MEDIA COMPANY POLICIES CONCERNING JOURNALISTS WHO COVER TRAUMATIC EVENTS

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I want to thank my parents for teaching me strength, discipline and perseverance to achieve my goals.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Trauma is devastating no matter how it distresses one's life. Journalists often report to work, unaware of the disturbing consequences they might confront when reporting the day's events. Every day, extraordinary traumatizing events affect the social order. Direct trauma is a tragic event that can occur to any person. Indirect in the form of secondhand trauma is the impact trauma has on witnesses associated with trauma victims (Ross, 2003, p. 73). Whether a victim or a witness, some rebound quickly on their own while others remain physically and emotionally distraught reaching out to society for help. Natural disasters, wars, mass torture, terrorism, homicide, abuse, car accidents and fatal illnesses all fall into the category of trauma that leaves families, communities and even countries craving what Ross (2003) refers to as the healing vortex; mankind's innate resiliency and the ability for people to cope and heal on their own . The media industry is a permanent vehicle that is relied upon to disseminate information – good or bad – no matter the capacity of the tragedy.

Media representatives, videographers, reporters and photographers spend significant amounts of time covering the fear, pain and suffering of individuals during traumatic events. Reports have shown that media practitioners, who are continually at risk for secondhand trauma, suffer from traumatic symptoms such as flashbacks, nightmares, outbursts of anger and hostility, and self-destructive thoughts that may culminate in suicide attempts (Ross, 2003). As Ross (2003) suggests: "Media members are often exposed to direct trauma when they witness violence and tragedy first-hand, or second-hand trauma from repetitive exposure in the aftermath of tragedy" (p.74). Three

groups of people are most likely to be affected by trauma when violence occurs: the victims, rescue workers and journalists.

This thesis examined media companies and their policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, it explored what those policies are and whether the media companies follow the policies in place. The study also explored employee assistance programs (EAPs) that address stress-related trauma as a benefit for journalists to use and to help cope with and heal from the mental and sometimes-physical effects of covering trauma. More specifically, the research focused on proactive and preventive approaches in managing journalists suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Trauma is defined as the emotional, biological and psychological impact suffered in response to an actual or perceived threat to one's life, body and identity and that stays stuck in the system. The trauma vortex described as the whirlpool of chaos in the aftermath of trauma, many times traps individuals who are then unable to control emotion and behavior. The terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001, are significant examples of the trauma vortex in action: productivity at work declines, there is an increase in seeking and/or using prescription anti-anxiety drugs and anti-depressants, marriages become strained, people have difficulty maintaining relationships, there is uncertainty in career choices and overall paranoia (Ross, 2003).

Trauma and Journalists

In 1999, the University of Washington established the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma. Now housed at the Missouri School of Journalism, it is a "global network of journalists, journalism educators and health professionals dedicated to improving media

coverage of trauma, conflict and tragedy" (The Dart Center, Mission, 2008, para. 4). The Dart Center also provides "a professional forum for journalists in all media to analyze issues, share knowledge and ideas, and advance strategies related to the craft of reporting on violence and tragedy" (The Dart Center, Mission, 2008, para. 4). In addition to Dart Center research, mass communication scholars have recently become very interested in how exposure to trauma affects journalists.

In 1999, Simpson and Boggs (1999) published an exploratory study that examined whether stress is linked to the exposure of reporters and photographers to violence, death, and physical injury. The study's respondents included 131 daily newspaper journalists. Seventy percent of the respondents documented feeling 'stressed out' following their coverage of a traumatic event. In addition, 38 percent had been victims of one or more types of traumatic events. Meanwhile, Ricchiardi (1999) described journalism as a high-risk profession with consequences often times associated with divorce, alcoholism and drug abuse (p. 38). Given the risks associated with the profession, the Dart Center (2005) suggests, "When a reporter meets a survivor of traumatic events and inquires about that trauma, there is a chance that the journalist will witness – and may even precipitate –PTSD" (para. 2).

Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

The American Psychiatric Association (2006) defines PTSD as, "an anxiety disorder precipitated by a traumatic event and characterized by symptoms of re-experiencing the trauma, avoidance and numbing, and hyperarousal". When a traumatic event happens, the victim or witness may have recurrent and intrusive recollections of the event or distressing dreams during which the trauma is

re-experienced. Numbing and avoidance may also be common after PTSD. This is when the person commonly makes deliberate efforts to avoid thoughts or feelings about the event. Sometimes this may contribute to amnesia. In addition, hyperarousal can be a symptom of PTSD. This occurs when the person struggles to fall or stay asleep, complains of difficulty in completing tasks and concentrating or becomes startled easily (American Psychiatric Association, 2006, para. 1-7).

A study conducted and published on the development of PTSD in journalists found "journalists who have been exposed to a significant number of traumatic events have a tendency to exhibit more PTSD symptoms and emotional reactions than journalists who are exposed to fewer traumatic events" (Marais and Stuart, 2005, p. 101).

The Study

Media company policies on covering trauma seem non-existent through literature and assistance programs for journalists suffering PTSD are scarce. Therefore, this study was conducted to address whether news organizations have such policies and how and when these are covered at the supervisor-level in the newsroom.

Chapter two of this study reviews the literature pertaining to this study, including previous documented research. Chapter three reviews the methodology used to answer the research questions. Chapter four describes the results from the survey including response rate, demographic descriptive data, responses to individual questions and an explanation of open-ended questions.

Chapter five discusses the survey results on journalists and PTSD as reported by supervisor-level news management for newspaper and television companies across the United States.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis studied media companies and their policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, it explored what those policies are, whether the media companies follow the policies in place, and available stress-related EAP's as a benefit for journalists.

The following literature review discusses journalists' coverage of trauma stories, PTSD symptoms, company policies for covering trauma stories, EAP's that assist in coping with effects of trauma exposure and presents research questions that directed this study.

Journalists and Covering Trauma Stories

An event involving trauma – a school shooting, murder, fatal accident, an act of terror – destroys the confidence in any community and changes its focus almost immediately. An event and its aftermath almost always remain a story and many times, never goes away (Simpson, 2004, p. 77). Members of the mass media must make sense of what is presented to them, while dealing with the mounting emotions of being human.

Journalists, whether print, broadcast or online, have been stereotyped by society as cold, detached and haughty when reporting a story. Nevertheless, they are slowly overcoming that portrayal while the media industry fights to bring a more trusted appearance to the surface.

In 1991, Michigan State University's journalism faculty "established a program to assist journalism students in reporting on victims of violence with sensitivity, dignity and respect, collaborating with the Michigan Victim Alliance and Frank Ochberg, M.D.**,** a

psychiatrist and pioneer in the treatment of traumatic stress" (The Dart Center, History, 2008). This program was funded by the Dart Foundation of Mason, Michigan. From these roots, The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma was founded in 1999 at the University of Washington, Bellingham, Washington.

The Dart Center (2008) is "a global network of journalists, journalism educators and health professionals dedicated to informed, effective and ethical news reporting on violence, conflict and tragedy" (Mission, para. 1). The organization has many missions, most important "advocates ethical and thorough reporting of trauma: sensitive, professional treatment of victims and survivors by journalists, and greater awareness by media organizations of the impact of trauma coverage on both news professionals and news consumers" (The Dart Center, Mission, 2008, para. 2). In addition, the center acts as a professional forum for journalists to interact, share ideas, and accelerate tactics for reporting on trauma, violence and catastrophic stress.

