

INVISIBLE INK

MEDIA
REPRESENTATION
OF ASIAN AMERICANS
AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS



Building Democratic
Philanthropy

INVISIBLE INK

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Invisible Ink explores news media coverage of AAPIs through a pre-pandemic snapshot. It seeks to answer:

How often are AAPIs included in, or the focus of, stories related to economic inequality, and how are they portrayed?

When such articles cite statistical data, are AAPIs included or intentionally omitted?

How are AAPIs portrayed when featured in news articles and what are common themes?

Do these news articles perpetuate the model minority narrative or do they illustrate diverse experiences of AAPIs?

To do this, *Invisible Ink* examines AAPI representation in news articles from 2019 (and occasionally from years prior to 2019 if there weren't enough articles from 2019 to provide a representative sample) across seven major publications, including:

Chicago Tribune Los Angeles Times **NEW YORK POST** The New York Times
USA TODAY THE WALL STREET JOURNAL The Washington Post

Across these publications, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are mentioned in news articles related to economic inequality and that mention at least one race **less than a third of the time.**

PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES MENTIONING ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

<30%

OF ARTICLES MENTION AAPIS

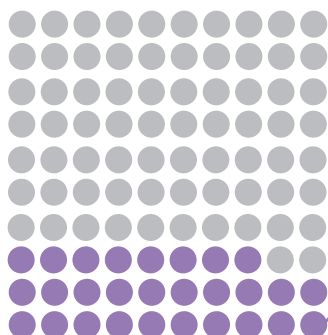


PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES FOCUSING ON ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

<4% OF ARTICLES FOCUS ON AAPIS

AAPIs are the focus of news articles on race and economic inequality **less than 4 percent of the time.**

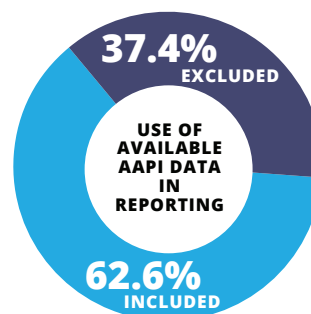
PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES WITH DATA ON ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS



AAPIs are included in the data cited in articles on race and economic inequality approximately a **quarter of the time.**

28%
OF THE TIME, AAPIS ARE INCLUDED IN DATA

AAPI DATA INCLUSION IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES



In some cases, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders were excluded from the data in news articles focused on race and economic inequality because the original data sources did not include AAPI people. **However, newsrooms omitted AAPI data 37 percent of the time, even when the data were available.**

PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES HIGHLIGHTING AAPI DISPARITIES

AAPI disparities in articles on race and economic inequality are only highlighted **2 percent of the time.**

2% OF THE TIME AAPI DISPARITIES HIGHLIGHTED

Broader print news coverage of AAPI communities tended to highlight specific issues.

ASIAN AMERICAN WORD CLOUD, 2019



PACIFIC ISLANDER WORD CLOUD, 2016-2020



In light of these findings, we conclude that funders have a prime opportunity to invest in, leverage, and reform journalism as a core strategy to advancing equity and inclusion. **Our recommendations include:**

For **PHILANTHROPY**:

- 1 Support journalism and media research projects that accurately portray the lived experience and diversity of AAPI communities.
- 2 Fund best practice AAPI data collection efforts that provide disaggregated nuance by ethnicity and gender.
- 3 Hold media and journalism grantees and projects funded to standards of diversity, equity, and inclusion.
- 4 Fund fellowships and staff positions in newsrooms for Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and all journalists of color.
- 5 Fund AAPI-led media organizations that offer authentic reach and insight into the multiplicity of AAPI communities.

For **NEWSROOMS**:

- 1 Increase accurately nuanced coverage of AAPI and all communities of color while avoiding harmful stereotypes about various communities.
- 2 Include all racial groups when reporting data.
- 3 Invest in the professional development and promotion of AAPI and all journalists of color, including gender and gender identity perspectives.
- 4 Commit to a culture of ongoing learning for all newsroom staff that includes training on topics such as implicit bias and systemic racism.
- 5 Learn about and build bridges with local AAPI communities.

For more on media coverage of AAPIs, view the full report at aapip.org/what-we-do/invisible-ink

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INTRODUCTION

WHY ADDRESS THE INVISIBILITY OF AAPI PEOPLE IN THE MEDIA?

For more than three decades, Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP) has worked to elevate Asian American and Pacific Islander voices and community needs in philanthropy and beyond.

As a vibrant home for Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) people and allies in philanthropy, AAPIP is dedicated to expanding and mobilizing philanthropic and community resources for underserved AAPI communities to build a more just and equitable society.

Battling Invisibility

AAPIP was founded in 1990, alongside Native Americans in Philanthropy (NAP), after a small delegation of Indigenous and Asian American and Pacific Islander philanthropy professionals together barely filled one table at the 1989 Council on Foundations conference attended by more than 1,000 philanthropic practitioners. From that moment forward, our continued journey began to move from invisibility at philanthropic tables to inclusive strategies aimed at creating a vibrant and inclusive democracy for all — but the path has not been easy.

As a growing segment of the American population, AAPI people are everywhere, but the invisibility of Asian American and Pacific Islander communities in economic inequality reports has many implications and consequences, one of which has been the perpetuation of the “model minority” myth. The “model minority” myth

“...[...N]ews that is produced primarily by white journalists, focused primarily on white communities, and targeted primarily at white audiences claims the label of professional journalism.”¹

— *Radicalization of News: Constructing and Challenging Professional Journalism as “White Media”*

propagates the false notion that all Asian Americans in this country are largely well off. Over the past several decades, it has been used as a narrative in the media and elsewhere to pit Asian Americans against Black, Latinx, and Native Americans, while also hiding considerable disparities among a far from monolithic racial category.

Episodic Visibility

With the significant rise in racialized violence against Asian Americans since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly after shootings in Atlanta that included the murders of six Korean women followed by another shooting in Indianapolis killing four Sikh Americans, the media has begun to take notice of AAPI communities. However, reporting of these incidents have been episodically based, even though Asian Americans have suffered the cumulative impact of centuries of anti-Asian violence. While the pandemic has taken the lives of far too many, wreaked havoc on the economy, exposed (yet again) the systemic fault lines of anti-Black racism, and threatened the core of this country's democracy, the escalation of anti-Asian violence has prompted this inquiry into print media's pre-pandemic coverage of AAPI communities on topics of economic inequality.

Historically Low Funding

This report, *Invisible Ink: Media Representation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*, follows on the heels of AAPIP's recently released report, *Seeking to Soar: Foundation Funding for Asian American & Pacific Islander Communities*. The report found that only 0.20 percent of foundation funding is specifically designated for AAPI communities.² Put differently, for every \$100 awarded by foundations for work in the United States, only 20 cents goes to AAPI communities. It follows previous research AAPIP has conducted on foundation funding

[1] Alamo-Pastrana, Carlos, and William Hoynes. “Racialization of News: Constructing and Challenging Professional Journalism as ‘White Media.’” *Humanity & Society*, vol. 44, no. 1, Feb. 2020, pp. 67–91, doi:10.1177/0160597618820071.

[2] Kan, Lyle Matthew. *Seeking to Soar: Foundation Funding for Asian American & Pacific Islander Communities*. Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, Mar. 2021.

“Pro-white bias is shared through media—in television shows, films, and books—which overwhelmingly feature white Western men as competent leaders and the standard for normalcy. This media conditioning leads to a broad privileging of whiteness that in turn informs the biased workplace standards of professionalism.”³

— *The Bias of “Professional Standards”*

going back to 1992, when AAPIP released *Invisible and in Need: Philanthropic Giving to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*. That report found that foundation funding for AAPI communities amounted to 0.20 percent of all philanthropic giving.⁴ While the AAPI population has nearly tripled over the past 30 years, the percentage of philanthropic giving to AAPI communities has not. In fact, as of late, philanthropic giving to AAPI communities has decreased from a record high of 0.60 percent in 2002 and 2009.

How Are These Two Reports Connected?

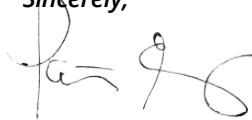
Given the power of the media to shape the perceptions and decisions of grantmakers, policy makers, and other key decision makers, it is critical to accurately and robustly include AAPI people in the course of covering the full spectrum of issues, including economic inequality.

The sparse funding to AAPI communities is wrapped up in the invisibility of our communities and the underlying “model minority” narrative that paints all AAPI communities with a broad brush of success. Few are aware that Asian Americans have the largest

wealth gap within a racial group,⁵ have experienced the second highest unemployment rate during the pandemic,⁶ and have the highest economic inequality rate in NYC.⁷ Why do so few people know these types of facts? To help answer that question, this report takes a pre-pandemic (2019) snapshot view of how some of the largest newspapers in the country have been covering (or not covering) AAPI communities. What we found was disheartening. **Over the course of the year, across seven of this nation’s largest newspapers, coverage of AAPI communities was so sparse it is as if it was written in invisible ink.**

On a somewhat brighter note in philanthropy, we found that *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* had a slightly better track record when it came to the number of articles that included AAPI communities in economic inequality reporting. It is our hope that holding “invisible ink” up to the light of day will generate new awareness and a fuller telling of the American story that includes AAPI and all communities so often left out or footnoted. It is our hope that a fuller narrative emerges, written instead with indelible ink worthy of this country’s forward journey toward an inclusive democracy.

Sincerely,



Patricia Eng
PRESIDENT & CEO



Lyle Matthew Kan
INTERIM VICE PRESIDENT
OF PROGRAMS

[3] Gray, Aysa. “The Bias of ‘Professionalism’ Standards.” *Stanford Social Innovation Review: Informing and Inspiring Leaders of Social Change*, Stanford Social Innovation Review, 4 June 2019, www.ssir.org/articles/entry/the_bias_of_professionalism_standards.

[4] *Invisible and in Need: Philanthropic Giving to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*. Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, Dec. 1992.

[5] Kochhar, Rakesh, and Anthony Cilluffo. “Income Inequality in the U.S. Is Rising Most Rapidly Among Asians.” *Pew Research Center’s Social & Demographic Trends Project*, Pew Research Center, 12 July 2020, www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/07/12/income-inequality-in-the-u-s-is-rising-most-rapidly-among-asians/. Accessed 31 Mar. 2021.

[6] Horsley, Scott. “Overlooked: Asian American Jobless Rate Surges But Few Take Notice.” NPR, 1 Oct. 2020, www.npr.org/2020/10/01/918834644/overlooked-asian-american-jobless-rate-surges-but-few-take-notice.

[7] Tran, Victoria. “Asian Americans Are Falling through the Cracks in Data Representation and Social Services.” Urban Institute, 19 June 2018, www.urban.org/urban-wire/asian-americans-are-falling-through-cracks-data-representation-and-social-services.

INTRODUCTION

THE STORY BEHIND THIS REPORT

This research project was born out of the pandemic. Early on, few people seemed to be aware of the spike in COVID-related hate towards Asian Americans.

During a group discussion with friends in the spring of 2020, I shared my concern about safety in simply going to the supermarket, and I was met with dumbfounded astonishment, judgment, and a lack of empathy. They thought I was overreacting because they hadn't heard about the massive number of hate incidents nationwide (more than 1,800 at the time⁸; close to 3,800 at the time of this report's publication⁹). In fact, my fear wasn't unfounded. Someone spat on me outside a grocery store a few weeks later.

With a refreshed awareness of the invisibility of AAPI issues, I noticed an article in a leading newspaper on COVID-related poverty which included a chart of projected national poverty rates for white, Black, and Hispanic populations, but not Asian American, Pacific Islander, or Native American. Taking a closer look, I was shocked to learn that the original data source included Asian poverty rate projections (which were significantly worse relative to white people) but the projections were omitted from the newspaper's reporting. Over the next few weeks, I began noticing similar omissions in other news articles and wondered how often these omissions occurred pre-pandemic. I didn't assume any malicious intent, and yet I couldn't help but wonder whether the model minority myth — the perception that AAPIs are universally successful academically, economically, and culturally — might be rendering AAPI people invisible to newsrooms when reporting on economic inequality. I was also curious to know if news media outlets tended to reinforce the

model minority myth or tell a more nuanced story when reporting on AAPI communities.

As a member of AAPIP, I reached out and partnered with them to launch this research study and assess mainstream news media coverage of AAPI communities.

Why is it important that AAPI communities are included in and accurately represented by the news media? Beyond fundamental journalism ethics, there are myriad reasons, including, but not limited to:

AAPIs are not a monolith.

AAPI communities comprise a wide range of ethnic groups with different languages, cultural traditions, and needs. The picture becomes even more complex when layering in other aspects, such as gender identity, generation/age, and immigration status. AAPI communities are often overlooked for critical funding and other resources due to the invisibility of significant needs. They are also often excluded from research and national discourse related to racial injustice, and as a result, public policy often does not reflect the needs of AAPI communities, despite the Pew Research Center's finding that AAPIs have displaced African Americans as the most economically divided group in the U.S.¹⁰

Under-representation and skewed representation of AAPIs by the news media affects all racial minority groups. Historically, Asian Americans have been used as a wedge to spur infighting between communities of color. Casting Asian Americans as a model minority minimizes the continuing impact of discrimination on all communities of color, particularly the Black community, thereby deflecting attention from structural racism.¹¹

For example, as revealed through this research, news media often frames Asian Americans as victims of affirmative action, which intentionally or unintentionally

[8] *Stop AAPI Hate Report: 3.19.20 - 5.13.20*. Stop AAPI Hate, 13 May 2020.

