, who also chairs the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams opened talks 30 minutes after the meeting ended.

In addition to a reduction of the \$15 million, Peduto said, negotiations will center on a timetable for developing the property, construction benchmarks, penalties for missing deadlines and construction of a parking garage. The city is also looking for final resolution on the Penguins' promise to build a public art display known as the Curtain Call along Centre Avenue and money from the team to help pay for a cap over the Crosstown Expressway.

Peduto said he doesn't want the Penguins to replicate the design of bars and eateries between North Shore stadiums.

"We want to see green space and the connection to the Hill," he said. "We want to see a combination between entertainment, office space, housing, retail, all put together and connecting Downtown and the Hill once again. We want to see it done in a certain density that is what you'd expect to see in a city and not a suburban mall."

Peduto and other city officials had expressed frustrations in recent weeks over the Penguins failure to start work. Peduto last week was highly critical and accused the Penguins of renegeing on a promise to develop the property. The two sides were at loggerheads over a new agreement.

The Penguins have until Nov. 9 to complete the agreement or risk losing 2.1 acres. Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority and the city-county Sports & Exhibition Authority, which share joint ownership, have approved repeated extensions of a deadline requiring the Penguins to purchase 2.1 acres annually over 10 years.

"I think that what happened is last week we hit the wall," Peduto said. "I think at that point it became serious about not only the city taking the land back, but the Penguins' commitment to working with us in a sincere way that would benefit the public and not just their own bottom line."

The SEA and URA have ability to take back the property if the Penguins fail to meet development deadlines. Peduto said the city would likely drop that under the new agreement.

"I think that within the next 24 hours the option for taking back the land will be traded for the option of seeing the land developed," Peduto said. "There is no doubt that there is going to be give and take in this final negotiation, but there was a willingness to negotiate on the give from the Penguins that we hadn't seen to this degree before."

Bob Bauder is a Tribune-Review staff writer. Reach him at 412-765-2312 bauder@tribweb.com or [@bobbauder](https://twitter.com/bobbauder)

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News Article 2019a

25/07/2021

'Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



'Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site

 MARK BELKO 
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
mbelko@post-gazette.com 

MAR 8, 2019 11:00 AM

The Pittsburgh Penguins are ready to get rolling on development of the former Civic Arena site this year with a brand new vision that includes offices, housing, a music venue, retail, a hotel and a food hall, all interwoven over 28 acres.

With two developers in place, the team expects to start construction on the first 274 units of housing in the fall, to be followed by development of a 200,000-square-foot office building with 50,000 square feet of retail in the winter.

The Penguins have hired the Buccini/Pollin Group, a Wilmington, Del.-based real estate company with a portfolio valued at more than \$5 billion, to develop the office space and the other commercial aspects, including a 50,000-square-foot music venue and the food hall.

The team has tapped Pittsburgh-based Intergen, a minority-owned developer led by KBK Enterprises, to do the first piece of the housing as

well as a 250-unit second phase, with 20 percent of the apartments in both rounds designated as affordable.

Both companies have been tasked with jump-starting a development that stalled after U.S. Steel in 2015 backed out of a deal to build a new headquarters there.

Instead of dividing the publicly owned site into sections with one for residential, one for office and one for commercial as in the original plan, the Penguins — who hold the development rights to the 28 acres — now intend to spread the various components throughout.

That means, for example, there could be housing and retail connected to the music venue. Much of the retail will be concentrated on Centre Avenue as part of broader office and residential developments, although it also will be spread along Wylie, in part to cater to the residential.

The new vision also includes nearly four acres of parks and green space — an acre more than required by the city — including a wide expanse along Wylie Avenue as it connects into the Hill District and the park to be built over the Crosstown Expressway linking Downtown.

"Architecturally significant" kiosks are to be placed throughout the 28 acres and designed to serve as incubators for local small businesses. Room will be made available for food trucks.

"We think this development will be the center of energy for the region," said David Morehouse, Penguins CEO and president.

In all, the new master plan calls for up to 1,420 units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, 50,000 square feet of entertainment, and a 220-room hotel.

It is expected to produce more than \$750 million in private investment, 4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs, and about \$25 million in annual state and local tax revenues.

An estimated \$25 million would be generated by a Local Economic Revitalization Tax Assistance Act district set up as part of the development, with the funds to be used to invest in the middle and upper Hill. That is one aspect of the community agreement worked out with Hill leaders to ensure that the neighborhood benefits from the development.

'Do something great'

The genesis for the team's new vision came during a February 2018 meeting with Penguins co-owners Mario Lemieux and Ron Burkle.

"We kind of looked at what we were doing and the direction we were going in and that's when Ron said, and Mario agreed, 'Let's do something great,'" Mr. Morehouse related.

Team officials toured developments like the 27-acre Hudson Yards in New York and The Wharf in Washington, D.C., in reassessing their plans.

What emerged was the latest template, one tailored more toward urban redevelopment with mixture of uses spread throughout the site. New elements include more housing, the music venue and the 10,000-square-foot food hall, which will feature local chefs and food outlets.

"The goal is that you don't know where it starts and where it ends," said Chris Buccini, president of the Buccino/Pollin Group.

Kevin Acklin, the former chief of staff for Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto who is now spearheading the development for the Penguins, said the idea is to make the site "welcoming to everyone," with the potential to perhaps even resurrect Hill icons like the Crawford Grill.

It should be "an attractive place for Pittsburgh," he said.

Designing the office and commercial structures will be Gensler, the same architectural firm that did the Tower at PNC Plaza and Three PNC Plaza Downtown. Handling the design of the first 500 units of residential will be Michigan-based OHM Advisors.

The first 274 apartment units will be built on a tract of land at Centre Avenue and Fullerton Street. In keeping with the community agreement, 20 percent of the units will be affordable to households at 80 percent of the area median income.

Intergen's second phase would be built along Centre adjacent to the existing Crawford Square development. The Penguins originally tapped St. Louis-based McCormack Baron Salazar to do the housing. That developer no longer is involved.

Leading Intergen are Keith B. Key, the CEO of KBK; developer Bomaní Howze, son of former city councilman Sala Udin; and business executive Robert Agbede.

The first office building likely will be constructed on Centre Avenue near Washington Place. A "signature tower" that could include up to 450,000 square feet of office is under consideration at the other end of Washington Place.

'Calls from people daily'

Mr. Buccini said his firm is in "advanced discussions with numerous office and retail tenants" interested in locating on the site. Mr. Morehouse said the demand is strong, providing incentive to get development going.

"We're getting calls from people daily. I'm trying to sell hockey tickets and people are asking about the development," he said.

Construction of a \$26.4 million park over the Crosstown Expressway, being handled by the Sports & Exhibition Authority, is expected to start in June.

Under their agreements with the two public authorities that own the land, the Penguins must start development on 6.45 acres by October 2020 or forfeit 20 percent of the parking revenue now generated from the site.

After a series of setbacks, Mr. Morehouse said the team should have no trouble meeting the deadline and could have most of the first two phases done by then. "We're moving at breakneck speed right now," he said.

"We're going to start construction. That's the message. We're ready to go," he added. "It's better than anything we contemplated when we first started thinking about it. Time has helped."

Embracing the Hill's needs

City Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who has expressed frustration in the past about the team's inability to get the development moving, said he is more confident that the latest team assembled by the Penguins can get the job done.

"I know they have the wherewithal and the capacity to do it. But I also know they have the heart and willingness to do it, which is different than I think where we may have been in the past," said Mr. Lavelle, who represents the Hill.

The developers, he added, not only have embraced high standards for the development but also the social and economic aspects as they relate to the Hill.

In a statement, Mr. Peduto — another who has chided the Penguins in the past about the lack of development — lauded the latest plan.

"It was worth the time to listen closely to our Hill District partners and get this right," he said. "With the help of the Penguins and their development team, we're delivering on promises of new jobs, affordable housing, and a historic reconnection between the Hill and the heart of the Downtown business district."

25/07/2021

'Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Team officials also are considering the idea of moving the location of the long-delayed Curtain Call public art project to the former arena site.

The work — consisting of a rain-garden walkway lined with glass panels holding historical Hill District photographs — was set to be located between PPG Paints Arena and the Epiphany Catholic Church. It has been stymied by a lack of funding.