The efforts at The Dart Center focus on training, assignment and post-assignment support while resting on two simple beliefs (Simpson, 2004, p. 77):

1. *Journalism about violence and its victims will best inform readers and viewers when the reporting reflects a solid understanding of the rapidly developing science of traumatic or emotional injury.*

2. *The most creative and productive journalists will be those who understand trauma and know how to cope with it for themselves and for co-workers.*

These beliefs have led the center to implement the mission goals and understand trauma on the physical and emotional level that impact journalists. The following

statistics are a result of studies conducted by The Dart Center (The Dart Center, Covering Trauma and Disaster, 2005, para. 2):

- Of 875 photojournalists, 98 percent were exposed to a traumatic event as part of their routine work.
- Of 906 daily newspaper journalists in the United States, 96 percent reported exposure to a traumatic work-related event.
- Of 31 Canadian journalists and photojournalists, all participants reported experiencing a traumatic work-related event; 92 percent reported reactions including intense fear, horror, or helplessness in response to these events.
- In a study among career war journalists, 28 percent met criteria for PTSD, 21 percent for depression, and 14 percent for substance abuse (for 140 journalists who had reported on at least one war).
- It has been found that self-reported PTSD symptoms are higher among journalists who covered at least one war than journalists who did not cover war.
- Among 61 journalists from Europe and the United States, 13 percent met probable criteria for PTSD based on a self-report form.
- Journalists reporting high rates of exposure to traumatic assignments are likely to report more PTSD symptoms than those who report few incidents of exposure.
- Time in the field suggests that beginners and veteran journalists may be at risk.

- Several studies have demonstrated that as years in the field increase, rates of self-reported PTSD symptoms may increase as well.
- Individuals who have been exposed to trauma in their personal lives may be at increased risk for developing PTSD symptomology.
- With respect to journalists, low perceived social support has been identified as a risk factor following work-related trauma.
- A low sense of one's ability to cope with trauma and find meaning from a traumatic event has been linked to the development of PTSD symptoms among journalists in several studies (The Dart Center, Covering Trauma and Disaster, 2005, para. 2-9).

A survey of 906 professional newspaper journalists identified from Web sites of U.S. daily newspapers by researcher Pyevich et al. (2003), showed that 96 percent were exposed to at least one work-related traumatic scene in which a person was hurt or killed. This is not surprising given that foreign correspondents, general assignment reporters, and photographers face "the greatest exposure to trauma" since they cover fires, respond to accidents and other harrowing events (Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 36).

Examples of Covering Trauma

Journalists covering trauma stories either on a large scale such as terrorist attacks or reporting on a small local story often experience occupational stress that can be overwhelming. As one freelance photojournalist expressed, "We bear witness to the worst things that happen to humanity…then you're expected to turn in your story and go on to the next" (Ballew-Gonzales, 2002, p. 9). Clearly, journalists are human and they feel pain as humans do. A public affairs officer for the Canadian Air Force Reserves

stated, “It had never occurred to me that reporters would be affected by covering a story…I always thought of news people as dispassionate” (Ballew-Gonzales, 2002, p. 9). After a SwissAir flight plunged into the ocean off the coast of Nova Scotia in 1998, the officer realized how bruised journalists can become when associated with tragedy, unbearable carnage and human anguish.

Likewise, *Arizona Republic* reporter Karina Bland covered a four-month investigation of an abused and murdered eight-month-old baby. She confessed to being embarrassed about her mental breakdown and nightmares following completion of the story. Referring to the newsroom, she said, “There, nobody talks about this stuff. We interview people about trauma and we see horrible things all the time, but we never consider how it affects us” (Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 35).

Freelance photographer and Pulitzer Prize winner Kevin Carter faced demons in his subconscious that became unbearable. His photograph in 1994 of a vulture stalking a starving girl who collapsed on her way to a feeding station in southern Sudan was published in the *New York Times* and became the metaphor for Africa’s despair. Carter said the experience was “the most horrifying of [his] career” (Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 38). After winning journalism’s most prestigious award, the photojournalist’s body was found inside his pickup truck in Johannesburg, South Africa. He died from carbon monoxide poisoning.

Coping with Trauma

The first step to healing for many journalists is to ask for help – they need to admit they are ‘not machines’ and that it is okay to get stress debriefing whether it means talking to a friend, clergy member, psychologist, psychiatrist, counselor or peer (Poynter

Online, Witness Wounds, 2004, para. 15). The Dart Center focuses on the importance of debriefing sessions and guidance for journalists on how to report trauma and understanding a victim's emotional or physical anguish. "When done successfully, debriefing fosters strength" (The Dart Center, Best Practices, 2003, pp. 1-16). During the writing and interviewing process, a journalist must know his or her limits. Taking breaks, finding a sensitive listener and learning how to deal with stress through hobbies, exercise or spending time with family is imperative when coping with a tragic event (The Dart Center).

In addition, the one variable that a journalist must always be ready for is rejection (Park, 2007, p. 40). The grieving may need time, or they may never want a story written. Reporting tragedy may never get easier for journalists, but documenting how families cope with trauma and violence may help in making sense of it all.

Even though life's most horrifying experiences are often told through the media, journalists must continue to serve the public through traditional ethics. Reporting the truth and keeping the public's interest in mind must be balanced with caring for people in a story while respecting their voices and privacy (Cote and Simpson, 2002, p. 3). Most journalists, whether new to the field or a veteran, have been given little or no training on how to cope with trauma when reporting accidents, disasters or violence (Cote and Simpson, 2002, p.1).

In addition, most journalists deal regularly with victims of violence. News coverage has reached a new level including that requires journalists to cover live stories on the scene and often in dangerous situations. Media organizations have exploited journalists by putting them on the scene of tragic stories, recognizing that violence sells.

The unstated policy of news television is: "if it bleeds, it leads" (Cote and Simpson, 2002, p. 2).

Effects of Covering Trauma Stories

PTSD in Journalists. As the media remain caught in the middle of the trauma vortex and the social responsibility to stimulate healing, the ultimate obligation remains to report the news objectively. As Ross (2003) states, "Journalists have been trained that, 'it is not their job to think about themselves but to think about others.' They have been trained to focus more on what has happened than on what they think and feel about…" (p.75). Even though society demands objectivity, this can be difficult during times of tragedy.

Thus, the paradox for the journalistic media continues to linger with complexity. The industry will undoubtedly be challenged by journalists' exposure to trauma first-hand as well as be affected by second-hand trauma simultaneously. As catastrophic events continue to be newsworthy, journalists will likely encounter tragedy early in their reporting careers and many times thereafter. The Dart Center states, "When a reporter meets a survivor of traumatic events and inquires about that trauma, there is a chance that the journalist will witness – and may even precipitate – PTSD" (The Dart Center, PTSD 101, 2005, para. 2).

As previously discussed, the American Psychiatric Association defines PTSD as, "an anxiety disorder precipitated by a traumatic event and characterized by symptoms of re-experiencing the trauma, avoidance and numbing, and hyperarousal." When a traumatic event happens, the victim or witness may have recurrent and intrusive recollections of the event or distressing dreams during which the trauma is

re-experienced. Numbing and avoidance may also be common symptoms of PTSD. This is when the person commonly makes deliberate efforts to avoid thoughts or feelings about the event and sometimes may include amnesia. In addition, hyperarousal can be a symptom of PTSD. This occurs when the person struggles to fall or stay asleep, complains of difficulty in completing tasks and concentrating or becomes startled easily (American Psychiatric Association, 2006, para. 1-7).

Medical professionals divide trauma into two categories: Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and acute stress disorder (ASD) (Cote & Simpson, 2002). While both have debilitating characteristics such as avoidance and anxiety, PTSD affects an individual much longer than ASD. It can last a month or more, getting worse over time. Twenty-five percent of the United States population will suffer long-term trauma after experiencing a traumatic event (Cote & Simpson, 2002). Reporters, freelancers, photographers and videographers are included in this group. The Dart Center states, "Journalists are people who, like almost everyone else who is exposed to pain, feel it whether it is theirs or not" (The Dart Center, Best Practices, 2003, p. 14).