[9] Jeung, Ph.D., R., Yellow Horse, Ph.D., A., Popovic, T., & Lim, R. *Stop AAPI Hate National Report*. Stop AAPI Hate, 21 Mar. 2021.

[10] Kochhar, Rakesh, and Anthony Cilluffo. "Income Inequality in the U.S. Is Rising Most Rapidly Among Asians."

[11] "Not Your Wedge." Asian Americans Advancing Justice - Los Angeles, 30 July 2018, www.advancingjustice-la.org/what-we-do/policy-and-research/educational-opportunity-and-empowerment/affirmative-action/not-your-wedge. Accessed 27 Feb. 2021.

supports a divisive strategy against communities of color who all suffer the effects of racism. This study complements the body of research on the media's perpetuation of Black stereotypes, including how network television news and weekly news magazines racialize those facing poverty by overrepresenting stories of African Americans facing poverty and underrepresenting whites facing poverty.¹²

As an AAPIP volunteer, I launched this study and embarked on a journey to answer two sets of questions:

News media coverage of AAPIs in stories related to economic inequality:

- How often are AAPIs included in, or the focus of, such stories, and how are they portrayed?
- When articles cite statistical data, are AAPIs included or intentionally omitted?

General portrayal of AAPIs in news media:

- How are AAPIs portrayed when featured in news articles? What are common themes?
- Do news articles perpetuate the model minority narrative or do they illustrate diverse experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders?

My hope going forward is that this study's findings will demonstrate that the lack of representation of AAPIs in news media is systemic, thereby elucidating the need for more nuanced and inclusive news coverage of AAPI people. This is critical to promoting racial solidarity by reducing racial wedging and helping policymakers, funders, nonprofits, and other community stakeholders more accurately understand and address the multidimensional needs of AAPI communities. I hope this report will catalyze dialogue about news representation and the role of philanthropy in leveraging media, journalism, and journalists to further equity and inclusion.

Kind regards,



Nancy Chan

**STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBER,
SILICON VALLEY CHAPTER
ASIAN AMERICANS/PACIFIC ISLANDERS
IN PHILANTHROPY**

[12] Gilens, Martin. "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperceptions and the American News Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 4, 1996, p. 515., doi:10.1086/297771.

STUDY QUESTIONS, DATA SOURCES, AND METHODS

This report explores two sets of questions related to AAPI news media coverage primarily in 2019:

1. News media coverage of AAPIs in stories related to economic inequality:

- How often are AAPIs included in, or the focus of, such stories, and how are they portrayed?
- When articles cite statistical data, are AAPIs included or intentionally omitted?

2. General portrayal of AAPIs in news media:

- How are AAPIs portrayed when featured in news articles and what are common themes?
- Do news articles perpetuate the model minority narrative or do they illustrate diverse experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders?

To help answer these questions, this study examined news articles from 2019 from seven print newspapers selected for their national circulation and geographic diversity:



Additionally, to answer the first set of questions, we also reviewed articles from *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* to learn how the philanthropic press compared to more general mainstream news media. However, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* simply did not have enough relevant articles to generate word clouds, so we excluded it from our sample for the second set of questions.

Because our research began in mid-2020 during the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, we mainly examined articles from 2019 for this study. This analysis also included articles from other years, especially if there were too few articles in 2019 to provide a representative sample for our study.

To address the first set of questions around AAPI portrayal in stories related to economic inequality, we relied on quantitative content analysis. Our

team screened U.S. news and opinion articles that mentioned at least one search term: “poverty”, “inequality”, “inequity”, “low-income”, “unemployment”, and “jobless.” We read each article and selected those that focused on economic inequality or a related issue, such as housing affordability or education. We identified and coded **383 articles** — 354 from the seven newspapers and 29 from *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* — that highlighted economic inequality or a related issue and mentioned one or more races (see aapip.org/what-we-do/invisible-ink for the list of articles). For the *New York Post*, *USA TODAY*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, we also reviewed articles from 2017 and 2018 to study a larger sample.

We read, coded and counted the 383 articles based on whether they mentioned any racial/ethnic groups and whether the articles reported any data, such as poverty or employment rates broken out by racial/ethnic groups. We also coded articles based on issues they cited related to economic inequality, such as housing affordability or education. If an article cited data only for some racial/ethnic groups, we researched the original data source to determine if it included statistics for AAPIs as well as other racial/ethnic groups.

Furthermore, to corroborate high-level trends in news media portrayals of racial/ethnic groups related to economic inequality, we conducted text analysis for each newspaper in our sample by calculating the frequency of articles (restricted to domestic news) from 2016 to 2020 that mentioned terms related to

For the second set of questions related to general news media portrayals of AAPIs, we conducted text analysis by visually summarizing themes related to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders through word clouds for each newspaper in our sample. We selected articles from 2019 that featured Asian American individuals, culture, and issues, and created a word cloud for each newspaper based on the highest frequency words. We conducted similar analysis and word cloud development to explore portrayals of Pacific Islanders. In addition, we screened articles from *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* to create word clouds illustrating themes from articles mentioning Black, Latinx, and Native American communities. Due to the low number of Pacific Islander-focused articles, we included articles from 2016 to 2020 to assess a larger sample size.

For more details on our study methodology, please refer to **Appendix C**.

Note: In our word cloud analysis, there was no word cloud generated for “white” or “Caucasian” since “white” or “Caucasian” is typically the “default” race. We believe that race is a social construct rather than a meaningful biological categorization. In this country, the experiences of white European males are centered as a baseline standard norm and measure. This standard is all too often assumed and absorbed into the ink of news media articles.

For a community as diverse as the AAPI community, what language does the media use?

A word cloud visualization where the word "Asian" is the largest and most prominent element in the center. Other words are arranged around it in various sizes and colors (dark blue, light blue, and grey). The words include: Hawaiian / Pacific Islander, Asian Americans, Cambodian, Hawaiian, Hmong, Asian American, Southeast Asians, American, Asians, Muslim, Asia, Japanese Americans, Asian-American, Chinese, East Asian, Filipino, Lao, Asia-Pacific Islander, Chinese American, Japanese American, Asian-Americans, American of Asian descent, and Asian / Pacific Islander.

NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF AAPIS IN STORIES RELATED TO ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

KEY TAKEAWAYS

<30%

OF ARTICLES
MENTION AAPIS

Less than a third of news articles on race and economic inequality* mention Asian Americans or Pacific Islanders.

28%

OF ARTICLES
INCLUDE DATA
ON AAPIS

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are included in the data in articles on race and economic inequality* **only slightly more than a quarter of the time.**

<4%

OF ARTICLES
FOCUS ON AAPIS

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are the **explicit focus** of articles on race and economic inequality* **less than 4 percent of the time.**

2%

OF ARTICLES
FEATURE AAPIS
DISPARITY

Only 2 percent of news media articles on race and economic inequality* feature disparities in Asian American or Pacific Islander communities.

37%

OF THE TIME AAPIS DATA
EXISTED BUT WAS
EXCLUDED

In some cases, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders were excluded from the data cited in news articles focused on race and economic inequality* because the original data sources did not include AAPI people. However, **newsrooms omitted AAPI data 37 percent of the time, even when the data were available.**

*Please note that these “articles on race and economic inequality” are the articles identified by this study, that are related to economic inequality and that mention at least one racial group.

AAPIs in News Articles Related to Economic Inequality

How Often Are AAPIs Included?

Asian American and Pacific Islander communities were absent seven times out of ten from articles related to economic inequality that referenced race. The number of AAPI mentions in articles related to economic inequality ranged from publication to publication — from a low of 16.0 percent in the *Chicago Tribune* to a high of 54.2 percent in *The New York*

Times. Meanwhile, Native Americans received the least coverage related to economic inequality (7.1 percent of articles), far below the media coverage for AAPIs, (29.9 percent), the racial group receiving the second least percentage of article mentions.

This void in news media on economic inequality in AAPI and Native American communities suggests to the public that AAPIs and Native Americans are not affected by economic inequality or that they are simply unimportant in the invisible space.

FIGURE 2:
MENTIONS IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY RACE

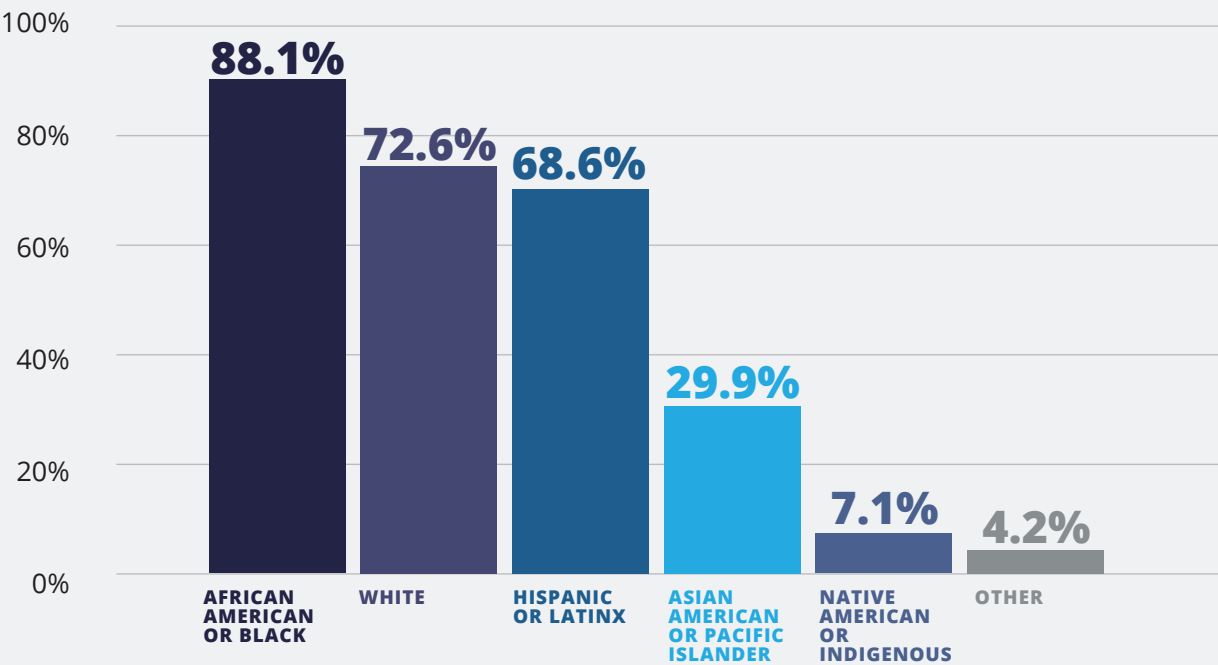
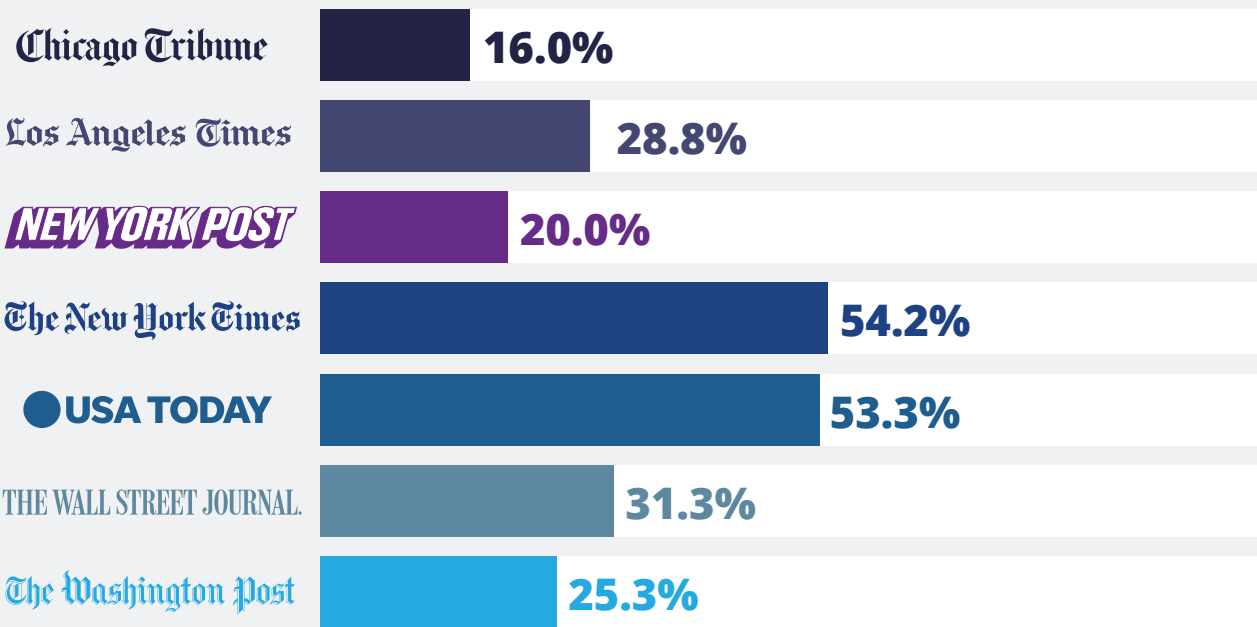


FIGURE 3:
AAPI MENTIONS IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY PUBLICATION



How Often Are AAPIs the Focus?

Asian American and Pacific Islander communities were the explicit focus of articles related to economic inequality mentioning race less than four percent of the time. This ranged from publication to

publication — from no articles in both the *New York Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*, to a high of 8.5 percent of articles from *The New York Times*. Despite experiencing alarming income disparities, Native American and Indigenous communities were mentioned in news articles even less frequently (0.8 percent).