Mark Belko: mbelko@post-gazette.com or 412-263-1262.

First Published March 8, 2019, 11:00am

News Article 2019b

25/07/2021

Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site

 MARK BELKO
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
mbelko@post-gazette.com 

MAY 16, 2019 3:31 AM

The former Civic Arena redevelopment in the lower Hill District has a new name. But not all Hill residents are happy about it.

In unveiling their new vision for the 28-acre site at a community meeting Wednesday evening, the Pittsburgh Penguins also coined a name for the \$750 million development — the Centre District.

Kevin Acklin, the Penguins' senior vice president, said the new name is taken from Centre Avenue, one of the main streets that runs through the Hill, and the Hill District itself.

It is a moniker that is meant to honor the Hill. "It was our way of creating an identity and a name," he said.

But some residents didn't see it that way.

"That does not respect the history or the culture," said C. Denise Johnson. "I understand this is different but can we at least have some semblance of the Hill?"

Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the Hill and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there.

"If they want [the development] to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the Hill District] name?" she asked.

Mr. Acklin said the intent was not to slight the neighborhood. "It will always be the lower Hill District," he said.

More than 100 people packed a conference room at the Energy Innovation Center to get a rundown of the Penguins' latest plan for the site, one that calls for up to 1,420 new units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, a 50,000-square-foot music venue, a food hall and a 220-room hotel.

Representatives of Intergen, the minority developer doing the first two phases of the housing, said they plan to start the first 288 units in the fall on part of the site near Crawford Square.

Buccini/Pollin Group, a Wilmington, Del.-based real estate company hired to do the commercial aspects of the development, intends to start the first mixed-use complex — 200,000 square feet of office and 50,000 square feet of retail this winter.

It already has a deal in place with Punch Bowl Social to occupy 23,000 square feet of the retail space.

In a sign that the Penguins are serious about getting moving on the redevelopment after years of delays, Mr. Acklin said the team has submitted letters of intent to the Sports & Exhibition Authority and the Pittsburgh Urban Redevelopment Authority, the owners of the site, to start the process of purchasing land.

The parcels involved relate to those needed for the first phase of the housing, the office and retail complex, the live music venue and planned open space. The Penguins hold the development rights to the land. "This is about delivering the development for the public," Mr. Acklin said.

One aspect that continues to be a point of contention with some residents is the plan to make 20 percent of the housing affordable to households at 80 percent of the area median income.

The Hill District Consensus Group has complained that the neighborhood master plan calls for at least 30 percent of the units affordable to

It fears the team's plan will exclude many African Americans from being able to rent units.

The Penguins last year lost out on a bid to secure low-income tax credits that would have allowed for deeper levels of affordable housing. The commitment it now has in place was negotiated with Hill leaders several years ago.

Mark Belko: mbelko@post-gazette.com or 412-263-1262.

First Published May 16, 2019, 3:31am

News Article 2019c

25/07/2021

Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District



MARK BELKO
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JUN 14, 2019

12:27 PM

A \$32 million effort to “right a wrong” that occurred half a century ago gets its start Friday.

A slew of politicians and stakeholders will gather in a parking lot near PPG Paints Arena to break ground on a three-acre park that will straddle Interstate 579/Crosstown Boulevard.

To its supporters, the project is more than a green oasis surrounded by parking. It represents a literal reconnection of Downtown and the lower Hill District, a link severed to a large extent when the former Civic Arena was built in late 1950s.

The arena construction destroyed part of the Hill neighborhood, displacing more than 8,000 residents and 413 businesses.

That damage was further exacerbated by adding the highway — creating yet another physical and economic barrier between the Hill and Downtown, city councilman R. Daniel Lavelle said.

<https://www.post-gazette.com/business/development/2019/06/14/new-park-over-I-579-to-bridge-Downtown-pittsburgh-Hill-District/stories/201906140069>

1/5

“What we’re going to begin doing [Friday] is finally righting those wrongs of 50 or 60 years ago,” added Mr. Lavelle, who represents the Hill.

For Brenda Tate, who has lived on the same block of Webster Avenue in the Hill for all of her 70 years, the park once again will give her the chance to traverse Wylie Avenue to the park then into Downtown and back.

“There won’t be separation. There will be a clear avenue to come back and forth. It’s symbolic,” she said.

Crosstown Boulevard development

Ground is being broken for the \$32 million pedestrian park designed to connect the Hill District and the former Civic Arena site with Downtown. The park will be built over Interstate 579/Crosstown Boulevard.



Source: Esri

Post-Gazette

Beyond serving as a link between the Hill’s past and its future, the park, all publicly funded, represents the first tangible piece of construction associated with the redevelopment of the 28-acre former arena site.

To Penguins CEO David Morehouse, the project not only “rights a wrong that happened 60 years ago.” It will serve as a catalyst for the transformation of the arena site.

“What it does is it unlocks the potential,” he said.

After years of delays and false starts, the Penguins, who hold the development rights to the publicly owned 28 acres, hope to start work on the property this fall with the first 288 apartments near Crawford Square.

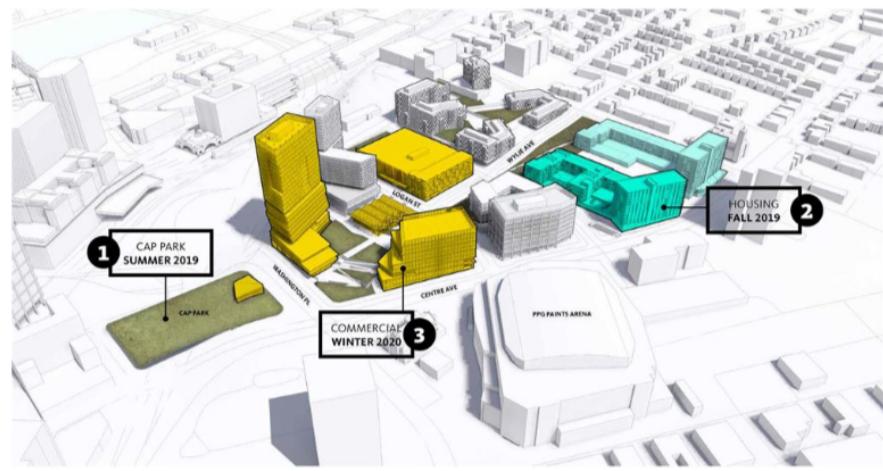
The park and the first housing units will serve as bookends to the site, an arrangement Mr. Morehouse sees as significant in itself.

“It was a place where people were displaced and it will bring to life the 28 acres that the site sits on,” he said. “It will be a place where people live and eventually will work and play.”

The Penguins, Mr. Morehouse said, could be ready to get rolling with as many as three developments on the site by year end or early in 2020.

Beyond the housing, the team is “close to closing a deal” with Live Nation for a 50,000-square-foot music venue, Mr. Morehouse said. The venue would be built on top of a 900- to 1,000-space parking garage and have indoor and outdoor components.

Phasing Plan



Gensler

This rendering shows the first three phases of development at the former Civic Arena site. All could start by the winter, according to the Pittsburgh Penguins.

The Penguins also are “past the interest phase” and in active negotiations with a company that wants to build a headquarters on the north end of the site near Washington Place where a “signature tower” is planned.

Mr. Morehouse would not disclose the prospective tenant, but at least two local companies — First National Bank and EQT Corp. — are believed to be in the hunt for headquarters space in or near Downtown.

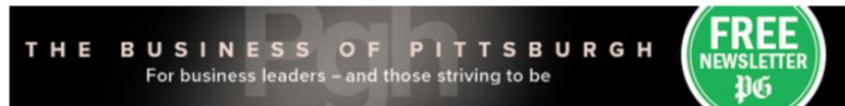
In addition, “multiple tenants” are interested in another office building planned on Centre Avenue across from PPG Paints Arena, Mr. Morehouse said.

“Our biggest problem is we have too many people that are interested at once. It’s a good problem to have. Everyone sees the potential,” he said.

In all, the Penguins are proposing up to 1,420 new units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, the music venue, a food hall and a 220-room hotel at the site.