The Dart Center has recognized not only the increased exposure journalists have had to traumatic events, but that PTSD is becoming a severe reality in the media industry. The Center lists several facts on the disorder (The Dart Center, Quick Tips, 2008, para. 1-7):

- Exposure to traumatic events such as military combat, natural disasters, terrorist incidents, serious accidents, or violent personal assaults can cause PTSD.
- It may be tied to the previous history of trauma or mental health issues.

- PTSD involves biological changes and psychological symptoms such as recurring intrusive memories of the traumatic experience, a feeling of detachment or "psychological numbing," and a heightened sense of anxiety.
- PTSD is often accompanied by depression, substance abuse, physical and mental health; these symptoms must last at least a month before PTSD can be diagnosed.
- An estimated three to four percent of adults in the United States currently meet criteria for PTSD.

Ochberg (1996) suggests that journalists are prone to a form of PTSD known as secondary traumatic stress disorder. He describes this disorder as an empathetic response that affects journalists when overwhelmed by certain life events. Also known as compassion fatigue, the disorder is typically associated with families of trauma victims or counselors that aid and work with traumatized individuals. The listeners, who are often journalists, reportedly absorb all the associated emotions as if they experienced the trauma directly, therefore suffering the same emotional anguish. Newsroom workers state that symptoms of compassion fatigue can include fear, shock, social disconnection, sadness, exhaustion, guilt, nightmares and headaches; if these symptoms occur early in a journalist's career, coping can lead to substance abuse, sleeplessness, flashbacks and irritability (Dworznik, 2006).

Despite the harmful effects of exposure to trauma, journalistic media did not take PTSD seriously prior to 1999 (Simpson, 2004, p. 77). Relying on the assumption that journalists were immune to emotional scars, there was limited research focus on this area. It was not until the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City that U. S.

Americans realized that journalists experience the same troubling scenes of death and destruction that rescuers handle. As Tompkins (2001) wrote:

> Journalists' symptoms of traumatic stress are remarkably similar to those of police officers and firefighters who work in the immediate aftermath of a tragedy, yet journalists typically receive little support after they file their stories. While public safety workers are offered debriefings and counseling after trauma, journalists are merely assigned another story (para. 1).

Thus, the concern of trauma-induced illnesses among the media industry has journalists and other professionals refocusing. The statistics demonstrate cause for concern:

- More than 1,200 journalists were killed in the past ten years from foreign reporting.
- More than 80 journalists were killed in Iraq since the 2003 war began.
- Journalists may be targets of terrorists or military units.
- Growth of media means more journalists are in the line of danger.
- Trauma exists at home: the Oklahoma City bombing, the Columbine shooting, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City, the SwissAir crash off Nova Scotia and Hurricane Katrina's hit on New Orleans.
- City-desk reporters cover horrific car accidents, suicides and fires on a daily basis (Ward, 2004, para. 3).

Journalists are experiencing sustained exposure to potentially traumatizing events, secondary or indirect exposure through interviews with traumatized persons, and recurring exposure through new assignments (Ward, 2004). Ochberg, "describes PTSD among journalists as an immediate shock to the system…Journalists get PTSD when they

experience a catastrophic, usually visual stressor…Something that surprises them, horrifies and terrorizes them on the job" (as cited by Cosper and Strupp, 2001, p. 12-13).

Other studies reveal troubling findings about journalists' experience with trauma in war zones. A study conducted on the psychological effects of war journalists, "discovered that journalists who had PTSD and major depression were not receiving the necessary treatment" (Feinstein, 2004, p. 75). Cohen works with first responders to emergency situations and often experiences trauma. In a personal interview with Journalist Bob Steele, Cohen stated the following:

> There are a whole array of symptoms – physical, cognitive, and emotional – that affect a significant portion of people who are exposed to something traumatic…things like exhaustion, exaggerated startled reactions, nightmares, a whole range of health problems like headaches, trouble digesting, chills and dizziness. My bias is to recommend a formal kind of debriefing. It is during that time when one 'has the opportunity to get that poison out of your system' (as cited by Steele, 2001, para. 9 and 11).

In addition to physical impairment, a study conducted by A. Marais and A. D. Stewart (2005, p. 101) among 50 journalists recruited by the South African National Editor's Forum (SANEF) found that emotional reactions to trauma indicate a linear relationship with PTSD severity. The results of the research found, "journalists who are exposed to a significant number of traumatic events have a tendency to exhibit more PTSD symptoms and emotional reactions than journalists who are exposed to fewer traumatic events." Past research has also repeatedly identified a strong relationship between the neuroticism temperament trait and symptoms of PTSD being severe in journalists. In short, these

findings indicate that the more exposure a journalist has to trauma, biological factors, resilience and other perceptions will likely affect the psychological outcome of the individual (Marais & Stuart, 2005, p. 102).

Journalists' reactions to witnessing an execution have been studied by a group of experts as part of the trauma forum. Freinkel, et al. (1994) conducted a study on the psychological reactions to journalists who witnessed an execution. Results demonstrate that these reporters experienced the same reactions as individuals who had been victimized by a natural disaster.

Employee Assistance Programs for Coping with Trauma

Employee assistance programs (EAPs) have become the fastest-growing employee benefit because of rising stress levels in the workplace (Reed Business Information, 2003, p. 7). Although stress levels are often elevated by personal issues outside of the workplace, the condition also results from employment around dangerous people, equipment, and violent communities (Edwards, 2002).

EAPs are defined as "job-based programs operating within a work organization for the purposes of identifying 'troubled employees,' motivating them to resolve their troubles, and providing access to counseling or treatment for those employees who need services" (Steffick and et al., 2006, p. 23). Not surprisingly, companies are taking a more proactive and preventive approach to manage the ongoing strain of employment and modern day life (Occupational Health, 2005). Under the Health and Safety at Work Act of 1974 and Management of Health and Safety at Work Regulations 1999, "employers are obliged to ensure, as far as is reasonably feasible, the health, safety and welfare of

their employees at work, and to assess the health and safety risks" (Matthews, 2006, p. 18).

Employers apply two models of EAPs to the implementation of their benefits program: the strategic model and the benefits-driven model (Aspen Publishers, 2008). Unfortunately, many employers focus on the cost of these programs versus the productivity and consultative services they can give to employees. In the favorable case that an EAP already exists in a company, the initial step is to help managers create a threat assessment team and policy (Edwards, 2002). Likewise, EAPs can be internal, meaning the use of counselors and programs within the organization, or they can be external by partnering with an outside agency for health expertise (Davis & Rostow, 2004, p. 23-27).

According to a survey of human resource professionals released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 81 percent reported that more employers are providing employee assistance programs than five years ago (Aspen Publishers, November, 2007, p. 6). Most of these EAPs are improving job performance and helping to maintain a life/work balance.

Because of increased absence-related costs, staff turnover and poor job performance, it appears good business demands companies keep an eye out on employees. An expert risk manager stated, "Employers have a responsibility to look after the health and safety of their employees and this includes safeguarding them from excessive stress" (Reed Business Information, 2008, p. 10).

Each year, one out of seven employees' job performance is seriously affected by personal problems (Davis & Meyer, 2002). According to work by O'Reilly (2007), "each

case of stress-related ill health leads to an average of 30.9 working days lost with a total of almost 13 million working days lost to stress, depression and anxiety in 2004-2005" (p. 28). Annually, diseases cost the United States' economy more than one trillion dollars (Barkin, 2008, p. 38). Thus, researchers recommend that policies should be in place to identify warning signs early and a range of options available to support employees before a condition becomes too severe. The first of these symptoms to watch for is change in behavior (O'Reilly, 2007, p. 28).