FIGURE 4:
FOCUS OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY RACE

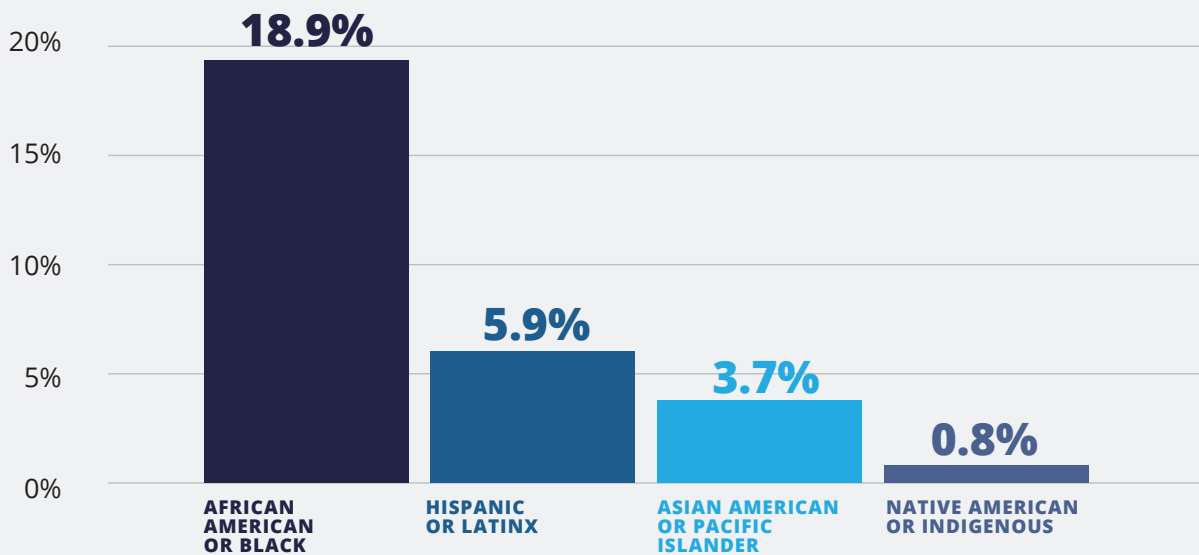
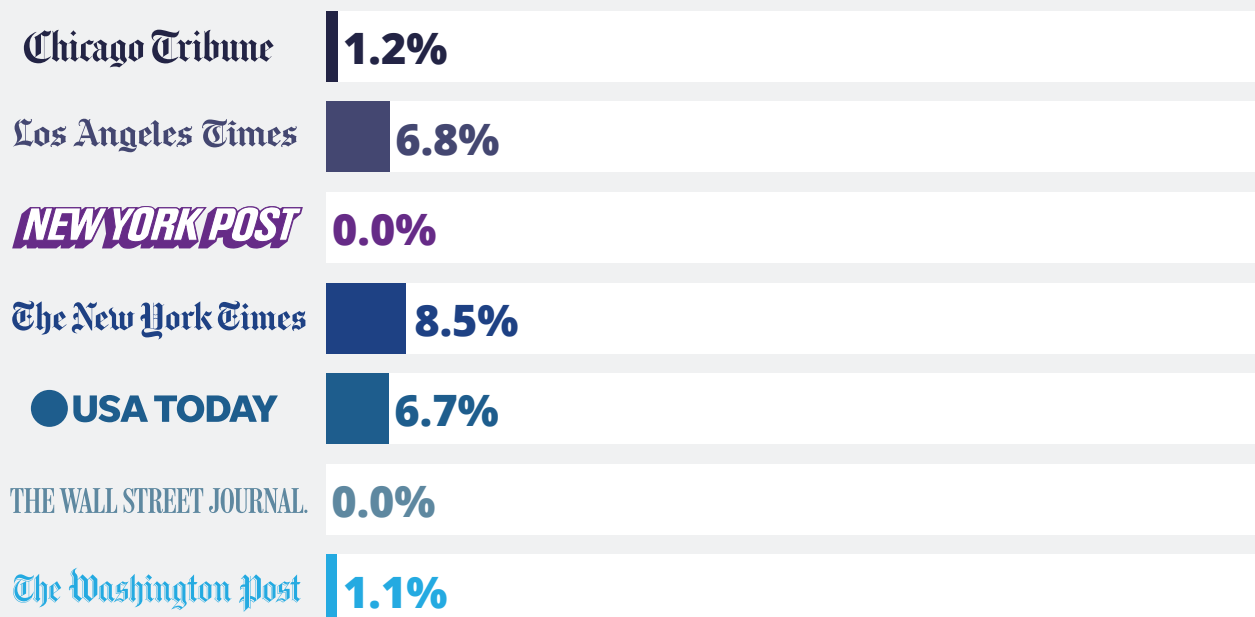


FIGURE 5:
AAPI FOCUS IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY PUBLICATION



When Do News Articles Include AAPIs in Cited Data?

Being included in the data is key. Sometimes the omission of AAPIs from articles related to economic inequality mentioning race was due to a lack of data available on AAPI communities as a result of research studies or data analysis that excluded AAPIs. In other cases, data on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders were excluded from articles for reasons unknown.

Of the 354 news media articles examined, 241 included some data reporting by race or ethnic group. **Of those articles, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders were only included in the data about a quarter of the time** (27.8 percent). Native Americans were featured in the data at a significantly lower rate than AAPIs (6.6 percent). AAPI inclusion in articles related to economic inequality ranged

from a low of 11.9 percent in the *Chicago Tribune* to a high of 57.1 percent in *USA TODAY*.

In articles that did not include data about AAPIs, a **closer examination of the source data revealed that 37 percent of the time, newsrooms omitted data about AAPI communities even when it was available in the data set of the cited research. This clearly adds to the invisibilization of AAPI communities.**

Moreover, in more than half the articles citing data, AAPI people were excluded from the original research and data source. Collectively, these omissions create distorted public narratives that are harmful and have serious consequences in policy decisions for AAPI communities across the country. These omissions in the original data source point to ongoing opportunities for philanthropy to fund research that includes disaggregated data with AAPI and all communities of color represented.

FIGURE 6:
DATA INCLUSION IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY RACE

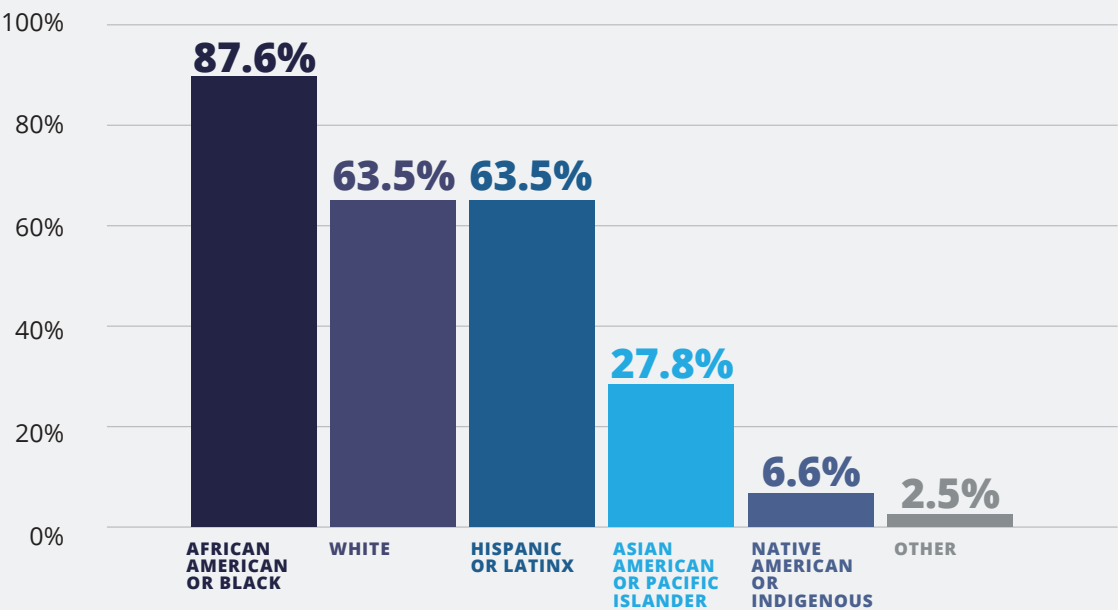


FIGURE 7:
AAPI DATA INCLUSION IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES

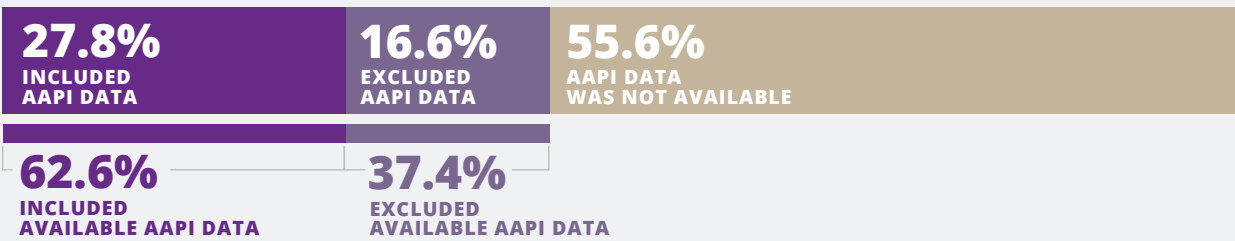
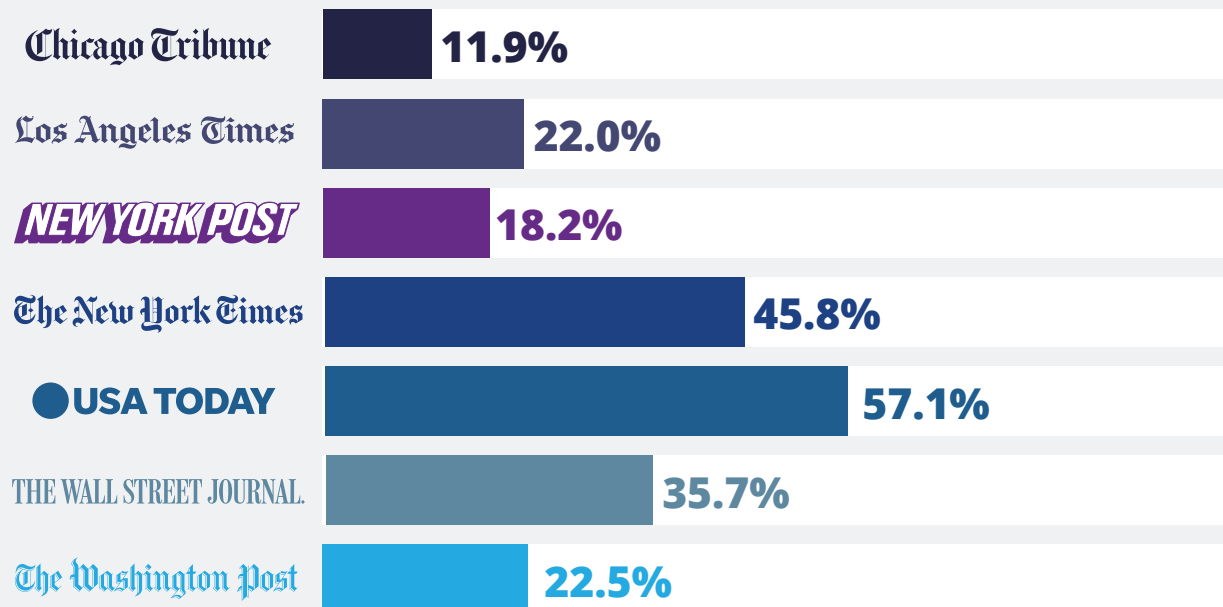


FIGURE 8:

AAPI DATA INCLUSION IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY PUBLICATION



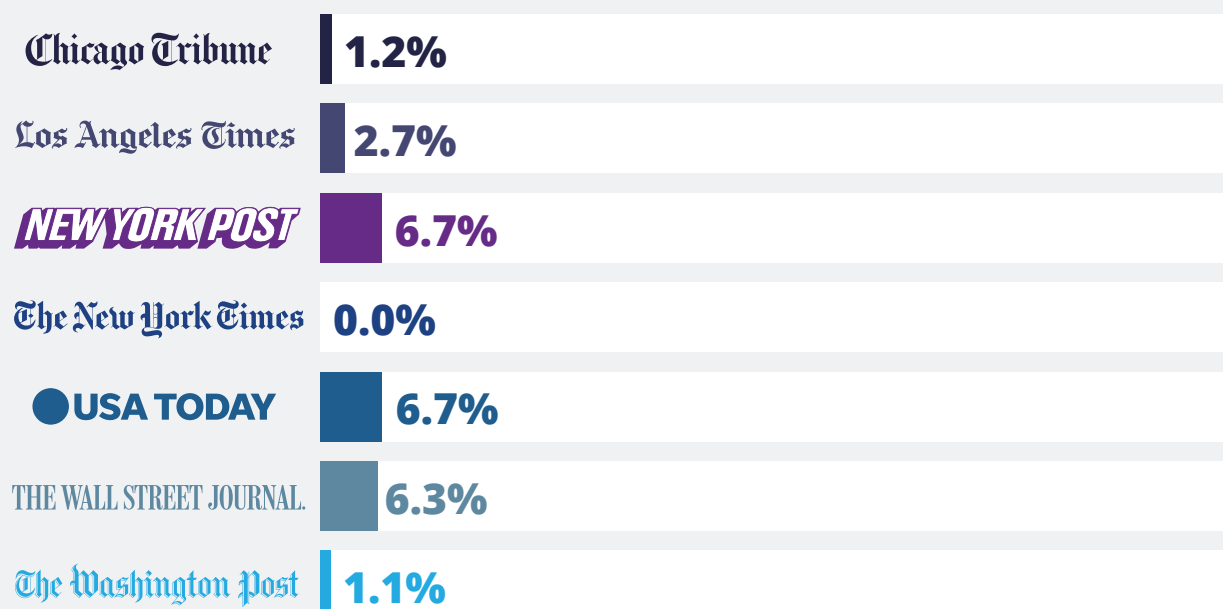
How Often are AAPI Disparities Mentioned?