On the retail side, the development has landed Punch Bowl Social to take 23,000 square feet of space. The team also is in talks with the Milk Shake Factory

But without the new park linking Downtown to the site, “The development is hard to make work,” Mr. Morehouse said.



As part of the plan, the Penguins intend to incorporate four acres of green space running the entire length of Wylie from the park to Crawford Square.

The team has committed \$900,000 to the construction of the park through the purchase of land needed for the parcels being developed.

The bulk of the funding for the park is coming through a \$19 million federal grant. The rest is cobbled together from state, local and foundation sources. The park is scheduled to be completed in November 2021.

It will include pedestrian paths, bicycle routes, performance space, an outdoor amphitheater, rain gardens, and design elements produced by Hill artists.

While the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities.

“If we do all of that and more, then the Hill District will benefit from that development, and this cap plays a role in that,” he said.

Likewise, former city councilman Sala Udin, who also represented the Hill, said he sees the redevelopment itself playing a bigger role in righting the

Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District | Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
wrongs caused by the Civic Arena construction than the park itself.

“You will be able to sense the connection once the 28 acres gets to be filled out,” said Mr. Udin, a board member of the Sports & Exhibition Authority, which owns the bulk of the redevelopment site.

Mr. Udin’s son, Bomani Howze, is a principal in Intergen, the minority-led firm that will do the first two phases of housing for the Penguins.

Not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill.

Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, said the park “represents Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around.”

“They want the lower Hill, including this cap, to look like a hockey game. What I mean by that is not many black people will be participating,” he said.

Mr. Redwood and his group have been campaigning to get 30 percent of the housing built at the arena site designated as affordable. The Penguins have committed to 20 percent under an agreement with Hill leaders.

But Ms. Tate, who with her 98-year-old aunt will be attending Friday’s groundbreaking, sees positives in the park’s construction.

“It will be a nice green space, a welcoming space, for people who want to come into the community,” she said.

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First Published June 14, 2019, 12:27pm

Appendix 2

Text 1: 'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site', by Mark Belko
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 9 September 2014

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of problem	<p>Economic stagnation</p> <p>Redevelopment will provide Economic growth to blighted community through new tax system.</p> <p>Redevelopment will provide Economic growth when land/parking lot is developed with businesses, housing, and parks.</p>	No benefits for the community, low quality of life (inadequate utilities, housing)	Redevelopment is not providing for the community (e.g. the redevelopment deal does not have enough affordable housing)
Cause (why is it a problem?)	Urban Renewal Plan of the 1960s	Urban Renewal Plan of the 1960s	The redevelopment is primarily led by the Pittsburgh Penguins, city officials, and not particular community leaders
Consequences	Lower Hill is disconnected from downtown since 1960s	Since Hill District is 'cut off' from downtown and predominantly black, the area has not received benefits in terms of business opportunities or other city support.	<p>Once the development occurs, property tax increases will create gentrification</p> <p>Tax diversion is not in communities' interest</p>

Solutions/actions	<p>Largest tax diversion in the city's history</p> <p>Settle thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation</p> <p>creates pot of money reinvestment</p> <p>tax increment financing plan that will generate at least \$22 million</p>	<p>Utility improvements, grants for housing down payments and closing costs, subsidies to support mixed-income housing development, loans to help repair existing apartment units, and residential facade grants</p> <p>The redevelopment as the solution</p> <p>Redevelopment will provide community with benefits they haven't had in years past, including housing and green areas</p> <p>Settle thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation</p>	<p>implied solutions seem to be to stop/renegotiate the redevelopment; involve community voices</p>
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Full Text	Frame	News values	Source type
			Speech Type
			Reporting
			Verb
<i>Title: 'Penguins, Pittsburgh reach agreement on redeveloping former Civic Arena site', by Mark Belko</i>			
1. Local political leaders and the Pittsburgh Penguins have cleared the way for the redevelopment of the former Civic Arena site with a wide-ranging deal that creates the largest tax diversion district in the city's history while giving the team more time to get started.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity/Impact</i>	
2. The agreement, finalized early Tuesday after more than a year of negotiations, not only settled thorny issues such as affordable housing and minority participation in the development but also creates a pot of money that is to be used to reinvest in the middle and upper Hill District.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	
3. "Today is transformative," Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald said. "This is a way to go into the neighborhood and provide those opportunities for people who haven't had them in the past."	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
4. Mayor Bill Peduto said the deal not only would ensure the redevelopment of the arena site in the lower Hill but would help to "mend and heal" the neighborhood, which was separated from Downtown and saw 1,300 buildings leveled in an early 1960s urban renewal plan built around the Civic Arena construction.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Indirect said
5. "Today we're going to do something quite different," he said. "We're going to invest back in that community."	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	Politician Direct said
6. At the center of the agreement is a tax increment financing plan that will generate at least \$22 million — some estimates are as high as \$50 million — over 20 years for redevelopment activities in the Hill and adjacent Uptown.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	

7. The tax increment district will be largest in city history. But under the plan, virtually all of the revenue for the improvements will be generated by the arena redevelopment itself.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	
8. Under the TIF, 65 percent of the new tax revenue produced by the project will be used for improvements. The other 35 percent will go to the city, county and city school district.			
9. Most of the money will go into a Hill reinvestment fund overseen by the city Urban Redevelopment Authority. An advisory board made up in part by community representatives would make recommendations on spending the money.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	
10. Possible uses could include street and utility improvements, grants for housing down payments and closing costs, subsidies to support mixed-income housing development, loans to help repair existing apartment units, and residential facade grants.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	
11. Compromises were made. Minority and women's business participation in the arena development is set at 30 percent and 15 percent, respectively — the highest in the city's history. But on the minority side, it's 5 percent lower than what the Hill demanded.	Economic benefits	<i>Negativity</i>	
12. The agreement sets the percentage of affordable housing on the site at 20 percent of the 1,100 units planned, far lower than the 30 percent city Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the Hill, and other Hill leaders wanted.	Economic benefits	<i>Negativity/Impact</i>	
13. But the Penguins also compromised. Under the deal, 15 percent of the affordable units will be reserved for those making 80 percent of the area median income, as the team wanted. But the other 5 percent will be reserved for those making 60 or 70 percent of the area median.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Negativity</i>	
14. That's not as low as the 30 percent Hill leaders sought. But Mr. Lavelle said that with the changes, some apartments may rent for as low as \$600 a month.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity +/- / Prominence/Impact</i>	Politician Indirect said

15. Travis Williams, the Penguins' chief operating officer, said public subsidies may be required for the units that will be at 60 to 70 percent of the area median. That, he said, could come from the TIF or other sources.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence</i>	Private Investor Indirect said
16. Under the agreement, the team, which owns the development rights to the 28-acre site, will get another year, until Oct. 22, 2015, to begin the work, which in addition to the housing will include 500,000 to 600,000 square feet of office space and 250,000 square feet of retail.			
17. Not everybody is happy with the agreement.			
18. Carl Redwood, head of the Hill District Consensus Group, said he still wants to see 30 percent of the housing designated as affordable. He accused the politicians and Penguins of not getting input from the community before crafting the final deal.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Prominence/ Impact</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Indirect Said/accused
19. "It's not a community deal unless the community is involved," Mr. Redwood said. "This is a Democratic Party deal."	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Impact</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
20. The city said the agreement was the result of more than 50 meetings, many with community representatives.	Community benefits	<i>Prominence</i>	Politician Indirect said
21. If all goes well, the Penguins hope to start development in nine to 12 months. They have agreed to pay market value for the publicly owned land, not the appraised value, as previously had been negotiated.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/ Impact</i>	
22. The team has hired St. Louis-based McCormack Baron Salazar, the same developer that did Crawford Square, to do the new residences. Of the 1,100 units planned, at least 250 of them will be done by a minority developer.			