Nevertheless, recent work indicates that more than half of employers do not address mental health matters in the workplace and many employees do not understand what their health benefits offer (Aspen Publishers, December, 2007). In the same study, 94 percent of employees believed stress level affects job performance and 52 percent revealed their employer does not address stress, work/life balance or mental/behavioral with employees. In addition, a study performed by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration in 2003 showed employees may not be utilizing mental health benefits because management does not encourage it; only 15 percent are trained to recognize a mental health issue (as cited by Gresham, 2007, p. 82).

Some aid does exist, however. For example, the Great Britain Department of Work and Pensions has implemented a confidential hotline for more than 60,000 civil servants to access advice and seek counseling for stress-related work difficulties (Reed Business Information, 2002,). In the first two months since its launch, over 1,100 employees dialed in for assistance.

Correctional Services in Canada has also taken a proactive role in developing an employee assistance program for its officers. Individuals who have prolonged exposure

to extreme violence have tendencies for damaging effects of post-trauma physically and mentally. The organization has instituted debriefing sessions, psychologist supervision and external confidential counseling (D'Arcy, 1996). The crusade is to ensure that prison guards and other corrections personnel do not develop PTSD, psychological disorders, or related emotional problems (D'Arcy, 1996, p. 64).

Law enforcement officers also fall into the correctional labor category and are exposed to trauma related situations every day. Attempts have been made by many police departments to partner with mental health clinics in prevention and treatment of illnesses including PTSD suffered by police officers. These EAPs are sometimes referred as an element to reduce internal department tensions and improve law enforcement services (Davis & Rostow, 2004, p. 25-26).

Moreover, health care professionals are highly susceptible to mental health issues, chemical dependency and substance abuse addictions due to their typical high stress jobs and frequent contact with serious illness or death (Griffith, 1999). Stress in doctors is widely recognized due to working conditions, long hours, disruption of sleep patterns and their interaction with the sick (Ross, 2003, p.84). Diversion programs and EAPs are becoming a popular alternative to the historical disciplinary actions such as firing or loss of board licenses for medical personnel (Griffith, 1999, p. 23). Nevertheless, these programs are more interested in recovering a nurse or other professional.

In an effort to support traditional EAPs and bring religious expression to an increasingly diverse labor force, workplace chaplains are providing ministry to employees in times of crisis. A current estimate lists over 5,000 chaplains in the United States providing workshops, seminars, training sessions, and meditation areas to

companies and its employees (Davis & Meyer, 2002, p. 23). Because chaplains are held to strict confidentiality, employees are comfortable one-on-one during a counseling session. In many cases, chaplains listen, give advice and are the sounding board for worker issues. In addition, this allows chaplains to be the "ears" for management staff and provide areas of concern for employees (Davis & Meyer, 2002, p. 24). Most chaplains and spiritual services are available 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

While EAPs have been proven to be successful at handling employee crisis (Davis & Meyer, 2002, p. 22), newsrooms are just beginning to have a long-term interest in "making sure that journalists are aware of trauma and can access counseling" (Ward, 2005, para. 2). Although editors have become increasingly attentive to employees suffering from on-the-job exposure to tragic events, trauma programs offering assistance are limited (Ricchiardi, 2000). Still, newsrooms have an ethical obligation to establish these programs to help journalists cope in the aftermath, being that it is the newsroom assignment that sends that reporter out to the field (Ward, 2005).

With past research and documented reports of journalists suffering from psychological and physical pain, what is the attitude of newsrooms? Ricchiardi (1999) found that only select television stations bring mental health professionals into the newsroom immediately following a tragedy. Some believe that journalists are protected through professional conduct. Others believe that a good journalist can compartmentalize or channel raw emotions that will not interfere with the quality of a story. Although these are just "beliefs," journalists and photographers continue to echo the attitude of stoicism: they believe they have no right to experience any emotional pain or admit depression (Dworznik, 2006). The consequences are equally troubling. Research suggests that an

unwritten code exists among journalists contends that no assignment, no matter how difficult, can deter a reporter or photographer from getting the story (Dworznik & Grubb, 2007).

According to psychological literature, the first step in coping with PTSD is to tell the story of a particular event; recounting the experience starts the healing process and is salient to journalists (Dworznik, 2006). Research by Faithorn and Himmelstein (2002) shows only a few major news organizations are offering in-house assistance programs to aid journalists in coping with the stress caused by their everyday assignments. Media giants British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and *New York Times* established programs in the early 1990s, both with different approaches. The BBC's plan has, "encouraged journalists to informally share information with colleagues in the newsroom, to speak confidentially to a company doctor in London, or to use a telephone help line to work through psychological issues associated with on-the-job stress" (Faithorn & Himmelstein, 2002, p. 553).

The *New York Times*, which launched its employee intervention program in 1995, has one of print media's most extensive intervention programs with three staff counselors (Ricchiardi, 1999, pp. 36-38). They train supervisors to recognize symptomology of stress induced by assignments. The supervisors then encourage at-risk journalists to seek a stress debriefing or other help (Faithorn & Himmelstein, 2002). The newspaper also retains a network of counselors in its foreign bureaus to assist journalists overseas. In addition, the *Baltimore Sun* has started to address the trauma issue by providing counselors through its company employee assistance program (Ricchiardi, 1999).

A national reform advocate, Ed Kelley, former managing editor and now editor of *The Daily Oklahoman*, recognizes the need for employee assistance programs. He stated, "We're taught in journalism school that this is a macho business, that you check your feelings at the door, that your personal emotions having nothing to do with it…unlike anybody else in society, we're supposed to shut it all out…It's a myth. We can't do it" (as quoted in Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 39).

Often times, journalists interpret asking for assistance as weak. Cohen, a Florida psychologist who has worked with journalists at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies has stressed that, "persuading media managers to promote intervention as a normal part of newsroom life might go a long way toward easing the resistance" (Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 39). He continued that it is not merely weakness or embarrassment, rather gaining wisdom. Simultaneously, confidentiality is also a concern. Bloch, former human resources director at the *San Francisco Chronicle* said, "Journalists also do not have much trust in an employee assistance program because they feel the information won't be confidential…the biggest challenge is that editors don't deal with the people issues very well until there is a real crisis" (as quoted in Fields, 1999, p. 16).

Even though a few of the large media companies have recognized the need to help stressed journalists, how can other newsrooms start assistance programs to assist with stress-related trauma? Several factors need to be addressed before an effective trauma program can be implemented in any media company. Some suggestions for management include:

- Acknowledgement that trauma is a reality and major concern among journalists.
- Treat trauma care as part of the staff's well-being.

- Everyone in a newsroom may be affected differently.
- Hold information sessions or group meetings.
- Offer confidential counseling.
- Staff members may show signs when they have been particularly affected; tiredness, irritability and lashing out are common.
- Encourage supervisors and other journalists to monitor themselves and their colleagues.
- Personal problems will exacerbate an individual's reaction.
- Provide emails or memos that offer encouragement, acknowledgment that their work is having an impact on the community, reminders, what day and date it is, tips to alleviate stress and positive letters from readers about their coverage.
- Develop a policy on reporting crises such as rotating reporters and debriefing.
- Make trauma training mandatory and ongoing for war reporters (Ward, 2005, para. 3 and The Dart Center, Best Practices, 2003, pp. 4-9).

While several educational institutions such as Michigan State University, Central Oklahoma University, and the University of Washington have trauma training in its curriculum, there is no documented training program for upper management that teaches how to deal with their journalists experiencing the effects of covering trauma stories (Johnson, 1999, p. 15).

Research Questions

Media company policies that could help journalists who cover trauma seem non-existent through literature except for the *New York Times* and BBC. In addition, assistance programs for journalists suffering PTSD are scarce. Therefore, this study was

conducted to address whether news organizations have such policies and how and when these are covered at the news management supervisor-level.