Asian American and Pacific Islander communities in the United States are not a monolith. They are richly diverse communities with a host of needs that are being

unrecognized in research and reporting. News media reporting on AAPI disparities is key to debunking the model minority myth, yet **only two percent of articles referred to Asian American and Pacific Islander disparities around economic inequality.** The lack of media coverage on the critical needs of AAPI communities at the lowest income levels impedes this country's ability to solve some of the most intractable social issues of our day.

FIGURE 9:

AAPI DISPARITIES IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY PUBLICATION



NOTE: To confirm the findings in this section, we conducted secondary text analysis on newspaper articles via the ProQuest database and *The New York Times* application programming interface (API). (None of the other newspapers had APIs.)

For each newspaper included in this report, we searched all available articles for text that included any of the following terms: “poverty”, “low income”, “inequity”, “inequality”, “unemployment”, and “jobless”. These were the same terms used to identify the initial set of articles for our primary analysis.

We then narrowed this subset of articles to ones that mentioned at least one racial category.

We then calculated the ratio of the number of articles mentioning a particular racial group against this subset, as depicted in Figure 17 in Appendix A.

In general, racial terms related to Black and white communities were mentioned at significantly higher frequencies by all newspapers. Depending on the newspaper, racial terms related to AAPIs or Native Americans were mentioned at the lowest frequencies. These findings are consistent with the findings detailed above from our primary research.

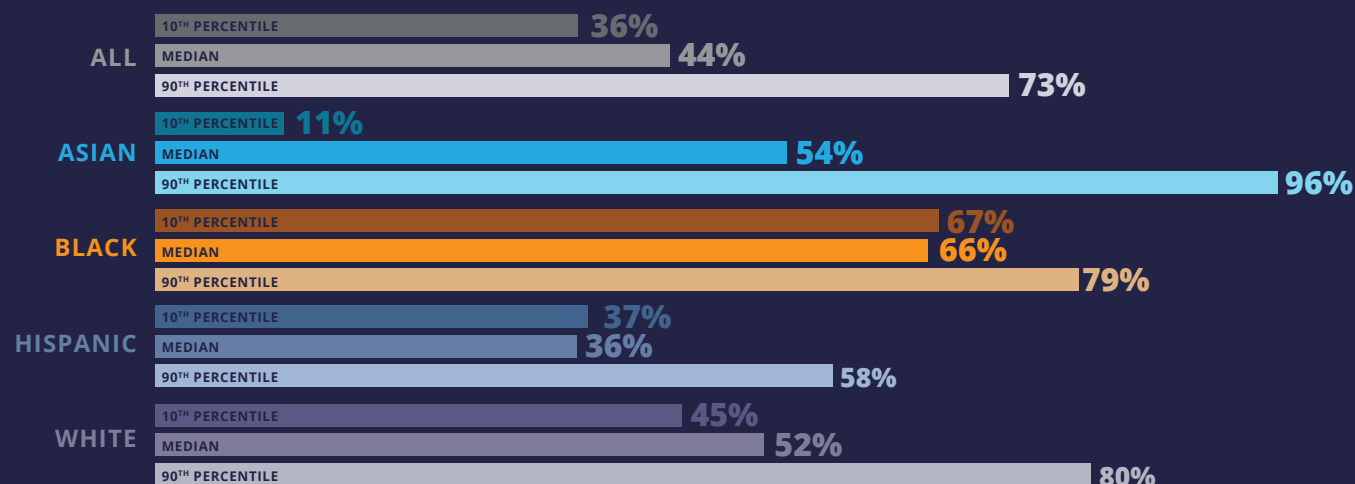
Why Explore Media Coverage of Economic Inequality in AAPI Communities?

The model minority myth would have us believe that all Asian Americans in the United States are well educated, law-abiding citizens of considerable financial means. In fact, the Asian American community faces a number of disparities and suffers the greatest income inequality gap of any racial group.

Far from a monolith, the richest Asian Americans earn 10.7 times more than the poorest Asian Americans. Whereas the richest Americans on average earn 8.7 times more than the poorest Americans.

Moreover, the bottom ten percent of Asian American wage earners have experienced an unprecedented stagnation since the 1970s. The lowest earning Asian Americans have only seen their income increase 11 percent, whereas the lowest earning Americans on average have seen their income increase 36 percent. And it is important to note that Native Americans are not even included in this chart, furthering their erasure and invisibility around this analysis.

FIGURE 10:
INCOME GROWTH AMONG RACIAL GROUPS, BY EARNING BRACKET



Conversations about the disparities facing Asian American workers and the various economic niches they fill in the United States are long overdue. The topic

is worthy of both media coverage and philanthropic intervention.

SOURCE: Pew Research Center, <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/07/12/income-inequality-in-the-u-s-is-rising-most-rapidly-among-asians/>

PHILANTHROPIC PRESS COVERAGE OF AAPI IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

To explore how and when the philanthropic press portrays Asian American and Pacific Islanders in relation to economic inequality, we examined coverage in *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

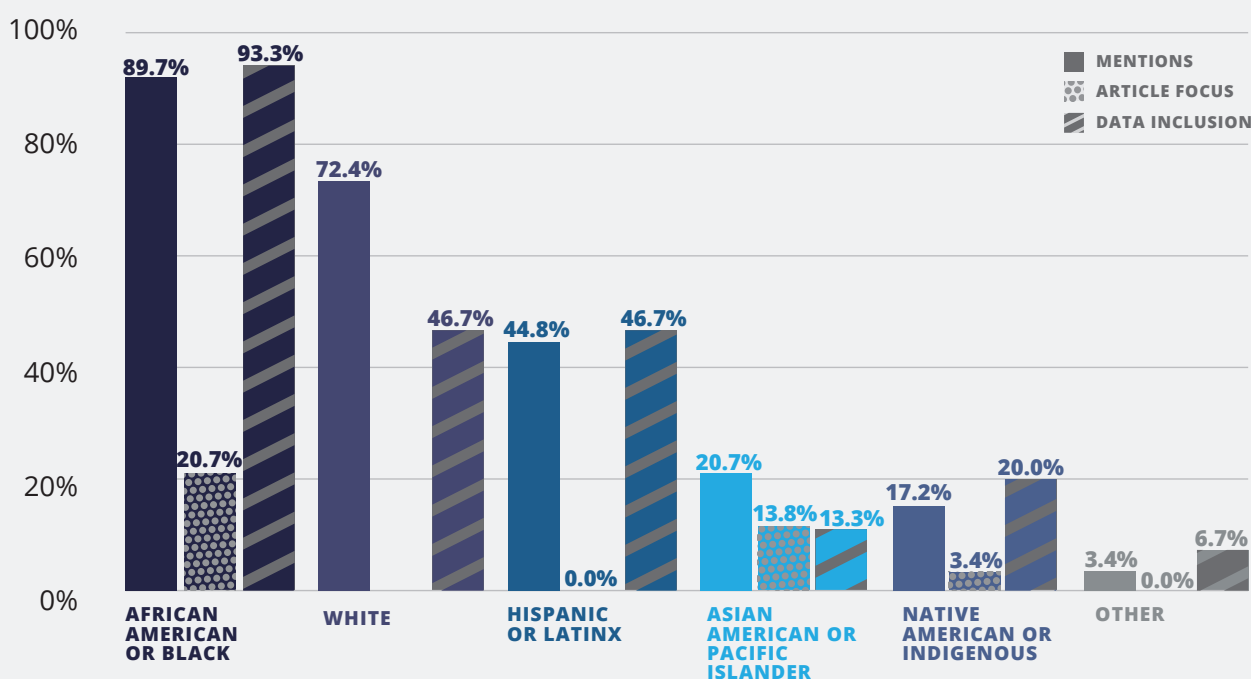
While an earlier analysis of coverage of AAPI communities in all of *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* articles found that approximately 4 percent of stories mentioned AAPI communities, this report examines articles focused on economic inequality featuring at least one race. In that context, we noted a higher rate of AAPI inclusion.¹³

During the 2019 calendar year, a total of 29 articles were identified in *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* related to economic inequality and mentioning at least one race. Of these, Asian American and Pacific Islander communities were mentioned 20.7 percent of the time (6 out of 29 articles). Native American communities were featured less frequently (7.1 percent).

Approximately 13.8 percent of the articles in *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* focused on AAPI communities and 13.3 percent featured data on AAPI communities.

Overall, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* had a higher rate of coverage of AAPI communities in relation to economic inequality compared to other publications in this report, with 17.2 percent of its articles focused on race and economic inequality including mentions about AAPI disparities. No other publication had more than 7 percent of its articles related to economic inequality and mentioning at least one race also include AAPI disparities.

FIGURE 11:
ANALYSIS OF THE CHRONICLE OF PHILANTHROPY'S ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY RACE



[13] Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, et al. *State of Philanthropy among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Findings and Recommendations to Strengthen Visibility and Impact*, AAPI Data, Sept. 2020.

ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS ON OTHER ISSUES

Through text analysis of *The New York Times* articles spanning from 2016 to 2020, we found that news article mentions of AAPIs on issues other than economic inequality had a relatively lower frequency, except for the issue of affirmative action.

We conducted high-level text analysis on U.S. Section articles from *The New York Times* spanning from 2016 to 2020 via its application programming interface (API) by using search strings related to social issues, such as poverty, unemployment, racism, affirmative action, criminal justice, hate crimes, education, and housing affordability. We recorded the frequencies of this set of articles that also mentioned a given racial group. (We chose *The New York Times* for this exercise because of its API; none of the other newspapers in our sample had APIs.)

Unlike our primary research, we did not read any of these articles, but merely captured the frequency of articles that appeared with the given search terms we entered into the API. This analysis is therefore more suggestive, and not as comprehensive or reliable as our primary research in the previous section of this report.

Figure 12 highlights the findings of our analysis. The search string for each issue we queried is listed in the legend with a corresponding color. Each bar of that color represents the percentage of articles that mention the given racial group and at least one search term, out of all articles that mention at least one search term and any racial group. Appendix C lists the search terms used for each of the

racial groups. We also created an 'expanded' search string in our analysis of AAPI mentions by listing out specific AAPI ethnic groups to see if this would change our results.

Some observations from our analysis:

- **Affirmative action** is the one social policy issue where AAPI as well as Latinx communities are featured more frequently relative to other issues (see search strings in the legend in Figure 12). This finding, at least as it relates to AAPIs, is in line with our primary research, where we found that when AAPIs appear in articles related to economic inequality, these articles tend to discuss affirmative action and education.
- Relative to other topics, economic inequality and criminal justice rank the lowest for AAPI news media representation.
- The frequency of articles mentioning hate incidents between 2016 to 2020 is similar to articles on other topics for AAPIs, excluding affirmative action. However, in light of the sharp rise of AAPI hate incidents in 2020 and 2021, a topic for future investigation is whether reporting on AAPIs and hate incidents increased during that period relative to previous years.

Problematic Media Coverage of Communities of Color

The media has the ability to advance or disrupt powerful and potentially harmful myths about communities of color. This 2019 snapshot report only scratches the surface in exploring the narratives the media perpetuates around Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, and communities of color more broadly. Much more research is needed.