23. With the deal done, Mr. Lavelle said the real work is just beginning to equip people and businesses to take advantages of the opportunities it created.	Community benefits	<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	Politician Indirect said
24. "For me, this is actually just round one of a 12-round fight," he said.	Gentrification	<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	Politician Direct said



Penguins, Pittsburgh
reach agreement on
redeveloping former
Civic Arena site

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Text 2: 'Governor Joins Officials to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District', by Christian Morrow
New Pittsburgh Courier, 25 March 2015

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of problem	Economic vitality of community	Cultural vitality of the community "Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways," said Governor Tom Wolf.	
Cause (why is it a problem?)	Past urban renewal plan of the 1960s	Past urban renewal plan of the 1960s "It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of," he said.	
Consequences	Money focus: Cut off the Hill District community with the downtown area and displaced many people and businesses in the area – including jazz clubs, barber shops, and other African American owned community businesses	Culture focus: Cut off the Hill District community with the downtown area and displaced many people and businesses in the area – including jazz clubs, barber shops, and other African American owned community businesses	
Solutions/actions	"Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot	"Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything	

<p>of ways," said Governor Tom Wolf. "Fifty years later we're trying to re-transform this area and undo some of the problems that we caused. This is a transformative project. It's taking place in a really good area and it's really important to the heart soul and life of Pittsburgh." [paragraph 3]</p> <p>"This is our chance to fix the mistakes that were made decades ago. I've been very supportive of the plans to revitalize the Hill District and reconnect it to the downtown," he said. "I worked hard to help secure a federal planning grant for this redevelopment, and I will continue to cooperate with local officials and community leaders to bring this project to successful completion."</p>	<p>around us," he said. "Today we are building community."</p> <p>"This is our chance to fix the mistakes that were made decades ago. I've been very supportive of the plans to revitalize the Hill District and reconnect it to the downtown," he said. "I worked hard to help secure a federal planning grant for this redevelopment, and I will continue to cooperate with local officials and community leaders to bring this project to successful completion."</p>	
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Full Text	Frame	News values	Source type
Speech Type	Reporting	Verb	
<p><i>Title: 'Governor Joins Officials to Break Ground on Former Civic Arena Site on Hill District', by Christian Morrow</i></p>			
<p>1. If all goes as they plan, the sun that shone brightly as federal, state and local officials gathered to break ground on \$440 million project at the former Civic Arena site, will mark a new dawn for the Hill District and beyond.</p>	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity/Impact</i>	
<p>2. Though largely ceremonial, the event was not entirely so because the groundbreaking marked the beginning of infrastructure work on the 28-acre site that was created in the late 1950s by destroying more than 1,000 buildings, hundreds of businesses and displacing more than 8,000 residents - all of them Black.</p>	Economic benefits	<i>Negativity/Impact</i>	
<p>3. "Fifty years ago the urban renewal done in this site destroyed a nice legacy in a lot of ways," said Governor Tom Wolf. "Fifty years later we're trying to re-transform this area and undo some of the problems that we caused. This is a transformative project. It's taking place in a really good area and it's really important to the heart soul and life of Pittsburgh."</p>	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/Impact/Positivity</i>	Politician Direct said
<p>4. The first phase of the project will involve building two new streets. The first will connect Bedford Avenue to Centre Avenue, with a separate street connecting that new road to Crawford Street. Work is scheduled to be completed in July of 2016.</p>			
<p>5. A second street connecting Bedford Avenue to Centre Avenue is expected to begin in the near future. A \$15 million Redevelopment Assistance Capital Program grant will cover the costs of the initial work on the site. The street grid portion alone is projected at \$36 million, including roadways, sidewalks, energy efficient street lighting, stormwater planters and street trees, and storm, sanitary and water lines.</p>			

6. The anchor tenant for the project will be U.S. Steel. But their five-story office building design has yet to pass the city planning commission, which had more than one member say it was not distinctive enough.			
7. United States Rep. Mike Doyle, D-Pittsburgh, said the project was a long time coming.			
8. "This is our chance to fix the mistakes that were made decades ago. I've been very supportive of the plans to revitalize the Hill District and reconnect it to the downtown," he said. "I worked hard to help secure a federal planning grant for this redevelopment, and I will continue to cooperate with local officials and community leaders to bring this project to successful completion."	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	Politician Direct said
9. Also present were Mayor Bill Peduto, Allegheny County Executive Rich Fitzgerald, State Sen. Jay Costa, D- Wilkinsburg, city Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle as well as representatives from U.S. Steel developer Clayco Realty, the Sports and Exhibition Authority, the Urban Redevelopment Authority.			
10. Sports and Exhibition Chair and state Sen. Wayne Fontana called the day historic.			Politician Indirect called
11. "It's an enormous milestone and undertaking going forward," he said. "And it will serve as a gateway between the hill district and downtown."	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	Politician Direct said
12. Peduto said that 50 years ago they had a strange, different way to deal with development.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity</i>	Politician Indirect said
13. "It was the wrecking ball. It was the bulldozer. It was disconnecting a community from a town the community was always part of," he said. "Over the last year we've looked for a way that goes beyond one building to benefit everything around us," he said. "Today we are building community."	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/Positivity/Impact</i>	Politician Direct said



A NEW DAY DAWNS—Federal, state and local partners break ground for the first phase of the \$440 million project to redevelop the lower Hill District and to rebuild the Hill and beyond. (Photo by J.L. Martello)

Text 3: 'Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents', by Tom Fontaine
Pittsburgh Tribune Review, 7 January 2016

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of problem			<p>Policies that discriminate against blacks</p> <p>Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to "the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs," with the black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from about 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop.</p>
Cause (why is it a problem?)			<p>Lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plan</p> <p>Housing policies over the past four decades – Redwood</p>
Consequences		<p>"Certainly, as a member of council, I do not have a policy to try to gentrify the city or drive African-Americans out of the city. I'm doing everything I can to reverse that trend," Lavelle said, noting the task force is expected to issue its first report by May 27. "At the same time, the numbers do speak for themselves."</p>	<p>Gentrification/ being priced out—article is defining community more narrowly (blacks)</p> <p>The Penguins have exclusive rights to develop the 28-acre former arena site across from</p>

			<p>Consol Energy Center. In addition to office and retail space, the franchise is planning about 1,200 apartments, with 20 percent of them affordable for lower-income residents earning between 60 and 80 percent of the area's median income.</p> <p>"That's not affordable for the average black family," Redwood said.</p>
Solutions/actions		<p>Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, said the administration "has been very aggressive in our commitments to affordable housing."</p> <p>Acklin pointed to an agreement that will help relocate 200 lower-income, mostly black residents of East Liberty's Penn Plaza Apartments and pave the way for more affordable housing in that booming area, along with a 2014 agreement among city, neighborhood and Penguins representatives that spells out the project's goals for affordable housing and minority business participation and exceeds the city's traditional benchmarks.</p>	<p>More affordable housing</p> <p>"You can stop the current city policy of gentrification and the displacement of black people from the city," Hill District Consensus Group Chairman Carl Redwood wrote in the online petition that had more than 100 signatures by Thursday afternoon.</p>

Full Text	Frame	News values	Source type Speech Type Reporting Verb
'Hill District group: Civic Arena plan unfair to black residents'	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Impact</i>	
1. A <i>Hill District</i> group renewed demands for more affordable housing on the former <i>Civic Arena</i> site, circulating a petition that accuses the city of clinging to policies that discriminate against blacks.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	
2. It's the latest hurdle for the Pittsburgh Penguins' anticipated \$500 million <i>redevelopment</i> project that has faced criticism from some <i>Hill District</i> residents and continues to lack an anchor tenant.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	
3. "You can stop the current city policy of gentrification and the displacement of black people from the city," <i>Hill District</i> Consensus Group Chairman Carl Redwood wrote in the online petition that had more than 100 signatures by Thursday afternoon.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Impact</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct wrote
4. The Consensus Group filed a complaint in late November with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development that made similar allegations. HUD would not comment on the pending review.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	
5. Kevin Acklin, chief of staff and chief development officer for Mayor Bill Peduto, said the administration "has been very aggressive in our commitments to affordable housing."	Community benefits	<i>Positivity</i>	Politician Direct said
6. Acklin pointed to an agreement that will help relocate 200 lower-income, mostly black residents of East Liberty's Penn Plaza Apartments and pave the way for more affordable housing in that booming area, along with a 2014 agreement among city, neighborhood and Penguins representatives that spells out the project's goals for affordable housing and minority business participation and exceeds the city's traditional benchmarks.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/ Prominence</i>	Politician Indirect Pointed to