This study's research questions examined media companies' policies. In addition, it explored whether those procedures are utilized.

The following research questions guided this research:

RQ_1: Do media companies have policies and programs in place to address the issues of PTSD that journalists may develop in covering trauma stories?

RQ_2: If media companies do have policies and programs in place, what are they?

RQ_3: What has been the experience in media companies in the use of policies and programs concerning journalists and PTSD?

This study surveyed news management in selected news organizations. The next chapter reviews the methodology used to conduct this research.

Summary

This literature review discussed journalists' coverage of trauma stories, PTSD symptoms and company policies for covering trauma stories. In addition, it focused on journalists' development of PTSD as a result of covering trauma stories and how EAPs are being used to assist employees in coping with the effects of trauma exposure and healing mental and/or physical stress. The review also suggested that media companies have opportunities to be more proactive in developing EAPs to assist with stress-related trauma in journalists.

The next chapter is an explanation of the research method used for this study. The main body defines the type of research used, a survey, and provides details of qualitative and quantitative data analysis, the research sample, unit of analysis (i.e.

supervisor-level news management), distribution, result evaluation and possible limitations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This thesis studied media companies and their policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, it explored what those policies are and whether the media companies follow the policies in place. This research focused on proactive and preventive approaches in managing journalists suffering from PTSD. This chapter describes the method used to conduct this study.

Questionnaire

For this study, data was collected through a survey. This research methodology is defined as a document consisting of questions and other items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis (Babbie, 2004). The researcher developed a questionnaire based upon quantitative research that comprised of both open-ended and close-ended questions. Next, the researcher delivered the survey via E-mail. The message guided participants to SurveyMonkey.com to complete the questionnaire. The survey included closed-ended questions with a list of answers provided by the researcher for the participant to choose one. Also, there were open-ended questions which required the respondent to provide his or her own answers (Babbie, 2004). Contingency questions were also built into the questionnaire. A contingency question is intended only for some respondents, determined by answers provided to a previous question (Babbie, 2004). The answer given determined the next question to which the respondent was directed.

The questionnaire included inquiries related to trauma, newsroom policies versus actual practices, along with PTSD in journalists. It was developed from the literature

and in consultation with media industry experts. The research questions guided the development of the survey questions.

The researcher consulted Dr. Elana Newman, Associate Professor and Director of Clinical Training Department of Psychology at the University of Tulsa. In conjunction with her collegiate commitment, Newman is a practicing licensed clinical psychologist and has completed extensive research on physical response to traumatic life events. She was elected 2006-07 president of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies and she sits as an Executive Committee Member at The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma. During questionnaire development, a doctoral student's research, also from the University of Tulsa, was referred to for formatting. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Sample

The study population, which is the aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected, consisted of all newspapers and television stations in the United States. The sample is the set of elements selected for the study (Babbie, 2004, p. 190). The sample involved selected newspapers and television station editors, managing editors or news directors (supervisor-level news management) across the United States. Editors are defined as those charged with the practical aspects of choosing, justifying, editing, and publishing the news (Sylvie & Huang, 2006). Based on the survey's objectives, this sample was selected for two reasons: the group has direct contact with journalists and is aware of the story assignments, and they are advanced enough in the organization to be aware of company policies through human resources. This sample, known as a purposive or judgmental sample, consisted of people who were presumed to

have first-hand knowledge, or were in a position to know about the topic. This type of sampling allowed the researcher to appropriately select a sample determined by the population's expertise (Babbie, 2004). The survey was distributed to the sample employed by 301 newspapers and 273 television stations in the United States. In the newspaper industry, the bottom 100, middle 100, and top 100 newspapers based on circulation were selected as part of the sample. The researcher used the Audit Bureau of Circulation (2008) to sort all newspapers in the United States by circulation in descending order to select the appropriate groups.

The same tactic was used for the television stations based on Nielsen's designated market areas (DMAs, 2008). From the 208 Nielsen DMAs across the United States, the researcher chose the top 25 markets, the middle 25 markets and the bottom 25 markets based on size. Within each of the chosen markets, the four network stations were included in the sample if available.

The participants within the sample were selected from the Audit Bureau of Circulation and the Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook 2009, along with using some website contact information. The participants' electronic mail (i.e. E-mail) addresses were the channel of distribution.

The strategy behind the sample was to obtain data from a cross section of small, medium, and large companies that may have developed extensive policies, yet also target the small papers and stations that may not have knowledge of EAPs that assist with stress-related syndromes or are lacking initiatives.

Distribution and Data Collection

An online survey was distributed to 301 newspaper and 273 television stations' supervisor-level news management. The questionnaire took approximately five to six minutes to complete depending on contingency questions and additional open-ended questions.

Each participant received an E-mail with an Internet link embedded in the body of the text. The subject line of the email had a specific message reading the following: 'Kent State University Journalism Study' and the main body of the E-mail included an introduction with specific instructions for the questionnaire. The participant clicked the link and was directed to the questionnaire created and posted on the web survey site, Survey Monkey (i.e. SurveyMonkey.com). The link was active for 14 days following E-mail distribution to the sample. Three days following the link distribution, a reminder E-mail was sent to the sample list. This was repeated three times. The participants were able to complete the confidential survey at their convenience and submit the data back to the researcher electronically.

Reliability and Validity

Survey research is generally weak on validity and strong on reliability (Babbie, 2004). The weakness of validity lies solely on the artificiality of the questionnaire format.

This survey, although in questionnaire format, has face validity. Face validity is defined as the quality of an indicator that makes it seem a reasonable measure of some variable (Babbie, 2004). It suggests journalists' possible mental anguish after exposure

to covering a traumatic event is some indication of media companies' need for policies and stress-related EAPs.

To assist with validity and reliability, the researcher pilot tested the questionnaire with editors outside the study population. The pilot test is one of the most critical steps in questionnaire design and serves two functions. First it serves as the initial "live" test (Iraossi, 2006, p. 11). Second, it is the last step in finalizing the survey questions and format (& 87). The pilot pre-test had three basic goals: to evaluate the competency of the questionnaire, estimate the length of time to take the survey and determine the quality of the surveyor. The pilot sample offered feedback to the researcher on whether the wording was clear and if the questions had the same meaning to all respondents (Iraossi, 2006, p. 89). This pre-test would detect flaws in the questioning and allow the researcher to correct those prior to the main survey. The survey pre-test was administered to a small group of editors in England and Canada, not to dilute the study population in the United States.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the data returned from the questionnaire, the open-ended questions were examined differently than the close-ended questions. Quantitative data was evaluated using descriptive statistics. The qualitative results were evaluated classifying the pieces of data based on the topic. The researcher then analyzed these groups of data to find similar patterns.

The next chapter will evaluate the results of data collection.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION

The following is a description of the data collected from the research study of media companies and their policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, the study examined whether media companies follow their policies where they exist and explored stress-related EAPs as a benefit for journalists who cover trauma stories. This chapter describes all results related to this research.

Sample

The online research survey was distributed to 301 newspapers and 273 television stations' supervisor-level news management over a 14-day period (June 3 – 16, 2009). Participants were chosen based on circulation for newspapers and on Nielsen designated market areas (DMAs) for television. Six messages were undeliverable. Fifty-eight respondents attempted the survey which resulted in a 10.1 percent response rate. The survey yielded a low participation response rate. Therefore, it must be described as an exploratory study.

Descriptive Statistics

The following are the results from the questionnaire. Some respondents chose not to answer certain demographic survey questions. Therefore, some results may show a slightly smaller number of answers.