Previous research has revealed startling findings. As a 2014 report from The Sentencing Project found:

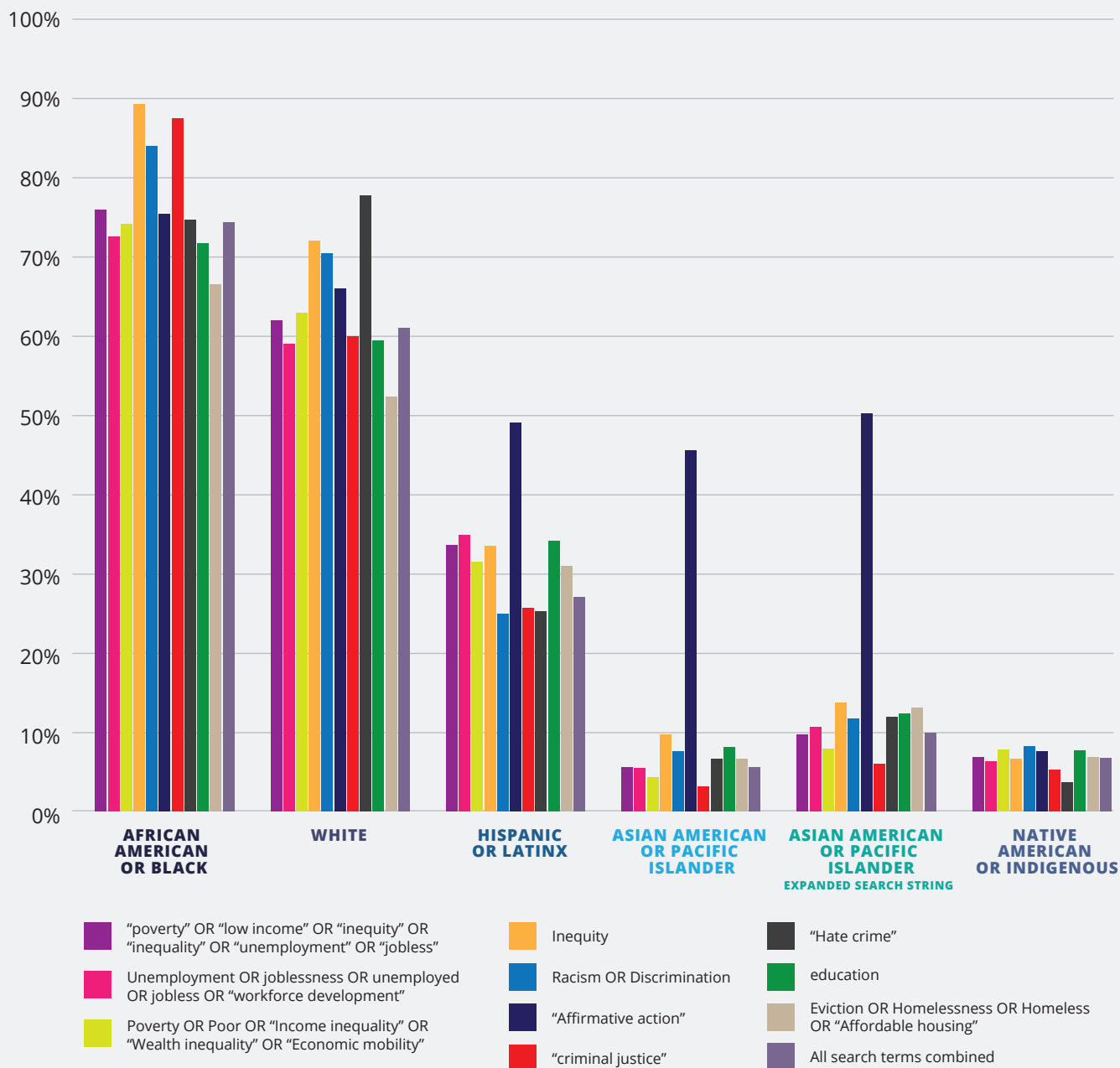
A study in Los Angeles found that 37% of the suspects portrayed on television news stories about crime

were black, although blacks made up only 21% of those arrested in the city. Another study found that whites represented 43% of homicide victims in the local news, but only 13% of homicide victims in crime reports. And while only 10% of victims in crime reports were whites who had been victimized by blacks, these crimes made up 42% of televised cases.

The frequency and context of media coverage of communities of color matters and is due for further investigation.

SOURCE: The Sentencing Project, <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Race-and-Punishment.pdf>

FIGURE 12:
PERCENTAGE OF SELECT SUBSET OF *THE NEW YORK TIMES*
ARTICLES THAT MENTION RACE



GENERAL PORTRAYAL OF AAPIS IN NEWS MEDIA

KEY TAKEAWAYS

NEWS COVERAGE OF ASIAN AMERICANS REINFORCE UNDERLYING THEMES OF THE MODEL MINORITY.

The articles reviewed have a strong East Asian emphasis, with a focus on education or affirmative action that repeat overall monolithic themes of educational achievement and success without highlighting educational differences among Asian American communities. Some coverage also reflected regional themes such as local political figures (in *The New York Times* and other geographic papers) and entertainment (in the *Los Angeles Times*), again highlighting achievement and success. Few words in these articles related to social justice, crime or economic inequality. Such coverage, much of which is driven by coverage of high-profile individuals, reinforces a distorted rather than nuanced narrative that feeds public perception of Asian American communities as a monolith of success.

THERE IS VERY LITTLE NEWS COVERAGE FOCUSED ON PACIFIC ISLANDERS.

There were so few articles focused on Pacific Islanders in 2019 that our search had to include five years of articles rather than one in order to have a large enough sample size. In the set of articles that we identified, the most prominent themes were the Disney movie *Moana* and Hawaii. The coverage did not center on the lived experiences of real Pacific Islander people (rather than fictional animated characters) and did little to educate the public about Pacific Islanders.

How Are AAPIs Portrayed in News Articles?

To widen the lens and understand overall news portrayal of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, this section of the report seeks to understand how AAPIs are portrayed when they are featured in articles and the common themes around these articles. In addition, our analysis focused on whether news articles perpetuated the model minority narrative or whether they illustrated the diverse experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Our inquiry included a broader range of domestic news articles to encompass topics beyond economic

inequality. Word clouds were used as a visual tool to summarize high-level themes related to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the sampled newspapers, with the size of a displayed word correlating with the frequency of the word in the articles. We selected a subset of articles that focused on Asian American individuals, cultures, and issues, and created separate word clouds for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders based on the highest frequency and nontrivial words. For *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* articles, we also created word clouds for Black, Latinx, and Native American communities. (See Appendix C for more details on methodology.)

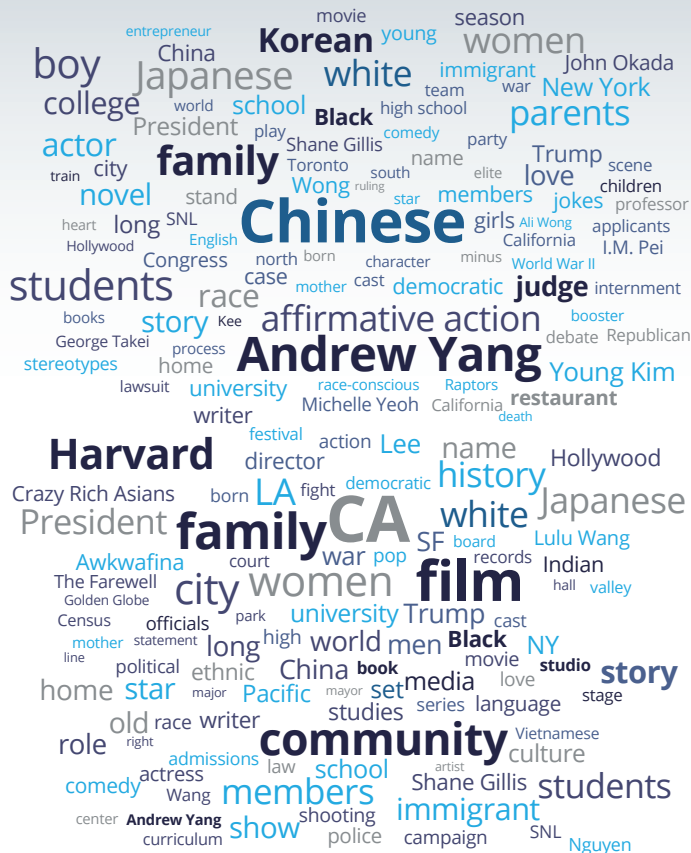
Observations and Themes

In Figure 13, a composite word cloud of all articles featuring Asian Americans from the seven newspapers and a similar composite Pacific Islander word cloud highlight the themes from these articles. The unit of analysis was the individual newspaper.

All word clouds generated from our analysis can be found in Appendix B.

From the Asian American 2019 word clouds (Figure 18) and Pacific Islander 2016-2020 word clouds (Figure 19) in Appendix B, we made the following observations on high-level themes.

ASIAN AMERICAN WORD CLOUD, 2019



Asian American Word Clouds, 2019

Many articles on Asian Americans had a strong East Asian-centric focus with less representation of South Asian and Southeast Asian populations, and even fewer mentions of ethnic-specific populations. We also observed a regional focus where articles mentioning Asian Americans in the *Los Angeles Times* were often focused on the entertainment industry while mentions in *The New York Times* and other geographic newspapers were often focused on education, affirmative action, and to some degree, political figures (including Andrew Yang and to some extent Kamala Harris, underscoring the historical significance of having Asian American candidates on the presidential primary ballot).

The Asian American word cloud research suggests that the news media continues to perpetuate the model minority narrative through its focus on education and affirmative action (e.g. the Harvard University affirmative action case¹⁴) and entertainment (e.g.,

PACIFIC ISLANDER WORD CLOUD, 2016-2020



Pacific Islander Word Clouds, 2016-2020

The Pacific Islander word clouds illustrate the general invisibility of this community in the media and the lack of nuanced representation. This could be due to the fact that Pacific Islanders represented 0.2 percent of the U.S. population in 2019 while Asian Americans represented 5.6 percent of the population. Due to the lack of articles about Pacific Islanders, this study compiled articles over five years (2016-2020)

[14] To learn more details about the Harvard admissions lawsuit, see the Harvard University webpage at admissionscase.harvard.edu.

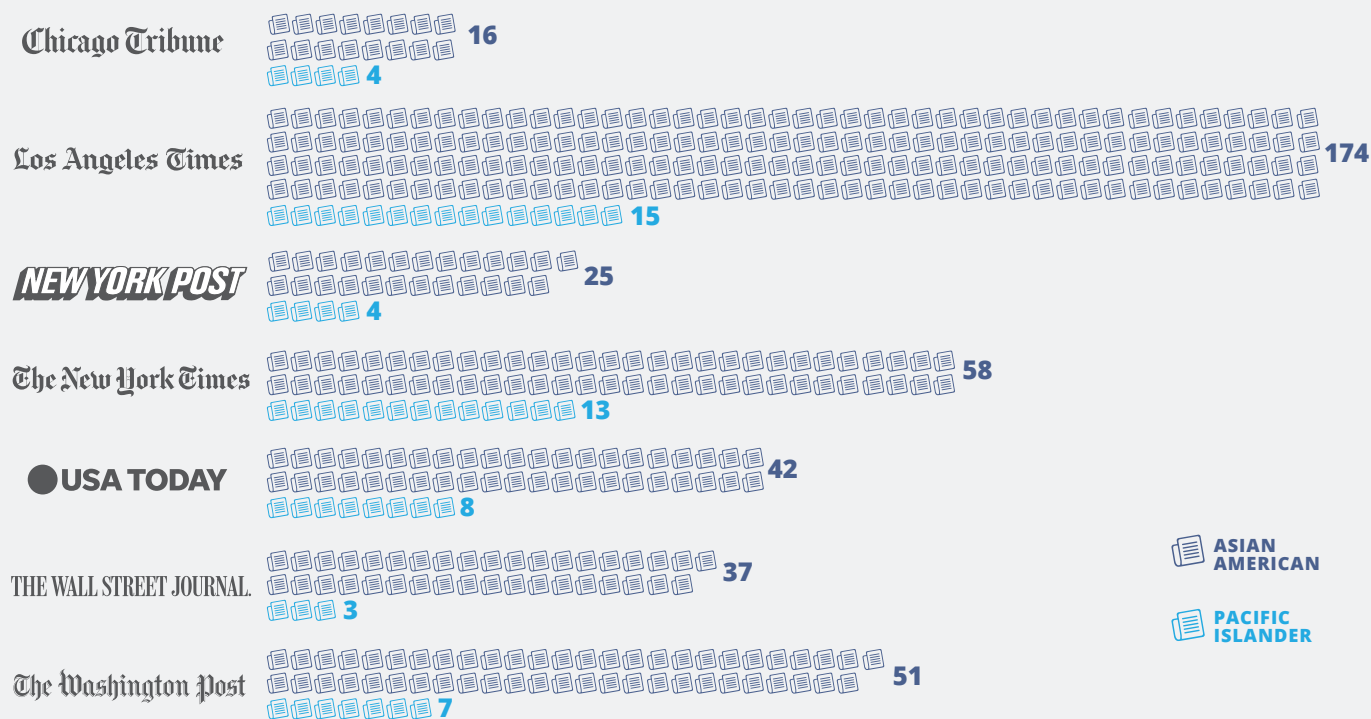
to generate meaningful word clouds about Pacific Islander themes, in comparison to one year's worth of articles for the Asian American word clouds.

The most prominent themes in articles about Pacific Islanders were related to the Disney movie *Moana*, Hawaii, and football (due to Samoan players in the NFL); none of these themes provide the public with the lived experiences of Pacific Islander communities.

AAPI News Coverage Statistics

Figure 14 depicts the total number of articles that are included in the Asian American and Pacific Islander word clouds. The *Los Angeles Times* had the most articles for both groups, followed by *The New York Times*.

FIGURE 14:
NUMBER OF ARTICLES FOCUSED ON ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER COMMUNITIES, BY PUBLICATION



For the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, we also created word clouds for Black, Latinx, and Native American communities (see Figures 21 and 22 in Appendix B). Due to our limited capacity, we constrained this exercise to two newspapers: We selected *The New York Times* in part because its database/API was most conducive to identifying and screening articles, and the *Los Angeles Times* for its geographic diversity relative to the East Coast.

This report is not prescriptive about the amount and type of news coverage that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders should receive since there are many factors that go into the development and publication of news articles, and this research does not include an in-depth

analysis of the individual articles included in the word cloud analysis. However, it is striking to note how little news coverage there was of AAPI communities overall, including in geographic regions that have more substantial AAPI populations.

It is imperative for the news media to produce accurately nuanced stories about Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as well as Black, Latinx, and Native American people in its coverage on issues of economic inequality. The lack of nuance about AAPIs is highlighted in the **extremely limited coverage of Pacific Islanders**, with fewer than 20 articles in each newspaper and with none of the articles reflecting the authentic lived experiences of Pacific Islanders.