7. A related plan will divert added tax revenue from the development into revitalizing other areas of the <u>Hill</u> .			
8. Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who represents the <u>Hill District</u> and co-chairs the city's recently established Affordable Housing Task Force, expressed mixed feelings about the Consensus Group's claims.	Community benefits	<i>Prominence</i>	Politician Indirect expressed
9. "Certainly, as a member of council, I do not have a policy to try to gentrify the city or drive African-Americans out of the city. I'm doing everything I can to reverse that trend," Lavelle said, noting the task force is expected to issue its first report by May 27. "At the same time, the numbers do speak for themselves."	Community benefits	<i>Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
10. Redwood's petition said the city's housing policies over the past four decades led to "the forced migration of black people from Pittsburgh to the suburbs," with the black population declining to 79,789 in 2010 from about 102,000 in 1980, a 22 percent drop.	Gentrification frame	<i>Prominence/ Negativity</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
11. In the same span, the city's white population went to 201,765 in 2010 from about 317,000 in 1980, a 36 percent drop, census figures show.			
12. Lavelle said many black residents are being "priced out" of the city, with skyrocketing housing costs in East Liberty and other East End neighborhoods driving them to more affordable suburban communities such as Penn <u>Hills</u> .	Gentrification frame	<i>Prominence/ Negativity</i>	Politician Indirect said
13. "Affordability is not just a black issue, but it would be disingenuous to say there are not racial dimensions to this, particularly as it relates to the Lower <u>Hill</u> ," Lavelle said, referring to the section of the historically black neighborhood where 8,000 residents and more than 400 businesses were displaced to make way for construction of the <u>Civic Arena</u> .	Gentrification frame	<i>Prominence/ Negativity/ Impact</i>	Politician Direct said
14. Tim Stevens, chairman of the <u>Hill</u> -based Black Political Empowerment Project, said there is "residual emotional impact from the dismemberment of the Lower <u>Hill</u> that has never totally gone away."	Gentrification frame	<i>Prominence</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader

			Direct said
15. Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams said the franchise, in concert with the lead housing and commercial developers it has retained, aims to “move development forward in the spirit” of the 2014 agreement known as the Community Collaboration and Implementation Plan.	Community benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity</i>	Private Investor Direct said
16. “These things on paper sound good, look good, but they need to be good,” Stevens said.	Gentrification frame	<i>Positivity/Negativity</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
17. The Penguins have exclusive rights to develop the 28-acre former arena site across from Consol Energy Center. In addition to office and retail space, the franchise is planning about 1,200 apartments, with 20 percent of them affordable for lower-income residents earning between 60 and 80 percent of the area’s median income.			
18. “That’s not affordable for the average black family,” Redwood said.	Gentrification frame	<i>Negativity/Prominence</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
19. At 80 percent of the median income, the Consensus Group has said that a person would need to make \$39,100 a year to afford a one-bedroom apartment.	Gentrification frame		Grassroots Organisation Leader Indirect said
20. The Consensus Group thinks 30 percent of the housing should be affordable for lower-income residents, with all of the units affordable to those earning 50 percent or less of the median income. The team, city and	Gentrification frame		Grassroots Organisation Leader

<p>neighborhood leaders agreed those levels of affordability should be met "to the greatest extent feasible."</p>			Indirect thinks
<p>21. The Consensus Group has urged the Penguins to seek housing tax credits from the Pennsylvania Housing Finance Agency to help boost the share and level of affordable housing, but Williams said that housing developer McCormack Baron Salazar of St. Louis does not intend to do so. Friday is the deadline for developers seeking the highly competitive credits to submit a letter of intent.</p>	Gentrification frame		Grassroots Organisation Leader Indirect urged
			

Text 4: 'Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property' by Bob Bauder
Tribune Review, 31 October 2017

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of the problem	<p>'Peduto and other city officials had <u>expressed frustrations</u> in recent weeks over the Penguins failure to start work. Peduto last week was highly critical and accused the Penguins of renegeing on a promise to develop the property.' [para 11]</p> <p>[Implicitly, the delay in starting it is a problem]</p>		
Cause (of the problem as defined)	<p>'The two sides were at loggerheads over a new agreement.' [para 11]</p> <p>[The cause of this problem is the disagreements between the two sides]</p>		
Consequences	<p>'The Penguins have until Nov. 9 to complete the agreement or risk losing 2.1 acres. Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority and the city-county Sports & Exhibition Authority, which share joint ownership, have approved repeated extensions of a deadline requiring the Penguins to purchase 2.1 acres annually over 10 years.' [para 12]</p> <p>[The consequence of this problem is that the Penguins may lose the land which they had to purchase]</p>		
Solutions/actions	<p>"an agreement in principle" with the Penguins over development of former Civic Arena land "that will allow development to occur, but will also protect public investment."</p>		

Full Text	Frame	News Values	Source type
Title: 'Peduto: Pittsburgh has "agreement in principle" with Penguins over Civic Arena property'			
1. After four years of negotiations, all it took for the city to reach "an agreement in principle" with the Penguins over development of former Civic Arena land was some Italian food in a Strip District restaurant.			
2. Mayor Bill Peduto said he met for about an hour Tuesday with Penguins President and CEO David Morehouse over sandwiches at DiAnoia's Eatery. He called the meeting "very positive" and said the two sides should finalize a new development agreement within 24 hours.			
3. "We have an agreement in principle over the main issues," Peduto said Tuesday afternoon. (It's) a plan that will allow development to occur, but will also protect public investment."	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity</i>	Politician Direct said
4. The Penguins declined comment.			
5. Peduto said the biggest stumbling block was a \$15 million credit that the Penguins could draw on to purchase parcels that make up the 28-acre Hill District property. The current agreement requires the city to pay the Penguins any money left over after the entire site is developed.	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence/Negativity</i>	Politician Indirect said
6. "As they looked at this site they viewed it as being worth about \$7 million," Peduto said. "We obviously viewed it as being worth a lot more than that. The difference would have had to be made up by taxpayers."	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
7. Kevin Acklin, Peduto's chief of staff, who also chairs the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and Penguins Chief Operating Officer Travis Williams opened talks 30 minutes after the meeting ended.			
8. In addition to a reduction of the \$15 million, Peduto said, negotiations will center on a timetable for developing the property, construction benchmarks, penalties for missing deadlines and construction of a parking garage. The city is also looking for final resolution on the Penguins' promise to build a public art display known as the Curtain Call along	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Indirect said

Centre Avenue and money from the team to help pay for a cap over the Crosstown Expressway.			
9. Peduto said he doesn't want the Penguins to replicate the design of bars and eateries between North Shore stadiums.			
10. "We want to see green space and the connection to the Hill," he said. "We want to see a combination between entertainment, office space, housing, retail, all put together and connecting Downtown and the Hill once again. We want to see it done in a certain density that is what you'd expect to see in a city and not a suburban mall."	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
11. Peduto and other city officials had <u>expressed frustrations</u> in recent weeks over the Penguins failure to start work. Peduto last week was highly critical and accused the Penguins of renegeing on a promise to develop the property. The two sides were at loggerheads over a new agreement.			
12. The Penguins have until Nov. 9 to complete the agreement or risk losing 2.1 acres. Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority and the city-county Sports & Exhibition Authority, which share joint ownership, have approved repeated extensions of a deadline requiring the Penguins to purchase 2.1 acres annually over 10 years.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	
13. "I think that what happened is last week we hit the wall," Peduto said. "I think at that point it became serious about not only the city taking the land back, but the Penguins' commitment to working with us in a sincere way that would benefit the public and not just their own bottom line."	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
14. The SEA and URA have ability to take back the property if the Penguins fail to meet development deadlines. Peduto said the city would likely drop that under the new agreement.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	Politician Indirect said
15. "I think that within the next 24 hours the option for taking back the land will be traded for the option of seeing the land developed," Peduto said. "There is no doubt that there is going to be give and take in this final	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said

negotiation, but there was a willingness to negotiate on the give from the Penguins that we hadn't seen to this degree before."



ANDREW RUSSELL | TRIBUNE-REVIEW

The former site of the Civic Arena in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District is seen from the 20th floor of the Marriott City Center.