Sixty-eight point eight percent of the respondents were male and 31.3 percent were female as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Descriptive statistics by biological sex

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	33	68.8	68.8
Female	15	31.3	100.0
Total	48	100.0	

The average age of the respondents was 47.5 years old (M = 47.46, SD = 11.30). The respondents had worked in the media industry for an average of 24.5 years (M = 24.52) and had been in their current positions for an average of eight years (M = 8.17). The results from the above three questions are presented in the figure below.

Figure 2. Age, years worked, and years employed in current position

		Age	Years worked in media industry	Years worked in current position
N	Valid	48	48	48
Mean		47.458	24.520	8.166

Forty-four point nine percent of the respondents worked in the newspaper industry and 55.1 percent worked in television. Shown with these responses in Figure 3, the research results represent an almost equal share of newspaper and television experience.

Figure 3. Employment in television and newspaper industry

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Newspaper	22	44.9	44.9
	TV	27	55.1	100.0
	Total	49	100.0	

The newspaper industry respondents all were employed for papers with a circulation of 5,000 or more, and the television industry respondents were employed in

Nielsen designated market areas (DMAs) ranging from one to 200. The DMA information broken down further shows 11 of the respondents worked in the top third highest DMAs, 13 in the middle third and three in the bottom third. Thus, the research results represent a cross-section of small, medium and large newspapers as well as a range of television DMAs.

The position question is a crucial piece of the survey. The research questionnaire was based on acquiring news management responses at a supervisor-level. The researcher wanted respondents that were in a position to supervise journalists, but also who had access to human resources. Access to human resources allowed for evaluation and an understanding of EAPs that may be offered to journalists. This position question allowed the researcher to analyze who responded to the survey. The positions of the respondents were: news editor (18.4%), managing editor (14.3 percent), news director (22.4%) and other (44.9%) as presented in Figure 4. Although the "other" category had a high number of responses, it is important to note that more than half of the responses came from news management. The respondents who selected the "Other" category did not specify their respective position titles.

Figure 4. Position titles descriptives

	Position Title	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	News Editor	9	18.4	18.4
	Managing Editor	7	14.3	32.7
	News Director	11	22.4	55.1
	Other	22	44.9	100.0
	Total	49	100.0	

The researcher will use this section to provide a detailed description of the results for each question.

Awareness

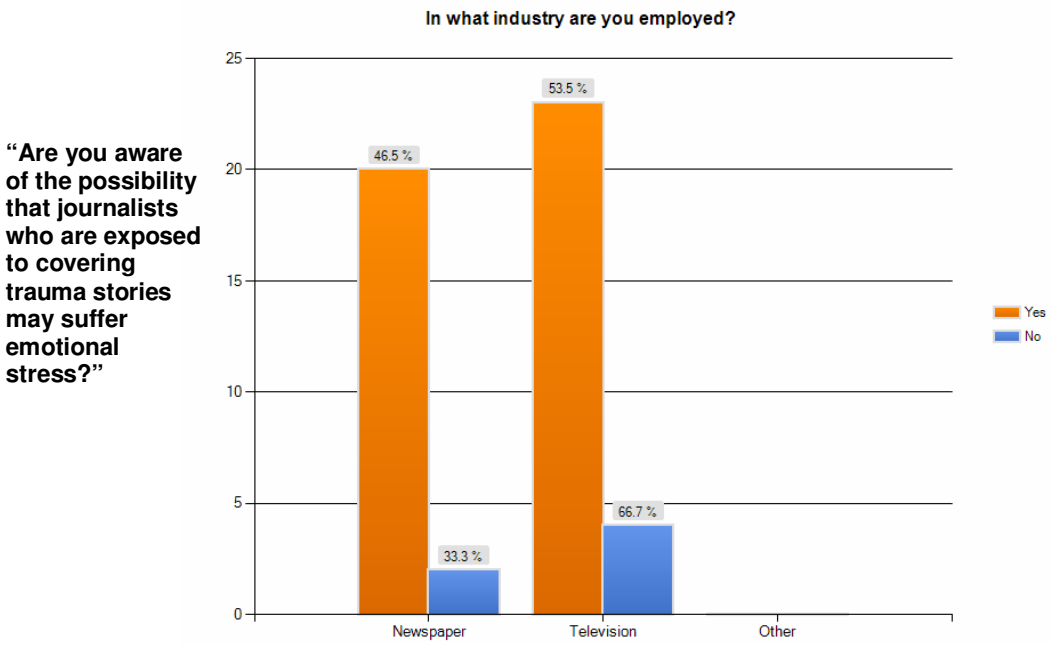
The first question in the survey established relevancy for the rest of the questionnaire. Each respondent was asked if they were aware of the possibility that journalists who are exposed to covering trauma stories may suffer emotional stress. The question read, "A recent survey published by The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma indicated that journalists reporting a high rate or exposure to traumatic assignments are likely to report more Post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms than those who report fewer exposure incidents. Are you aware of the possibility that journalists who are exposed to covering trauma stories may suffer emotional stress?" Eighty-two point eight percent answered, "Yes" and 17.2 percent answered, "No," as represented in the figure below.

Figure 5. Awareness of experience with trauma by journalists

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	48	82.8	82.8
	No	10	17.2	100.0
	Total	58	100.0	

The researcher cross-tabbed the awareness question above with the media industry employed by the respondents. Of the 82.8 percent that responded they are aware of the possibility that journalists who are exposed to covering trauma stories may suffer emotional stress, 46.5 percent were employed in the newspaper industry and 53.5 percent were employed by a television station. This data is represented in the figure below.

Figure 6. Awareness among newspaper and television employees



All of the survey respondents were asked to answer an opinion question as to what percentage of employees reported back to them symptoms of emotional difficulties as a result from covering trauma stories. Forty-nine of the respondents answered and on average, 11 percent reported (M = 11.25%) back to their supervisor that they have encountered symptoms of emotional difficulties as a result from covering trauma stories as shown in Figure 7.

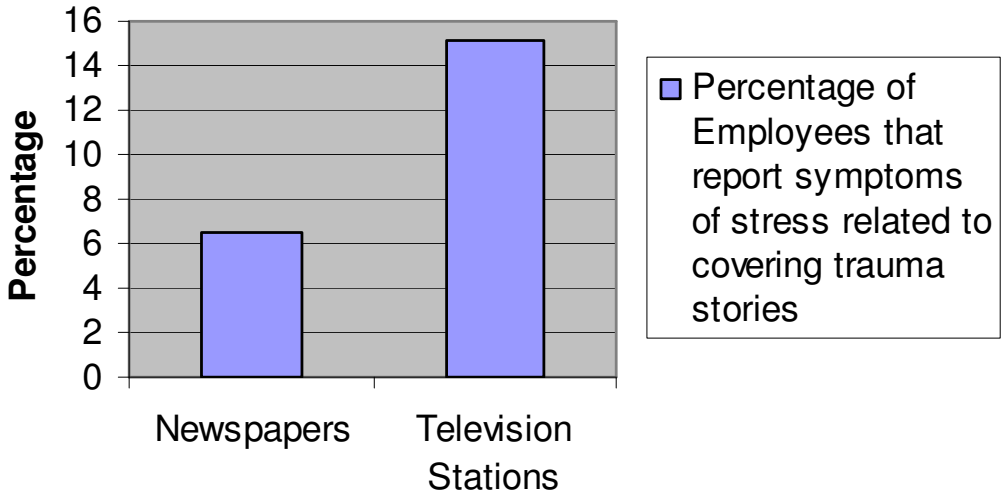
Figure 7. Percentage of employees who report emotional difficulties

		Frequency
N	Valid	49
Mean		11.245

This data broken down further cross-tabbed with the media industry in which the respondents are employed found the television industry has a higher percentage of

employees reporting back to their supervisors the presence of emotional symptoms as a result of covering trauma stories. The average for the television industry is 15 percent (M = 15.15%) and newspapers is 6 percent (M = 6.45%). This will be analyzed further in the Discussion section of Chapter V. The data is presented in the figure below.