Asian American Word Clouds: Detailed Observations and Themes

Beyond the expected regional news coverage variations, we note several observations from the 2019 Asian American word clouds (see Figure 18 in Appendix B):

- Across all newspapers, there is a strong focus on **East Asian American populations** (Chinese, Korean, and Japanese), which tends to eclipse South and Southeast Asian Americans.
- **Education** is a strong theme across all the newspapers, except for the Los Angeles Times:
 - *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal* all feature the **Harvard affirmative action case**, possibly due to the East Coast location of the elite university or indicative of these newspapers having an elitist focus.
 - *New York Post* articles include a strong emphasis on New York City education, testing, and admissions, with Richard Carranza, the former New York City Schools Chancellor, featuring prominently.
- *Los Angeles Times*' Asian American mentions are centered around **film and Hollywood**, which is perhaps unsurprising given the region's entertainment industry. The Harvard affirmative action case does not appear, and politics are not prominent (e.g., visually represented by Andrew Yang in smaller sized font).
- *The Chicago Tribune* word cloud is smaller than the others because there were fewer relevant articles about Asian Americans to include in the cloud generation. One distinction in the Asian American word cloud is an emphasis on a series of local stories on marijuana protesters, many of whom were **Chinese Americans trying to stop cannabis businesses** in the suburbs of the city.
- *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times* word clouds include some emphasis on **Asian American politicians and political candidates**. **Andrew Yang** appears most prominently in *The New York Times* word cloud, followed by *The Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*. **Kamala Harris** does not appear in *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* Asian American

word clouds, indicating that those newspapers did not describe her as South Asian American / Indian American in 2019, although her name does appear in the African American word clouds for those two newspapers. *The Washington Post* and *USA TODAY* Asian American word clouds do include Kamala Harris.

We also created Asian American word clouds for *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* articles from 2018 so we could compare them to the 2019 word clouds and observe changes over time (see Figure 20 in Appendix B). This set of four Asian American word clouds affirm the *Los Angeles Times*' strong focus on entertainment and media and *The New York Times*' focus on education.

We found the following:

2018

- Demonstrating the stark geographic interests of the two newspapers, the *Los Angeles Times* 2018 word cloud features the movie **Crazy Rich Asians** prominently, whereas *The New York Times*' focus is on the **Harvard affirmative action case**. The *Los Angeles Times* cloud features Harvard much less prominently and similarly, *The New York Times* features *Crazy Rich Asians* with less prominence.

2019

- Both word clouds prominently feature the term **"Chinese"**.
- **Andrew Yang** is prominent in *The New York Times* cloud but much less in the *Los Angeles Times* cloud.
- The Harvard affirmative action case is not as prominent as in 2018.
- While *Crazy Rich Asians* is not as prominent in the *Los Angeles Times* 2019 cloud, there are many terms related to **entertainment**.
- *Saturday Night Live*'s firing of Shane Gillis on account of his **racist slurs about Asians** is noted in both word clouds.

We were unable to conduct a similar comparative exercise for Pacific Islander word clouds due to the low number of available articles for an individual year.

Pacific Islander Word Clouds: Detailed Observations and Themes

Due to the lack of relevant articles in 2019, this study gathered articles from a five-year period (2016 to 2020) to develop the Pacific Islander themed word clouds (see Figure 19 in Appendix B). **One overarching observation is that the word cloud results are quite Samoan- and Hawaiian-centric in nature, and hence mainly refer to Polynesians, and not Melanesians and Micronesians. Beyond the expected regional news coverage variations, other notable observations include:**

- The **Disney animated film *Moana*** is a strong theme throughout most of the word clouds (terms include: “Moana”, “Disney”, “animated”, “animation”, “movie”, “film”, “theater”, “characters”, “Ron Clements”, “John Musker”, “Dwayne ‘The Rock’ Johnson”, “WWE”, “Lin-Manuel Miranda”, “Hamilton”, “Maui”, “Auli’i Cravalho”, and “demigod”).
- **Hawaii** is also a strong theme, possibly because of its popularity as a tourist destination, while also referring to an ethnic group.
- **“Samoans”** is a key word that emerged, particularly in *The Wall Street Journal* coverage during this time period. The articles referencing Samoans covered a wide range of topics, from tax code changes and the measles outbreak in Samoa in 2019 to the prevalence of Samoan players in football.
- **Football** is a strong theme tagged to Pacific Islanders, particularly in *The Wall Street Journal* but also featured in *The Washington Post* and *USA TODAY*. The articles focused on the overrepresentation of Polynesians in college and professional football.
- **Tony Finau** is featured in *The Washington Post*’s reporting as a golf player of Samoan descent who played in the 2018 PGA Masters.
- **Tulsi Gabbard**, a Pacific Islander congresswoman and presidential candidate, is prominent in *The Wall Street Journal* word cloud due to an op-ed she authored during the 2019 presidential primary season. Interestingly, as a presidential candidate in the primaries, Gabbard did not emerge in the word clouds for *The Washington Post* or *USA TODAY*.
- **Polynesian subjects** are featured uniquely in *The Washington Post* word cloud across wide ranging topics. For example, *The Washington Post* covered topics on the movie *Moana*, Polynesian tourism, football trends, and layoffs in Disney’s Polynesian Village Resort.

Word Clouds by Racial/Ethnic Minority Group, 2019: Los Angeles Times and The New York Times

For the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, we created word clouds for each major racial/ethnic minority group and then compared them to the Asian American and Pacific Islander word clouds. These word clouds can be found in Figures 21 and 22 in Appendix

B. The purpose of this was to note how themes in reporting might be similar or different across racial groups. Below are some of our observations of the word clouds for each newspaper.

Los Angeles Times

The following chart (Figure 15) shows *Los Angeles Times* article themes for the racial/ethnic minority groups mentioned.

FIGURE 15:
CHART OF THEMES IN LOS ANGELES TIMES REPORTING, BY RACE

THEMES	ASIAN AMERICAN	PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN	HISPANIC OR LATINX	NATIVE AMERICAN
POLITICS			X		
CRIMINAL JUSTICE			X	X	
IMMIGRATION	X			X	
ENTERTAINMENT	X	X	X		
EDUCATION					
ETHNIC SUB-GROUPS	X	X			X

- **Politics:** Overall, the Black or African American word cloud has more terms related to politics, unlike the other clouds. For example, Kamala Harris appears in the Black or African American word cloud, but not the Asian American one.
- **Criminal Justice:** Justice-related terms appear more prominently in the Black or African American and Hispanic or Latinx word clouds (e.g., “police”, “prosecutors”, “justice”, “crime”, “shooting”, etc.).
- **Immigration:** The Hispanic or Latinx word cloud has a strong immigration emphasis, with terms such as “immigrants”, “immigration”, “border”, “El Paso”, “citizenship”, and “ICE”. The Asian American word cloud does mention the word “immigrant” prominently, but does not include any other related terms.
- **Entertainment:** The Asian American word cloud seems largely focused on entertainment (including terms such as “Crazy Rich Asians”, “The Farewell”, “Golden Globe”, and “Awkwafina”). The Black or African American word cloud also has a number of terms related to entertainment. The Pacific Islander word cloud’s entertainment-related terms largely focus on the Disney movie *Moana*.
- **Education:** None of the word clouds have a strong emphasis on education.
- **Native American:** The Native American word cloud does not contain many of the themes listed above, and the news stories that bubbled up included: Elizabeth Warren claiming she was part Native American; the mural depicting Native Americans at George Washington High School in

San Francisco; and the racial slurs by students from Covington Catholic High School towards a Native American elder at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.

- **Ethnic sub-groups:** The Asian American and Pacific Islander word clouds mention several

ethnic subgroups from those populations, and the Native American word cloud mentions a few different tribes. Interestingly, apart from the term “Mexican”, the Hispanic or Latinx word cloud does not mention any other Hispanic or Latinx subgroups.

The New York Times

The following chart (Figure 16) shows *The New York Times* article themes for the racial/ethnic minority groups mentioned.

FIGURE 16:
CHART OF THEMES IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* REPORTING, BY RACE

THEMES	ASIAN AMERICAN	PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN	HISPANIC OR LATINX	NATIVE AMERICAN
POLITICS			X		
CRIMINAL JUSTICE			X	X	
IMMIGRATION	X			X	
ENTERTAINMENT					
EDUCATION	X				
ETHNIC SUB-GROUPS	X	X			X

Detailed observations include:

- **Education:** Education features prominently in the Asian American word cloud only.
- **Entertainment:** There is much less emphasis related to entertainment in *The New York Times* word clouds as compared to the *Los Angeles Times*.
- **Justice, immigration, ethnic groups, Native American:** We observed similar findings in *The New York Times* word clouds as for the *Los Angeles Times* word clouds.

NOTE: There is no word cloud for “white” or “Caucasian” as the typical “default” race in this country. Race is a social construct rather than a meaningful biological categorization which centers white European males as a baseline standard norm and measure. Unspoken but pervasive themes or standards of “whiteness” are often assumed and absorbed into the ink, rather than explicitly named.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

Conclusion

As a pre-pandemic snapshot view from seven print news outlets, the first part of this report focuses its inquiry on AAPI news media coverage in stories related to economic inequality and the second part focuses on the overall portrayal of AAPI communities. While it comes as no surprise that there is little coverage of AAPI people overall and particularly of Pacific Islanders, it is disappointing that coverage in geographic regions where AAPIs represent a larger portion of the population is also miniscule. As noted in the second part of our report, coverage is typically flattened largely to East Asians, overshadowing Southeast and South Asian American communities.

It is disconcerting how consistently AAPI people are under-represented in coverage around economic inequality. Juxtaposed against the growing body of disaggregated data that reveals tremendous disparities within Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, the news media's sparse overall coverage coupled with its failure to highlight AAPI disparities in economic inequality reporting reinforces the model minority narrative.

The Asian American word clouds have a strong focus on education (with an emphasis on the Harvard University affirmative action case), and on high-profile Asian Americans, including Andrew Yang. Unlike the word clouds for the other racial groups, both the Asian American and Pacific Islander word clouds have very few words related to economic inequality and social justice issues. While news coverage did not appear to support a model minority narrative for Pacific Islanders, the most prominent themes were the Disney movie *Moana* and Hawaii, and did not center the lived experiences of real Pacific Islander people (rather than fictional animated characters) and did little to educate the public about Pacific Islanders.

AAPI invisibility in the media is underscored in particular by the finding that 37 percent of the time, newspapers omitted AAPI data points in their reporting, even though the data existed. Regardless of the rationale for doing so, the omissions continue

to render AAPI communities invisible, leaving unchallenged the pervasive but false myth of the model minority. The absence of news coverage in itself can be a telling story.

Furthermore, when covering AAPI communities, the term "Asian" rather than "Asian American" was most widely used. This subtle distinction has implications and consequences that suggests an unspoken narrative of Asians as foreign or somehow not fully American. This type of subtle narrative, while seemingly harmless and unintentional on the part of the news media, is often picked up to fuel the renewed cycle of racialized violence that was unleashed in 2020 through the pandemic. While the news media in this limited sampling clearly does not hold responsibility for propagating anti-Asian rhetoric, it is an important reminder that words matter and even when the news media itself has been under attack, the power of media must not be underestimated.

With this snapshot limited in time to pre-pandemic 2019 and focused on a small sample of print newspapers, there are many more directions that future research can take, including an inquiry on philanthropy and journalism. Given the power of the media to shape the perceptions and decisions of grantmakers, policy makers, and other decision makers, it is critical for journalists to accurately and robustly include AAPI people in the course of covering the full spectrum of issues, including economic inequality. The under-representation of AAPI communities and limited dimensions of that representation undermines the necessary work to dismantle structural racism.

The good news is that all of this points to a key opportunity to flip the script. **Funders have a prime opportunity to invest in, leverage, and reform journalism as a core strategy to advancing racial equity, inclusive of AAPIs and Native Americans.**

Funders are positioned to support better journalism by addressing:

- The greater inclusion of AAPI journalists in newsrooms, especially in management and executive positions.
- More AAPI-owned and led news organizations.
- “Media deserts” that affect people of color, immigrant, and non-English speaking communities.
- Capacity building of ethnic news media operations to access technological upgrades.
- The ability of public polling companies, including those run by news organizations, to include polls in multiple languages.

- The capacity of news organizations to develop trusting relationships with AAPI communities.
- The need for educational programs and resources to provide journalists with a more robust and nuanced understanding of AAPI communities.

In a time of greater national reckoning around race, funders have the opportunity to help “reset” an approach to journalism that supports a multi-racial society and ends the pitting of one racial group against another. There are many ways to fund these kinds of changes, as outlined in the following section.