Text 5 | 2019 A: "Let's do something great" — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site', by Mark Belko
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 8 March 2019

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of the problem	<p>[Context]: No start to the redevelopment- new plans/vision.</p> <p>'City Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who has expressed frustration in the past about the team's inability to get the development moving, said he is more confident that the latest team assembled by the Penguins can get the job done.'</p> <p>[Paragraph 32]</p>		
Cause (of the problem as defined)	'After a series of setbacks, Mr. Morehouse said the team should have no trouble meeting the deadline and could have most of the first two phases done by then. "We're moving at breakneck speed right now," he said.' [Paragraph 30]		
Consequences	'Under their agreements with the two public authorities that own the land, the Penguins must start development on 6.45 acres by October 2020 or forfeit 20 percent of the parking revenue now generated from the site.' [Paragraph 29]		
Solutions/actions	<p>'The Pittsburgh Penguins plan to begin redeveloping the former <u>Civic Arena</u> site this year with a new vision that includes offices, housing, a music venue, retail, a hotel and a food hall, all interwoven over 28 acres.' [Paragraph 1].</p> <p>"We're going to start construction. That's the message. We're ready to go," he added. "It's better than anything we contemplated when we first started thinking about it. Time has helped." [Paragraph 31].</p>		

Full Text	Frame	News Values	Source type
			Speech Type
			Reporting
			Verb
<p><i>Title:</i> "Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site', by Mark Belko <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i>, 8 March 2019</p>			
<p>1. The Pittsburgh Penguins plan to begin redeveloping the former <u>Civic Arena</u> site this year with a new vision that includes offices, housing, a music venue, retail, a hotel and a food hall, all interwoven over 28 acres.</p>			
<p>2. With two developers in place, the team expects to start construction in the fall on the first 274 units of housing, to be followed by development in the winter of a 200,000-square-foot office building with 50,000 square feet of retail.</p>			
<p>3. The Penguins have hired the Buccini/Pollin Group, a Wilmington, Del.-based real estate company with a portfolio valued at more than \$5 billion, to develop the office space and the other commercial aspects, including a 50,000-square-foot music venue and the food hall.</p>			
<p>4. The team has tapped Pittsburgh-based Intergen, a minority-owned developer led by KBK Enterprises, to do the first piece of the housing as well as a 250-unit second phase, with 20 percent of the apartments in both rounds designated as affordable.</p>			
<p>5. Both companies have been tasked with jump-starting a development that stalled after U.S. Steel in 2015 backed out of a deal to build a new headquarters there.</p>			
<p>6. Instead of dividing the publicly owned site into sections with one for residential, one for office and one for commercial as in the original plan,</p>			

the Penguins - who hold the development rights to the 28 acres - now intend to spread the various components throughout.			
7. That means, for example, there could be housing and retail connected to the music venue. Much of the retail will be concentrated on Centre Avenue as part of broader office and residential developments, although it also will be spread along Wylie Avenue, in part to cater to the residential development.			
8. The new vision also includes nearly four acres of parks and green space - an acre more than required by the city - including a wide expanse along Wylie as it connects into the <i>Hill District</i> and the park to be built over the Crosstown Expressway linking Downtown.			
9. "Architecturally significant" kiosks are to be placed throughout the 28 acres and designed to serve as incubators for small businesses. Space will be made for food trucks.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	
10. "We think this development will be the center of energy for the region," said David Morehouse, Penguins CEO and president.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
11. In all, the new master plan calls for up to 1,420 units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, 50,000 square feet of entertainment, and a 220-room hotel.	Economic benefits	<i>Impact</i>	
12. It is expected to produce more than \$750 million in private investment, 4,000 construction and 3,000 permanent jobs, and about \$25 million in a year in state and local tax revenues.	Economic benefits	<i>Impact</i>	
13. An estimated \$25 million would be generated by a Local Economic Revitalization Tax Assistance Act <i>district</i> set up as part of the development, with the funds to be used to invest in the middle and upper <i>Hill</i> . That is one aspect of the community agreement worked out with <i>Hill</i> leaders to ensure that the neighborhood benefits from the development.	Economic benefits	<i>Impact</i>	

14. 'Do something great'			
15. The genesis for the team's new vision came during a February 2018 meeting with Penguins co-owners Mario Lemieux and Ron Burkle.			
16. "We kind of looked at what we were doing and the direction we were going in and that's when Ron said, and Mario agreed, 'Let's do something great,'" Mr. Morehouse related.			
17. Team officials toured developments like the 27-acre Hudson Yards in New York and The Wharf in Washington, D.C., in reassessing their plans.			
18. What emerged was the latest template, one tailored more toward urban redevelopment with a mixture of uses spread throughout the site. New elements include more housing, the music venue and the 10,000-square-foot food hall, which will feature local chefs and food outlets.			
19. "The goal is that you don't know where it starts and where it ends," said Chris Buccini, president of the Buccino/Pollin Group.			
20. Kevin Acklin, the former chief of staff for Pittsburgh Mayor Bill Peduto who is now spearheading the development for the Penguins, said the idea is to make the site "welcoming to everyone," with the potential to perhaps even resurrect Hill icons like the Crawford Gill.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Impact/Positivity</i>	Private Investor Indirect/Direct said
21. It should be "an attractive place for Pittsburgh," he said.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
22. Designing the office and commercial structures will be Gensler, the same architectural firm that did the Tower at PNC Plaza and Three PNC Plaza Downtown. Handling the design of the first 500 units of residential will be Michigan-based OHM Advisors.			
23. The first 274 apartment units will be built on a tract of land at Centre Avenue and Fullerton Street. In keeping with the community agreement, 20	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity</i>	

percent of the units will be affordable to households at 80 percent of the area median income.			
24. Intergen's second phase would be built along Centre adjacent to the existing Crawford Square development. The Penguins originally tapped St. Louis-based McCormack Baron Salazar to do the housing. That developer no longer is involved.			
25. Leading Intergen are Keith B. Key, the CEO of KBK; developer Bomani Howze, son of former city councilman Sala Udin; and business executive Robert Agbede.			
26. The first office building likely will be constructed on Centre Avenue near Washington Place. A "signature tower" that could include up to 450,000 square feet of office is under consideration at the other end of Washington Place.			
27. 'Calls from people daily'			
28. Mr. Buccini said his firm is in "advanced discussions with numerous office and retail tenants" interested in locating on the site. Mr. Morehouse said the demand is strong, providing incentive to get development going.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/ Prominence</i>	Private Investor Direct said
29. "We're getting calls from people daily. I'm trying to sell hockey tickets and people are asking about the development," he said.	Economic benefits	<i>Positivity/ Prominence/ Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
30. Construction of a \$26.4 million park over the Crosstown Expressway, being handled by the Sports & Exhibition Authority, is expected to start in June.			
31. Under their agreements with the two public authorities that own the land, the Penguins must start development on 6.45 acres by October 2020 or forfeit 20 percent of the parking revenue now generated from the site.	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/ Negativity</i>	

32. After a series of setbacks, Mr. Morehouse said the team should have no trouble meeting the deadline and could have most of the first two phases done by then. "We're moving at breakneck speed right now," he said.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity</i>	Private Investor Direct said
33. "We're going to start construction. That's the message. We're ready to go," he added. "It's better than anything we contemplated when we first started thinking about it. Time has helped."	Economic benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	Private Investor Direct said
34. Embracing the Hill's needs			
35. City Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, who has expressed frustration in the past about the team's inability to get the development moving, said he is more confident that the latest team assembled by the Penguins can get the job done.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity +/-</i>	Politician Indirect said
36. "I know they have the wherewithal and the capacity to do it. But I also know they have the heart and willingness to do it, which is different than I think where we may have been in the past," said Mr. Lavelle, who represents the <u>Hill</u> .	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity +/-</i>	Politician Direct said
37. The developers, he added, not only have embraced high standards for the development but also the social and Economic aspects as they relate to the <u>Hill</u> .	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity +/-</i>	Politician Indirect added
38. In a statement, Mr. Peduto - another who has chided the Penguins in the past about the lack of development - lauded the latest plan.	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity +/-</i>	Politician Indirect lauded
39. "It was worth the time to listen closely to our <u>Hill District</u> partners and get this right," he said. "With the help of the Penguins and their development team, we're delivering on promises of new jobs, affordable housing, and a historic reconnection between the <u>Hill</u> and the heart of the Downtown business <u>district</u> ."	Economic benefits	<i>Prominence/Positivity +/-</i>	Politician Direct said