Figure 8. Percentage of employees reporting stress symptoms



Policies and Procedures

Four questions covered whether the respondents' companies have policies and procedures for journalists who cover trauma stories. The example of 'special training, manuals, etc.' was listed at the end of the first statement for clarity to the respondent.

The question that asked whether the respondent's media company has policies for journalists who cover trauma stories, 20.7 percent answered, "Yes" and 70.7 percent answered, "No." Eight point six percent answered, "N/A." Results are shown in the figure below.

Figure 9. Awareness of policies for journalists who cover trauma stories

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	20.7	20.7
	No	41	70.7	91.4
	N/A	5	8.6	100.0
	Total	58	100.0	

There were two contingency questions based on the above Yes and No answers. If the respondent answered, "Yes," he or she was asked to describe the policies in detail, and then asked if those procedures were consistently followed. Twelve respondents described the policies where the majority documented EAPs as a form of counseling or trauma counseling. Additionally, the respondents noted disaster training, the right to assignment refusal, on-site training for special situations, extensive training with outside firms that deal with hostile conditions and special curriculum courses. The direct responses for a more detailed understanding of what policies were in place can be found in Appendix B.

Seventy-five percent of the twelve respondents (because this was a contingency question) from above answered that the procedures they described in detail were consistently followed and 16.7 percent answered they were not followed. Eight point three percent answered, "N/A." The answers are presented in the figure below.

Figure 10. Knowledge of consistency in procedures

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	75	75
	No	2	16.7	91.7
	N/A	1	8.3	100.0
	Total	12	100.0	

The second part of the contingency question was if the respondent answered No. They were directed to a question on whether the company had plans to develop a procedure. Six point five percent answered, "Yes," and 73.9 percent answered, "No." Nineteen point six percent answered, "N/A." The answers are presented in the figure below.

Figure 11. Knowledge of company plans to develop a procedure

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	6.5	6.5
	No	34	73.9	80.4
	N/A	9	19.6	100.0
	Total	46	100.0	

Programs

Six questions in the survey, including contingency, related to employee assistance programs (EAPs) or other programs that may be available and used to help journalists cope after covering trauma stories. First, the respondents were asked if their company provided any programs to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress. Seventy-three point two percent answered, "Yes," and 26.8 percent answered, "No." The answers are presented in the figure below.

Figure 12. Programs to help journalists who suffer from emotional stress

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	41	73.2	73.2
	No	15	26.8	100.0
	Total	56	100.0	

There were two contingency questions based on the above Yes and No answers. If answered, "Yes," the respondent was directed to a chart that listed twelve resources

that could possibly be available to assist journalists in healing. The resources listed were: In-house counseling with professionals, outside counseling using an outside agency, group counseling, workplace chaplains, a confidential hotline, formal debriefing sessions, option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty, informal support from supervisors, co-worker support and employee assistance programs, printed literature explaining PTSD and how to cope and trauma/training seminars. The respondents were asked to check three columns for each resource: whether a certain resource/service was available, whether it was used, and whether it was not used. The most available and also used programs include: counseling using an outside agency, confidential hotlines, option for journalists to rotate assignments without penalty, informal support from supervisors, co-worker support and employee assistance programs. To breakdown the data further, the most available program based on the respondents is the option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty. The resource that is the most actually used is outside counseling. The figure below includes these programs and lists the percentages as given by the respondents.

Figure 13. Most available and used resources/services to help journalists

		Frequency	***Program Available***	***Program Used***
Valid				
	Outside counseling	35	31.4%	68.6%
	Confidential hotline	29	31.0	41.4
	Option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty	30	56.7	33.3
	Informal support from supervisors	31	35.5	61.3
	Co-worker support	28	28.6	50.0
	Employee assistance programs	34	32.4	55.9

The researcher then cross-tabbed the most available and used programs (option for journalist to rotate assignments without penalty and outside counseling respectively) with the media industry employed by the respondents. The results showed the newspaper industry has the option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty more available than television at 56.3 percent (television, 43.8 percent). Although, outside counseling is more used by the television industry at 52.2 percent compared to newspapers at 47.8 percent.

If the respondent answered, "No" to the question relating to their company providing any programs to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress, they were asked if the company once had any programs in place. One-hundred percent of the respondents answered that their companies did not once have programs in place.

Respondents from the above question were then directed to another contingency question that asked if their company had plans to implement any programs in the next 12-24 months. Again, 100 percent of the respondents answered, "No."

When respondents answered, "No," to the above question, they were re-directed one last time and asked if their company offers any programs to assist with mental or behavioral illness. Thirty-eight point five percent answered, "Yes," and sixty-one point five percent answered, "No." The small number of responses to this question was a result of this being the last question in a series of contingency questions. The answers are presented in the figure below.

Figure 14. Knowledge of plans to implement any programs in the next 12-24 months

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	38.5	38.5
	No	8	61.5	100.0
	Total	13	100.0	

Debriefings

The last topic in the survey referenced debriefings. All respondents were directed to this question and were asked if a debriefing was required for a journalist if he or she covers a trauma story. Two percent answered, "Yes" and 89.8 percent answered, "No." Eight point two percent answered, "N/A." The answers are presented in the figure below.

Figure 15. Debriefing required for a journalist if he/she covers a trauma story

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	2.0	2.0
	No	44	89.8	91.8
	N/A	4	8.2	100.0
	Total	49	100.0	

Summary

This chapter presented the results from a study of media companies and their company policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma, and whether those policies are followed. Fifty-eight supervisor-level news management positions from selected television stations and newspapers completed an online survey that was available over a 14-day period resulting in a 10.1 percent response rate.

The results show upper-level news management is aware that journalists who are exposed to trauma while covering news stories may suffer from emotional stress. A

large portion of the respondents' companies do not have policies such as special training or manuals to assist journalists who cover trauma stories. Although, almost three-quarters of the respondents answered their companies provide programs such as counseling to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress.

The final chapter analyzes and discusses the results in detail, the study's limitations and possible opportunities for future research.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study examined media companies' policies and procedures for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, it explored what those policies are and whether the media companies follow the policies in place. The study looked at areas of awareness, policies, and procedures and debriefings as related to the research questions.

Conclusion

The following discussion will examine the study's results as they relate to the thesis research questions.

RQ_1: Do media companies have policies and programs in place to address the issues of PTSD that journalists may develop in covering trauma stories?

The awareness question, as stated in the results chapter, established relevancy for the rest of the questionnaire. The survey indicated 82.8 percent of supervisor-level news management is aware that journalists who are exposed to trauma while covering news stories may suffer from emotional stress. However, a little over 11 percent of employees reported back to management that they have symptoms of emotional difficulties resulting from covering trauma stories. The relationship between these two questions will be analyzed further later in the paper.

Although the data showed awareness of journalists' emotional stress among television and newspaper companies, there is a small percentage of companies that do have policies in place. Most follow them consistently. Those policies involve special training, correspondents, counseling, and extensive training from outside agencies.

RQ_2: If media companies do have policies and programs in place, what are they?

There were several questions involving media companies' policies and programs. Almost three-quarters of the companies surveyed provide assistance programs to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress. The most available and also used programs include: outside counseling using an outside agency, a confidential hotline, option for the journalist to rotate assignments without penalty, informal support from supervisors, co-worker support and EAPs. The most available program based on the respondents is the option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty. The resource that is the most actually used is outside counseling.

RQ_3: What has been the experience in media companies in the use of policies and programs concerning journalists and PTSD?