Recommendations

This report opens up many opportunities for more research and dialogue about news coverage and the role of philanthropy to further goals of equity and inclusion around journalism. Here are some recommendations to start:

For **PHILANTHROPY**:

- 1 Support journalism and media research projects that accurately portray the lived experience and diversity of AAPI communities.** Such efforts should be informed by AAPI people and/or developed with AAPI communities.
- 2 Fund best practice AAPI data collection efforts that provide disaggregated nuance by ethnicity and gender,** lifting up growing economic and other disparities among AAPI communities. Where applicable support polls in multiple languages.
- 3 Hold media and journalism grantees and projects you fund to standards of diversity, equity, and inclusion.**
- 4 Fund fellowships and staff positions in newsrooms for Asian American journalists and Pacific Islander journalists.** They not only bring an AAPI lens to general news coverage, but also lived expertise and nuance when covering AAPI communities.
- 5 Fund AAPI-led media organizations that offer authentic reach and insight into the multiplicity of AAPI communities.** This may include reach into communities through languages other than English.
- 6 Circulate press releases of foundation announcements to AAPI and all people of color media organizations.** Be aware of media deserts and provide exclusive stories and sponsorship dollars where applicable.
- 7 Fund racial and gender equity awareness and bias training for journalists inclusive of AAPI and Native American perspectives.** Emphasize the need to fully include all racial groups in reporting.
- 8 Connect journalists with AAPI community members and nonprofits for authentic coverage.**

For **NEWSROOMS**:

- 1 Increase accurately nuanced coverage of AAPI and all communities of color while avoiding harmful stereotypes.** Look closely at the size and composition of AAPI and all communities of color in regional coverage, and increase reporting accordingly. Understand the nuances of AAPI communities and data, and how to report on existing data. Inquire about the lack of AAPI and Native American data or issues with AAPI data disaggregation. Utilize data resources such as **AAPI Data** and **Pew Research Center**.
- 2 Include all racial groups when reporting data.** Notice whether AAPI and Native American communities are missing from the data sources, including data by gender and gender identity where applicable. Explore reasons why data is missing. Revise newsroom policies around why and when data may be omitted in reporting. Avoid perpetuating the invisibility of AAPI and Native American communities.
- 3 Invest in the professional development and promotion of AAPI and all journalists of color, including gender and gender identity perspectives.**
- 4 Commit to a culture of ongoing learning for all newsroom staff that includes training on topics such as implicit bias and systemic racism.**
- 5 Learn about and build bridges with local AAPI communities.** Establish community feedback mechanisms or community advisory groups that continuously inform newsroom reporting on communities of color.

For **THOSE WHO WANT TO BUILD ON THIS RESEARCH**:

- 1 Further analyze the content and context of articles that mention or feature AAPI communities specifically and communities of color more broadly.** Conduct qualitative analysis of articles to examine context, narrative, depth of piece, conclusions drawn, and other important markers. Analyze how often AAPI people and people of color are portrayed visually to highlight different social policy issues.
- 2 Broaden this research to include other newspapers, including other philanthropic publications and other forms of news media.**
- 3 Increase the geographic diversity in analyzing AAPI coverage and how that correlates with the proportion and diversity of AAPIs in the news organization's region.**
- 4 Widen this research to include years other than 2019 to explore trends over time.**
- 5 Survey journalists of color on their expertise, experiences, and ability to provide nuanced coverage of diverse communities.**
- 6 Use data generated from this research and this methodology to explore news media coverage of Native Americans and all communities of color.**

APPENDIX A: SECONDARY TEXT ANALYSIS

To confirm the report findings from the section, “News Media Coverage of AAPIs in Stories Related to Economic Inequality,” we conducted secondary text analysis on newspaper articles via the ProQuest database and *The New York Times* application programming interface (API). (None of the other newspapers had APIs.)

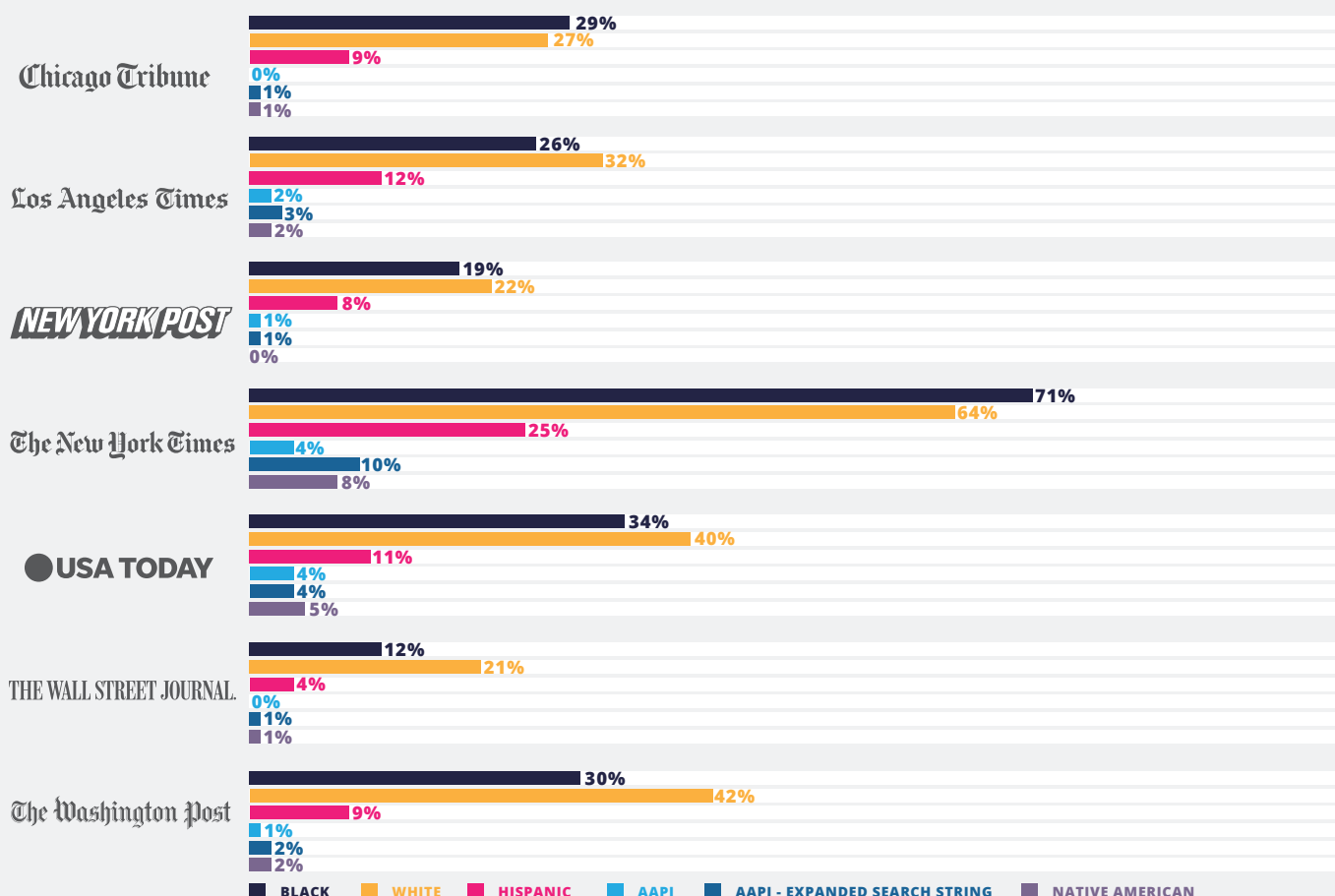
For each newspaper included in this report, we searched all available domestic news articles for a subset that included any of the following terms: “poverty”, “low income”, “inequity”, “inequality”, “unemployment”, and “jobless”. These are the same terms used to identify the initial set of articles for our primary analysis.

We then narrowed this subset to articles that mentioned at least one racial category.

We then calculated the ratio of the number of articles mentioning a particular racial group against this subset, as depicted below. (See detailed methodology in Appendix C.)

In general, racial terms related to Black and white communities are mentioned at significantly higher frequencies by all newspapers. Depending on the newspaper, racial terms related to AAPIs or Native Americans are mentioned at the lowest frequencies. These findings are consistent with our findings from the section, “News Media Coverage of AAPIs in Stories Related to Economic Inequality.”

FIGURE 17:
RACIAL MENTIONS IN ECONOMIC INEQUALITY ARTICLES, BY PUBLICATION

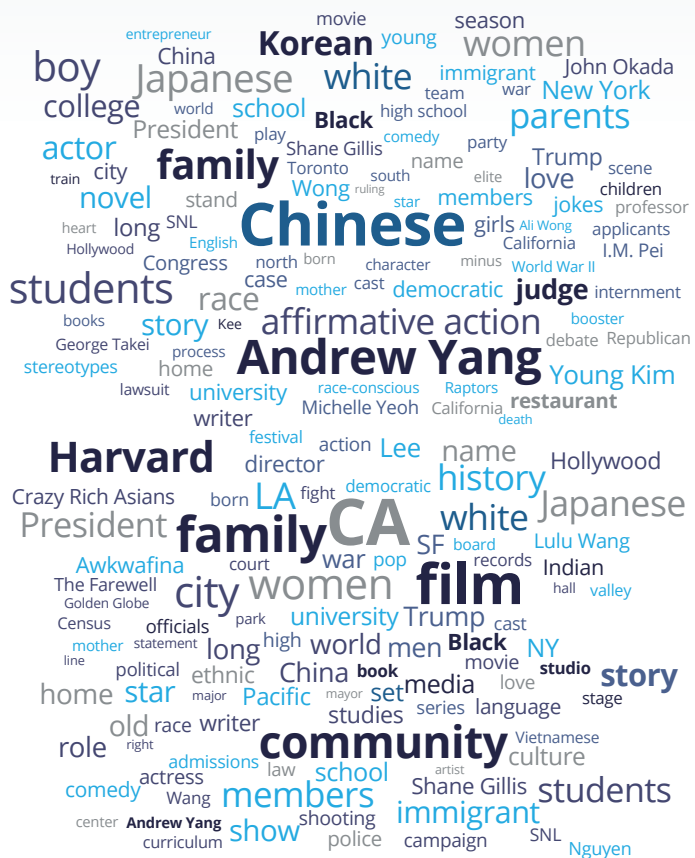


The general timeframe for these articles is 2016-2020, based on article availability on ProQuest for each newspaper: *Chicago Tribune*: 2/23/2017-12/31/2020; *Los Angeles Times*: 2/21/2017-12/31/2020; *New York Post*: 1/1/2016-12/29/2019 (citations/abstracts only); *USA TODAY*: 1/1/2016-12/31/2020; *The Wall Street Journal*: 1/1/2016-12/31/2020; *The Washington Post*: 5/21/2016-12/31/2020. We used the NYT API for *The New York Times* articles, from 1/1/2016 to 12/31/2020.

APPENDIX B: WORD CLOUDS

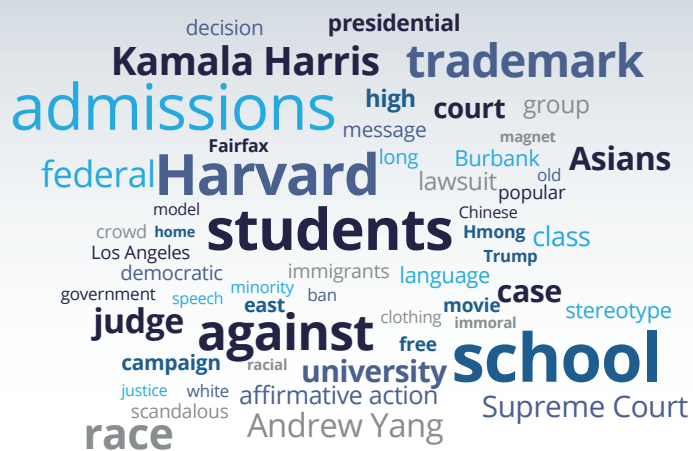
FIGURE 13:

ASIAN AMERICAN WORD CLOUD, 2019



PACIFIC ISLANDER WORD CLOUD, 2016-2020





APPENDIX C: METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

The research methodology described below is intended to address the following research questions:

News media coverage of AAPIs in stories related to economic inequality :

- How often are AAPIs included in, or the focus of, such stories, and how are they portrayed?
- When articles cite statistical data, are AAPIs included or intentionally omitted?

General portrayal of AAPIs in news media:

- How are AAPIs portrayed when featured in news articles? What are common themes?
- Do news articles perpetuate the model minority narrative or do they illustrate diverse experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders?

Study Sample

We restricted this study to print news media (a possible future study could analyze broadcast media). In total, we screened articles from seven print newspapers and *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*. We selected the top six newspapers by national circulation, which were: *USA TODAY*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. We also included the *Chicago Tribune* in our study, which has the 8th highest circulation nationally, for more geographic diversity in our sample since most of the other newspapers were East Coast-based. Finally, because of our interest in philanthropy, we included one of the leading publications in the sector, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

Since we began the research in mid-2020, we chose 2019 as our base year. (Also, 2020 news media was so clearly skewed by COVID-19 that we felt it wouldn't be a representative year.) In some cases, we may have included articles from other years (e.g., 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020), either if there were too few relevant articles in 2019 for our study or if it required a low level of effort to include additional years.

Data

Our data are available here:

INQUIRY 1

The data are located at <https://bit.ly/3xn43v6> and list the articles we included in our sample, along with the codes we assigned them. The articles are listed in Appendix D.

INQUIRY 2

The data are located at <https://bit.ly/2S0ZGWw> and include the word frequencies used to generate each of the word clouds.

Approach to Addressing Our Key Research Questions

INQUIRY 1

News Media Coverage of AAPIs in Stories Related to Economic Inequality

To address the first set of questions around AAPI portrayal in stories related to economic inequality, our team screened U.S. news and opinion articles that mentioned at least one of these search terms: “poverty”, “inequality”, “inequity”, “low-income”, “unemployment”, and “jobless”. We read each article and selected the ones that actually focused on economic inequality or a related issue, such as housing affordability, workforce development, education, and health. We identified a total of **383 articles** — 354 from the aforementioned newspapers and 29 from *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* — that highlighted economic inequality or a related social issue and mentioned one or more races (see Appendix D for the list of articles). For the *New York Post*, *USA TODAY*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, articles from 2017 and 2018 were also reviewed to provide a larger representative sample.

For this subset of articles focused on economic inequality or a related issue, we then coded and counted the articles based on whether they mentioned any racial/ethnic groups and whether the articles reported any data, such as economic inequality or employment rates, broken out by racial/ethnic groups. We also coded these articles based on issues they cited related to economic inequality mentioned in the article, such as unemployment, housing affordability, and education. If an article cited data for racial/ethnic groups, we then conducted further research to determine if the original data source included statistics for AAPIs as well as other racial/ethnic groups.