40. Team officials also are considering the idea of moving the location of the long-delayed Curtain Call public art project to the former arena site.			
41. The work - consisting of a rain-garden walkway lined with glass panels holding historical Hill District photographs - was set to be located between PPG Paints Arena and the Epiphany Catholic Church. It has been stymied by a lack of funding.			
 <p>'Let's do something great' — Penguins unveil big new vision for former Arena site</p> <p>OHM Advisors</p> <p>ADVERTISEMENT</p>			

Text 6 | 2019 B: Text 7 | 2019 B: 'Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site', by Mark Belko
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 15 May 2019

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of problem		'In unveiling their new vision for the 28-acre site at a community meeting Wednesday evening, the Pittsburgh Penguins also coined a name for the \$750 million development - the Centre <i>District</i> .' [Paragraph 2]	'One aspect that continues to be a point of contention with some residents is the plan to make 20% of the housing affordable to households at 80% of the area median income.' [Paragraph 16]
Cause (why is it a problem?)		'It is a moniker that is meant to honor the <i>Hill</i> . "It was our way of creating an identity and a name," he [Kevin Acklin] said.' [Paragraph 4]	'The Hill District Consensus Group has complained that the neighborhood master plan calls for at least 30% of the units affordable to households at or below 50% of the AMI.' [Paragraph 17]
Consequences		'But some residents didn't see it that way.'	'The Penguins last year lost out on a bid to secure low-income tax credits that would have allowed for deeper levels of affordable housing. The commitment it now has in place was negotiated with Hill leaders several years ago.' [Paragraph 19]

	<p>"That does not respect the history or the culture," said C. Denise Johnson. "I understand this is different, but can we at least have some semblance of the Hill?"</p> <p>Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the Hill and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there.</p> <p>"If they want [the development] to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the Hill District] name?" she asked.' [Paragraphs 5-8]</p>	
Solutions/actions	<p>'Mr. Acklin said the intent was not to slight the neighborhood. "It will always be the lower <u>Hill District</u>," he said.' [Paragraph 9]</p>	

Full Text	Frame	News Values	Source type Speech Type Reporting Verb
<p><i>Title: 'Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site', by Mark Belko</i></p>			
1. The former <i>Civic Arena redevelopment</i> in the lower <i>Hill District</i> has a new name. But not all <i>Hill</i> residents are happy about it.			
2. In unveiling their new vision for the 28-acre site at a community meeting Wednesday evening, the Pittsburgh Penguins also coined a name for the \$750 million development - the Centre <i>District</i> .			
3. Kevin Acklin, the Penguins' senior vice president, said the new name is taken from Centre Avenue, one of the main streets that runs through the <i>Hill</i> , and the <i>Hill District</i> itself.			
4. It is a moniker that is meant to honor the <i>Hill</i> . "It was our way of creating an identity and a name," he said.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/ Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
5. But some residents didn't see it that way.		<i>Negativity/ Personalization</i>	
6. "That does not respect the history or the culture," said C. Denise Johnson. "I understand this is different, but can we at least have some semblance of the <i>Hill</i> ?"	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/ Personalization</i>	Ordinary Person Direct said
7. Another resident, Deidra Washington, said the team and its partners made a point of emphasizing the desire for the development to reflect the history and culture of the <i>Hill</i> and to provide jobs and other opportunities for the people who live there.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity / Personalization</i>	Ordinary Person Indirect said

	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/ Personalization</i>	Ordinary Person Direct asked
8. "If they want [the development] to reflect the culture, the history and the people, what's wrong with keeping [the <u>Hill District</u>] name?" she asked.			
9. Mr. Acklin said the intent was not to slight the neighborhood. "It will always be the lower <u>Hill District</u> ," he said.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/ Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
10. More than 100 people packed a conference room at the Energy Innovation Center to get a rundown of the Penguins' latest plan for the site, one that calls for up to 1,420 new units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, a 50,000-square-foot music venue, a food hall and a 220-room hotel.			
11. Representatives of Intergen, the minority developer doing the first two phases of the housing, said they plan to start the first 288 units in the fall on part of the site near Crawford Square.			.
12. Buccini/Pollin Group, a Wilmington, Del.-based real estate company hired to do the commercial aspects of the development, intends to start the first mixed-use complex - 200,000 square feet of office and 50,000 square feet of retail this winter.			
13. It already has a deal in place with Punch Bowl Social to occupy 23,000 square feet of the retail space.			
14. In a sign that the Penguins are serious about getting moving on the <u>redevelopment</u> after years of delays, Mr. Acklin said the team has submitted letters of intent to the Sports&Exhibition Authority and the Pittsburgh Urban <u>Redevelopment</u> Authority, the owners of the site, to start the process of purchasing land.			
15. The parcels involved relate to those needed for the first phase of the housing, the office and retail complex, the live music venue and planned	Community benefits	<i>Prominence</i>	Private Investor

open space. The Penguins hold the development rights to the land. "This is about delivering the development for the public," Mr. Acklin said.			Direct said
16. One aspect that continues to be a point of contention with some residents is the plan to make 20% of the housing affordable to households at 80% of the area median income.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	
17. The Hill District Consensus Group has complained that the neighborhood master plan calls for at least 30% of the units affordable to households at or below 50% of the AMI.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Prominence</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Indirect complained
18. It fears the team's plan will exclude many African Americans from being able to rent units.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Impact</i>	
19. The Penguins last year lost out on a bid to secure low-income tax credits that would have allowed for deeper levels of affordable housing. The commitment it now has in place was negotiated with Hill leaders several years ago.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/ Impact/ Prominence</i>	
 <p>Welcome to the 'Centre District' — or the former Civic Arena site</p> <p><small>ADVERTISEMENT</small></p> <p><small>PHOTO: Gentriflier</small></p>			

Text 7 | 2019 C: 'Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District', by Mark Belko
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 14 June 2019

Frame Element	Economic Benefits	Community Benefits	Gentrification
Definition of the problem		<p>"Righting a Wrong"</p> <p>"The arena construction destroyed part of the Hill neighborhood, displacing more than 8,000 residents and 413 businesses.</p> <p>That damage was further exacerbated by adding the highway — creating yet another physical and Economic barrier between the Hill and Downtown, city councilman R. Daniel Lavelle said.' [Paragraphs 4-5]</p>	<p>'Not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill.</p> <p>Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, said the park "represents Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around.'" [Paragraphs 33-34]</p>
Cause (of the problem as defined)		'	<p>'Mr. Redwood and his group have been campaigning to get 30 percent of the housing built at the arena site designated as affordable. The Penguins have committed to 20 percent under an agreement with Hill leaders.' [Paragraph 36]</p>
Consequences			<p>"They want the lower Hill, including this cap, to look like a hockey game. What I mean by that is not many black</p>

			people will be participating," he said.' [Paragraph 35]
Solutions/actions		<p>“What we’re going to begin doing [Friday] is finally righting those wrongs of 50 or 60 years ago,” added Mr. Lavelle, who represents the Hill.’ [Paragraph 6]</p> <p>‘For Brenda Tate, who has lived on the same block of Webster Avenue in the Hill for all of her 70 years, the park once again will give her the chance to traverse Wylie Avenue to the park then into Downtown and back.</p> <p>“There won’t be separation. There will be a clear avenue to come back and forth. It’s symbolic,” she said.’ [Paragraphs 7-8]</p> <p>‘While the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities.’ [Paragraph 28]</p>	