To further validate our work, we conducted high-level text analysis by searching for the number of articles for each newspaper in our sample between 2015 and 2020 that at least mentioned economic inequality or a social policy issue, and the frequency with which they mention different racial/ethnic groups.

PHASE 1

How often are AAPIs included in, or the focus of, such stories, and how are they portrayed?

For the year 2019*, we searched for articles focused on economic inequality, unemployment, and other social policy issues by using the following search terms:

- poverty
- inequality
- inequity
- low-income
- unemployment
- jobless

*Please note that due to the small number of relevant articles for *USA TODAY*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Post*, we also included 2017 and 2018 articles.

We then excluded all articles that: (1) did NOT mention any racial/ethnic groups or individuals; and (2) did not have economic inequality or a related social policy issue as its core focus.

For inter-rater reliability, we had two individuals read and then manually code each remaining article based on the following characteristics:

Whether the following racial/ethnic groups were explicitly mentioned in the text of the article:

- White
- Black / African American
- Hispanic / Latinx
- Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI)
- Native American / American Indian
- Other (fill in)

Whether any data (e.g., economic inequality rate, unemployment rate, etc.) for any of the following racial/ethnic groups were mentioned in the article:

- White
- Black / African American
- Hispanic / Latinx
- Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI)
- Native American / American Indian
- Other (fill in)

Whether any of the stories of individuals featured in the article represented any of the following racial/ethnic groups:

- White
- Black / African American
- Hispanic / Latinx
- Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI)
- Native American / American Indian
- Other (fill in)

Whether the article specifically had a focus/spotlight on one or more of the following racial/ethnic groups:

- White
- Black / African American
- Hispanic / Latinx
- Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI)
- Native American / American Indian
- Other (fill in)

If AAPIs were represented in this article, how they were portrayed relative to the other racial/ethnic groups in the article:

- A - AAPIs presented as having similar outcomes to other racial/ethnic groups
- B - AAPIs presented as having better outcomes than other racial/ethnic minority groups (e.g., worse outcomes than whites, but better outcomes than racial/ethnic minority groups)
- C - AAPIs presented as model minorities — having better outcomes than all other racial/ethnic groups including white
- D - AAPIs presented as being worse off than other racial groups
- E - Other (fill in)

Limitations

- Due to time and resource constraints, we did not search for articles on specific policy issues related to economic inequality. We did conduct this exercise in Phase 2 for The New York Times articles (see Appendix A for the results).
- Our methodology is more 'quantitative' in nature. While our research team read through each article in our sample for the first set of research questions, we derived our findings by counting the frequency of our assigned 'codes' for these articles. For future research, we recommend a more qualitative analysis of articles regarding context, narrative, depth of piece, conclusions drawn, and other areas of note.

PHASE 1B

When articles cite statistical data, are AAPIs included or intentionally omitted?

For the articles in our study sample that did report data for any racial/ethnic group, but did not include AAPI data, we conducted a second level of analysis to determine whether AAPI data existed for the cited statistic(s), and if it did, how the AAPI data compared. In part, we wanted to determine whether the AAPI data was not cited simply

because it did not exist. Please note that in some cases, we were not able to access the data either because the article did not properly specify the data source or because the data was proprietary and not freely available online.

PHASE 2

Confirming our findings using text analysis

To further validate our work, we conducted high-level text analysis by searching for the number of articles for each newspaper in our sample for 2016 through 2020 that at least mention economic inequality, using the same search string we used to identify our Phase 1 articles: (“poverty”, “low income”, “inequity”, “inequality”, “unemployment”, “jobless”). For *The New York Times* articles, we used the New York Times application programming interface (API) for our search for articles from January 1, 2016 through December 31, 2020. The other six newspapers did not have APIs, so we searched for articles using the ProQuest database and therefore were **constrained to ProQuest’s availability of articles within our time frame of interest**, as follows:

- *Chicago Tribune*: February 23, 2017 through December 31, 2020
- *Los Angeles Times*: February 21, 2017 through December 31, 2020
- *New York Post*: January 1, 2016 through December 29, 2019 (citations/ abstracts only)
- *USA Today*: January 1, 2016 through December 31, 2020
- *Wall Street Journal*: January 1, 2016 through December 31, 2020
- *Washington Post*: May 21, 2016 through December 31, 2020

For this set of articles, we then identified the number of articles that mentioned the following major racial/ethnic groups, based on the following search strings we constructed. For the sake of comparison, we then calculated the percentage of articles by race/Hispanic origin relative to the number of articles that mentioned at least one of these groups.

- **White non-Hispanic:**
 - (Caucasian) OR (Non-Hispanic) — we ended up rejecting this search string.
 - (Caucasian) OR (Non-Hispanic) OR (White)
- **African American:**
 - (African American) OR (African Immigrant) — decided to try a query without “black”; we ended up rejecting this search string.
 - (African American) OR (Black) OR (African Immigrant)
- **Hispanic**
 - (Hispanic) OR (Latino) OR (Latinx) OR (Hispanic Immigrant) OR (Latino Immigrant) OR (Latinx Immigrant)

- **Native American**
 - (Native American) OR (American Indian) OR (Indigenous American)
- **AAP**
 - (Asian American) OR (Pacific Islander) OR (Asian immigrant)

We also constructed an “expanded” search string for AAPs just to see if it would materially change the article frequency count related to AAPs.

- (Asian American) OR (Asian Immigrant) OR (Pacific Islander) OR (Chinese American) OR (Chinese Immigrant) OR (Korean American) OR (Korean Immigrant) OR (Japanese American)
- OR (Japanese Immigrant) OR (Vietnamese American) OR (Vietnamese Immigrant) OR
- (Filipino American) OR (Filipino) OR (Hmong American) OR (Hmong) OR (“Indian American”)
- OR (Indian Immigrant) OR (Afghan American) OR (Afghan Immigrant) OR (Pakistani American) OR (Pakistani Immigrant) OR (South Asian American) OR (South Asian Immigrant) OR (Southeast Asian American) OR (Southeast Asian Immigrant) OR (East Asian American) OR (East Asian Immigrant) OR (Cambodian American) OR (Cambodian Immigrant) OR (Bangladeshi American) OR (Bangladeshi Immigrant) OR (Burmese American) OR (Burmese Immigrant) OR (Bhutanese American) OR (Bhutanese Immigrant) OR (Maldivian American) OR (Maldivian Immigrant) OR (Taiwanese American) OR (Taiwanese Immigrant) OR (Native Hawaiian) OR (Samoan American) OR (Samoan Immigrant) OR (Polynesian American) OR (Polynesian Immigrant) OR (Fiji American) OR (Fiji Immigrant) OR (Indonesian American) OR (Indonesian Immigrant) OR (Laotian American) OR (Laotian Immigrant) OR (Malaysian American) OR (Malaysian Immigrant) OR (Mongolian American) OR (Mongolian Immigrant) OR (Nepalese American) OR (Nepalese Immigrant) OR (Maori American) OR (Maori Immigrant) OR (Singaporean American) OR (Singaporean Immigrant) OR (Sri Lankan American) OR (Sri Lankan Immigrant) OR (Thai American) OR (Thai Immigrant) OR (Tibetan American) OR (Tibetan Immigrant) OR (Tongan American) OR (Tongan Immigrant)

Building on this, we also conducted similar high-level text analysis by searching The New York Times API for the number of The New York Times U.S. section articles between 2016 and 2020 that at least mentioned economic inequality or a social policy issue, using these search strings:

- ("Poverty", "Low income", "Inequity", "Inequality", "Unemployment", "Jobless")
- "Poverty" OR "Poor" OR "Income inequality" OR "Wealth inequality" OR "Economic mobility"
- "Unemployment" OR "Joblessness" OR "Unemployed" OR "Jobless" OR "Workforce development"
- "Inequity"
- "Racism" OR "Discrimination"
- "Affirmative action"
- "Criminal justice"
- "Hate crime"
- "Education"

- "Eviction" OR "Homelessness" OR "Homeless" OR "Affordable housing"

Limitations

- In retrospect, we could have broken out our expanded AAPI search string into two separate search strings, one focused on Asian Americans and the other focused on Pacific Islanders. This can be an approach for future research.
- We recognize the limitation of this text analysis because, even if an article mentions a term such as "poverty," it does not mean that the article is actually focused on this topic. We did not read any of the articles in this secondary analysis. This text analysis is simply meant to complement and bolster our findings from the core analysis described above, where we did read through all the articles carefully.

INQUIRY 2

Portrayal of AAPIs in News Media: How are AAPIs portrayed when featured in news articles? What are common themes? Do news articles perpetuate the model minority narrative or do they illustrate diverse experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders?

To address this set of questions, for each newspaper in our sample, we selected articles that focused on Asian American individuals, culture, issues, etc., and created one set of word clouds for Asian Americans based on highest frequency words. We also did the same for Pacific Islanders. The word clouds are simple visualizations of the general impressions of AAPIs made by newspapers on their readers. For *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, we also created word clouds for Black, Latinx, and Native American communities. (Unfortunately, we did not have bandwidth to conduct this exercise for all newspapers in our sample.)

More specifically, to address how the news media represents AAPIs in general, we drew out key themes by creating word clouds for each newspaper in our sample for:

- **Articles featuring Asian Americans for the year 2019.** We included articles that featured individual Asian Americans, Asian American issues, Asian American art, etc. We chose the year 2019 because we felt that COVID-19 would have skewed the results

in 2020. We searched for articles that turned up by using the term "Asian American" and screened these articles for ones that specifically focused on Asian Americans, versus simply mentioning them.

- **Articles featuring Pacific Islanders, for the years 2016-2020.** Due to the very small number of articles found for the year 2019 (which itself is a data point reinforcing the invisibility of Pacific Islanders), we were unable to create a substantive word cloud and had to expand our search to include five years of articles. We also used an expanded search string to search for Pacific Islander-related articles since we found that many articles featuring Pacific Islanders often referred to the ethnic subgroup (e.g., Tongan), and did not explicitly use the "Pacific Islander" moniker. The expanded search string was:
 - "Pacific Islander" OR "Native Hawaiian" OR "Samoan" OR "Polynesian" OR "Fijian" OR "Maori" OR "Tongan" OR "Micronesian" OR "Melanesian" OR "Chamorro" OR "Palauan" OR "Austronesian" OR "Indigenous Australian" OR "Marshallese" OR "Cook Islander" OR "Niuean" OR "Tokelauan" OR "Oceanian"

For *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, we also created word clouds for:

- Articles for the year 2019 featuring these other minority groups (using the associated search strings in parentheses):
 - “African American” OR “Black”
 - “Hispanic” OR “Latino” OR “Latinx” OR “Latina”
 - “Native American” OR “American Indian”

We wanted to use these word clouds to compare how these groups are represented relative to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders for these two newspapers. We would have conducted this exercise for all newspapers in our sample, but due to limited research resources, we were constrained to these two. Due to our limited capacity, we selected *The New York Times* for this exercise in part because its database/API simplified the identification and counting of articles and in part because of

its prominence, and the *Los Angeles Times* for its geographic diversity relative to the East Coast.

- Articles featuring Asian Americans for 2017 and 2018. We wanted to compare how the themes changed from year to year.

From the articles we identified for a given newspaper, we compiled the headline, subheadline and first two paragraphs into a text file, fed the file into a word frequency counter, and then manually excluded more generic and common words. We then used the remaining highest-frequency words to create the word cloud via a basic word cloud generator, with the size of the words being proportional to their relative frequency. The lists of included and excluded words are available for further examination upon request.

Below are the total number of 2019 articles that we included in the word clouds:

2019 WORD CLOUD ARTICLE COUNTS	THE NEW YORK TIMES	LOS ANGELES TIMES	CHICAGO TRIBUNE	NEW YORK POST	THE WALL STREET JOURNAL	THE WASHINGTON POST	USA TODAY
ASIAN AMERICAN	58	174	16	25	37	51	42
PACIFIC ISLANDER*	13 (70)	15(83)	4 (32)	4 (20)	3 (14)	7 (47)	8 (61)
BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN	1,236	662	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
HISPANIC OR LATINX	263	520	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NATIVE AMERICAN	119	138	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

* Note: The Pacific Islander article counts in parentheses represent the number of articles from 2016 to 2020, while the counts not in parentheses are for 2019 alone.

Limitations

- Due to the significantly smaller number of articles in *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, a monthly publication, we were unable to conduct this same word cloud exercise.
- There is no word cloud for “white” or “Caucasian” as the typical “default” race in this country. Race is a social construct rather than a meaningful biological categorization. It is a framework in which “white European” males are centered as a baseline standard norm and measure. Race as a framework holds Blackness as the ultimate “other” and it continues to carve a path of deep disparities and destruction in its wake. Unspoken but pervasive themes of

“whiteness” are often invisible in the ink, in contrast to the invisibility of Asian Americans as “white adjacent,” but whose invisibility has very different implications and consequences.

- Depending on the newspaper, it is possible that there are articles featuring the different racial groups that were NOT identified through our research because these articles did not describe the subject using one of the racial terms that we used for our search. For example, if there was an article that referred to a subject as “Mexican American”, we would not have picked this up in our search since we searched “Hispanic” and “Latino/a/x”. However, newspapers like *The New York Times* have race-specific tags for their articles, e.g., “Hispanic Americans.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS & CREDITS

Please direct inquiries to aapip.org/contact with “Invisible Ink” in the subject.

#AAPI_InvisibleInk

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