Full Text	Frame	News Values	Source type Speech Type Reporting Verb
<i>Title: 'Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District', by Mark Belko</i>			
1. A \$32 million effort to "right a wrong" that occurred half a century ago gets its start Friday.	Community benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	
2. A slew of politicians and stakeholders will gather in a parking lot near PPG Paints Arena to break ground on a three-acre park that will straddle Interstate 579/Crosstown Boulevard.		<i>Prominence/Impact</i>	
3. To its supporters, the project is more than a green oasis surrounded by parking. It represents a literal reconnection of Downtown and the lower Hill District, a link severed to a large extent when the former Civic Arena was built in late 1950s.	Community benefits	<i>Impact</i>	
4. The arena construction destroyed part of the Hill neighborhood, displacing more than 8,000 residents and 413 businesses.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/Impact</i>	
5. That damage was further exacerbated by adding the highway — creating yet another physical and Economic barrier between the Hill and Downtown, city councilman R. Daniel Lavelle said.	Community benefits	<i>Negativity/Impact</i>	Politician Indirect said
6. "What we're going to begin doing [Friday] is finally righting those wrongs of 50 or 60 years ago," added Mr. Lavelle, who represents the Hill.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct added
7. For Brenda Tate, who has lived on the same block of Webster Avenue in the Hill for all of her 70 years, the park once again will give her the chance to traverse Wylie Avenue to the park then into Downtown and back.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact/Personalization</i>	
8. "There won't be separation. There will be a clear avenue to come back and forth. It's symbolic," she said.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/Impact/Personalization</i>	Ordinary Person Direct

			said
9. Beyond serving as a link between the Hill's past and its future, the park, all publicly funded, represents the first tangible piece of construction associated with the redevelopment of the 28-acre former arena site.			
10. To Penguins CEO David Morehouse, the project not only "rights a wrong that happened 60 years ago." It will serve as a catalyst for the transformation of the arena site.			
11. "What it does is it unlocks the potential," he said.			
12. After years of delays and false starts, the Penguins, who hold the development rights to the publicly owned 28 acres, hope to start work on the property this fall with the first 288 apartments near Crawford Square.			
13. The park and the first housing units will serve as bookends to the site, an arrangement Mr. Morehouse sees as significant in itself.			
14. "It was a place where people were displaced and it will bring to life the 28 acres that the site sits on," he said. "It will be a place where people live and eventually will work and play."	Community benefits	<i>Prominence/ Positivity/ Impact</i>	Private Investor Direct said
15. The Penguins, Mr. Morehouse said, could be ready to get rolling with as many as three developments on the site by year end or early in 2020.			
16. Beyond the housing, the team is "close to closing a deal" with Live Nation for a 50,000-square-foot music venue, Mr. Morehouse said. The venue would be built on top of a 900- to 1,000-space parking garage and have indoor and outdoor components.			
17. The Penguins also are "past the interest phase" and in active negotiations with a company that wants to build a headquarters on the north end of the site near Washington Place where a "signature tower" is planned.			

18. Mr. Morehouse would not disclose the prospective tenant, but at least two local companies — First National Bank and EQT Corp. — are believed to be in the hunt for headquarters space in or near Downtown.			
19. In addition, “multiple tenants” are interested in another office building planned on Centre Avenue across from PPG Paints Arena, Mr. Morehouse said.			
20. “Our biggest problem is we have too many people that are interested at once. It’s a good problem to have. Everyone sees the potential,” he said.			
21. In all, the Penguins are proposing up to 1,420 new units of housing, 810,000 square feet of office space, 190,000 square feet of retail, the music venue, a food hall and a 220-room hotel at the site.			
22. On the retail side, the development has landed Punch Bowl Social to take 23,000 square feet of space. The team also is in talks with the Milk Shake Factory			
23. But without the new park linking Downtown to the site, “The development is hard to make work,” Mr. Morehouse said.			
24. As part of the plan, the Penguins intend to incorporate four acres of green space running the entire length of Wylie from the park to Crawford Square.			
25. The team has committed \$900,000 to the construction of the park through the purchase of land needed for the parcels being developed.			
26. The bulk of the funding for the park is coming through a \$19 million federal grant. The rest is cobbled together from state, local and foundation sources. The park is scheduled to be completed in November 2021.			
27. It will include pedestrian paths, bicycle routes, performance space, an outdoor amphitheater, rain gardens, and design elements produced by Hill artists.			

28. While the park is important, Mr. Lavelle said the greater value lies in providing business and job opportunities within the arena redevelopment for Hill residents and minorities.	Community benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	Politician Indirect said
29. "If we do all of that and more, then the Hill District will benefit from that development, and this cap plays a role in that," he said.	Community benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	Politician Direct said
30. Likewise, former city councilman Sala Udin, who also represented the Hill, said he sees the redevelopment itself playing a bigger role in righting the wrongs caused by the Civic Arena construction than the park itself.	Community benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity</i>	Politician Indirect said
31. "You will be able to sense the connection once the 28 acres gets to be filled out," said Mr. Udin, a board member of the Sports & Exhibition Authority, which owns the bulk of the redevelopment site.	Community benefits	<i>Impact/Positivity/Prominence</i>	Politician Direct said
32. Mr. Udin's son, Bomanu Howze, is a principal in Intergen, the minority-led firm that will do the first two phases of housing for the Penguins.			
33. Not everybody sees the new park as a real or symbolic link to the Hill.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	
34. Carl Redwood, chairman of the Hill District Consensus Group, said the park "represents Downtown taking over a portion of the Hill District, not the other way around."	Gentrification	<i>Negativity/Impact/Prominence</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
35. "They want the lower Hill, including this cap, to look like a hockey game. What I mean by that is not many black people will be participating," he said.	Gentrification	<i>Negativity</i>	Grassroots Organisation Leader Direct said
36. Mr. Redwood and his group have been campaigning to get 30 percent of the housing built at the arena site designated as affordable. The Penguins have committed to 20 percent under an agreement with Hill leaders.	Gentrification	<i>Impact</i>	

37. But Ms. Tate, who with her 98-year-old aunt will be attending Friday's groundbreaking, sees positives in the park's construction.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/ Personalization</i>	
38. "It will be a nice green space, a welcoming space, for people who want to come into the community," she said.	Community benefits	<i>Positivity/ Personalization</i>	Ordinary Person Direct said



Righting a wrong: New park over I-579 to reconnect Downtown and the Hill District



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Appendix 3

Summary Frame Table of the Three Identified Frames

Frame	Verbal definition of the problem	Verbal cause (what caused the problem as defined?)	Verbal consequences	Verbal solutions/actions	Verbally and visually elaborated news values	Verbally and visually elaborated source types	Verbal metaphors	Visual elaboration of the frame according to thematic analysis
Economic Benefits	The problem is the economic stagnation of the Hill District, which the redevelopment will alleviate but the redevelopment has been progressing slowly.	Economic stagnation was caused by an earlier redevelopment plan – the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan. Economic stagnation is exacerbated by the lack of progress in the current redevelopment which is caused by a debate on affordable housing.	A consequence of the problem is that the Penguins will lose land and revenue if they do not develop in the time agreed upon.	The solution is the redevelopment itself because it will provide economic benefits to the Hill District.	Impact; Positivity; Prominence; Negativity	Politicians; Private Investors	Will mark a new dawn; resurrect; stumbling block; settled thorny issues; cleared the way; delivering on promises; hit a wall; enormous milestone; moving at breakneck speed; gateway	Depictions of elite people who are used as sources in the text; Depiction of the current area and how the redevelopment will transform the area; Depictions of the completed redevelopment
Community Benefits	The problem is lack of benefits for the community such as adequate housing,	The lack of benefits for the community was caused by	A consequence is that the proposed new name (the	The solution is the redevelopment itself because it	Impact; Positivity; Prominence; Personalization;	Politicians; Private Investors;	Mend and heal; Building a community	Depiction of the current area and how the

	food shops and cultural venues, as a result of/and little involvement of the community in decision-making about the 2014 redevelopment plan- particularly on the topic of affordable housing and keeping/restoring cultural institutions like jazz clubs and theatres.	an earlier redevelopment plan – the 1960s Urban Renewal Plan.	Centre District) does not respect the Hill District's culture or history because the community was not involved in discussions of rebranding.	will provide community benefits to the Hill District.	Negativity	Ordinary people		redevelopment will transform the area; Depictions of the completed redevelopment
Gentrification Frame	The problem is defined as the redevelopment itself – first, because community members were not consulted when the redevelopment plans were made and second, because of the lack of affordable housing in the redevelopment plans which disadvantages community members.	The cause of the problem is that the Penguins have lost out on a bid to secure more affordable housing.	A consequence of the problem is that the redevelopment will lead to displacement and gentrification.	The implied solution is to stop the redevelopment.	Impact; Negativity; Prominence	Politicians; Grassroots Organisations	Dismemberment	None