In addition to the above programs that are in use to assist journalist who suffer from emotional stress, media companies have shown some experience with policies. The direct responses listed in Appendix B presented counseling and EAPs described as the most used by media companies. Other policies included disaster training, special on-site training and training with outside firms. Although, the limitations section of this chapter outlines the possibility of confusion with the words 'policies' and 'programs.' Programs are developed from policies established by an organization. The respondents were asked to describe policies; nevertheless, some described programs.

Discussion

Awareness. The survey indicated 82.8 percent of supervisor-level news management is aware that journalists who are exposed to trauma while covering news stories may suffer from emotional stress. However, a little over 11 percent of employees

reported back to management that they have symptoms of emotional difficulties resulting from covering trauma stories. Although there shows an overwhelming percentage of news management aware of the experiences their reporters may encounter, the minimal amount of journalists who report back or acknowledge they may be suffering from a trauma-related syndrome or PTSD is staggering.

The research shows that intellectually, news management is sensitive to the potential stress and emotional problems that covering trauma stories could have on their reporters. But in practice, there is not much support for concern. Is the industry still dealing with the strong, silent journalist who is never affected by what they see? The literature supports this idea of the "stoic reporter." Journalists and photographers continue to echo the attitude of stoicism; they believe they have no right to experience any emotional pain or admit depression (Dworznik, 2006, p. 537). In addition, Gina Ross stated, "Journalists have been trained that, 'it is not their job to think about themselves but to think about others.' They have been trained to focus more on what has happened than on what they think and feel about…"(Ross, 2003, p.75).

The small number of journalists who report back to management indicate that they have symptoms of emotional difficulties resulting from covering trauma stories also suggests they do not want to appear weak or that they may actually be suffering. Nevertheless, this remains the accepted persona of the industry: observe and report, be objective, be uninvolved, and do not emit personal feelings. The data also reinforces the assumption that journalists do not complain. This attitude found in the research is again supported by the literature. As one freelance photojournalist stated, "We bear witness to the worst things that happen to humanity…then you're expected to turn in your story and

go on to the next" (Ballew-Gonzales, 2002, p.9). Ed Kelley, former managing editor and now editor of *The Daily Oklahoman* stated, "We're taught in journalism school that this is a macho business, that you check your feelings at the door, that your personal emotions having nothing to do with it…unlike anybody else in society, we're supposed to shut it all out…" (as quoted in Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 39).

Even though a significant amount of supervisor-level news management has reported they are aware that journalists who are exposed to trauma may suffer from emotional stress, newsrooms may be playing a part in the lack of acknowledgement and healing. News management may not be looking for a stressed journalist or symptoms of a trauma-related syndrome as PTSD due to the fast-pace nature of newsrooms. *Arizona Republic* reporter Karina Bland referred to the newsroom, "There, nobody talks about this stuff. We interview people about trauma and we see horrible things all the time, but we never consider how it affects us" (Ricchiardi, 1999, p. 35).

Moreover, journalists simply may not know to complain or be fearful of the consequences surrounding their position. They report on a story and move on. Also, it should be noted that some journalists may not be aware that they are suffering from PTSD.

Policies and Procedures. Almost three-quarters of the companies surveyed do not have policies in place for journalists covering trauma stories (such as special training) and there are no plans to develop such procedures. With many news stories being tragic such as crashes, murders, catastrophes, war, terrorism and abuse, special training needs to be a mandatory piece of journalists education or orientation. This survey, although not focused on trauma training, found an inherent challenge and opportunity for media

companies to train journalists who cover trauma stories. They are receiving no solid preparation prior to going out into the field. Thus, this researcher suggests that it is imperative for the mental health and well-being of that journalist who may deal with trauma and tragedy to go through an extensive debriefing after such an ordeal.

Programs. The most available and also used programs include: outside counseling using an outside agency, a confidential hotline, option for the journalist to rotate assignments without penalty, informal support from supervisors, co-worker support and EAPs. Even though many companies provide the support of these programs, journalists still have to acknowledge they are experiencing emotional stress and use the programs to their benefit.

The research found companies that currently have no programs in place to help journalists did not ever have programs in place. They have no plan to implement any in the next 12-24 months. This, again, is an opportunity for media companies to assist journalists who suffer from emotional stress related to covering trauma stories.

Other Findings

Many organizations have found that workplace chaplains can provide ministry and meditation to employees in times of crisis. This study revealed otherwise. Nearly 95 percent of the respondents who answered the resources question stated that workplace chaplains are not used.

The respondents were asked if programs to assist with mental or behavioral illness were available. The results yielded almost a 60 percent (No) to 40 percent (Yes) breakout. This was an add-on question in order to evaluate if not only PTSD is addressed, but if mental illness is recognized by media companies.

Limitations

There are a few limitations that need to be discussed pertaining to the questionnaire. In studying the results, a small number of the respondents may have misunderstood the terminology of policies and procedures as being programs that help journalists. As previously stated, programs are developed as a result of established polices within an organization. This was shown when the respondents were asked in the open-ended question to describe the policies in detail. Some described programs such as EAPs and counseling.

As stated earlier, the position title question is the basis of the study because of the researcher's request for supervisor-level news management responses. The researcher wanted respondents that were in a position to supervise journalists, but also who had access to human resources which would allow for evaluation and an understanding of EAPs that may be offered to journalists. This position question allowed the researcher to analyze who responded to the survey. Nearly forty-five percent answered that they were in the "Other" category for their title. This data needs to be noted, however should not have an effect on the results of the research. The people that responded "Other" did not provide their respective title name.

Another limitation of a survey questionnaire is the possibility of artificiality (Babbie, 2004). A person may have answered questions in a survey that is not representative of their actual social beliefs or actions. The respondents may have answered the questions based on the politically correct answer per se, or their belief of society's acceptable answer (self-reported data below). The respondents may have also guessed as to their opinion of what the researcher wanted.

In addition, self-reported data could be another limitation and concern. This situation can be two-pronged: the survey participant may simply have answered based on their interpretation of the socially accepted answer, or it is questioned whether the participant was able to accurately recall past behaviors that allowed true survey answers.

Although the distribution list includes editors and managing editors (supervisor-level news management position), there is a risk that this person did not actually complete the survey. A subordinate or colleague may have been directed to complete the survey on the editor's behalf. This may be a result of recent cutbacks to newsroom staff due to the failing economy, specifically in the newspaper industry.

The time period that the survey was distributed could have affected the response rate. The week following sweeps month, along with the start of summer vacations allows for busy newsrooms and editors out of the office. This limitation may also suggest, as previously discussed, that colleagues may have completed the survey in place of an editor or news management person.

This survey yielded a low participation with a 10.1 percent response rate. The survey results should be used with caution due to the low rate and referred to as an exploratory study. The results should not be used to generalize media companies' policies and procedures across the United States. The results, however, may not differ if a higher response rate was attained. The research did not include every newspaper and television station in the United States. Therefore, the results of the study are not representative of the entire newspaper and television industry.

Future Research

There are a few areas that future studies should investigate. One is how media outlets handle trauma when it more directly affects the newsroom. This study would reference tragedies such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City, the Oklahoma City bombings, the Columbine shootings and other traumatizing events.

One question in the survey addressed debriefing sessions for journalists. Nearly ninety percent of the respondents said a journalist is not required to go through a debriefing after they have covered a traumatic event. Even with the small sample size, this may be an indicator among media companies that journalists need help in coping with trauma related stress. This study did not examine the policy; therefore, media companies' use of debriefing sessions should be researched. The areas that should be explored include whether debriefings are required and how that would or would not lead to the onset of PTSD in journalists.

Several studies conducted by The Dart Center revealed as a journalist's years in the field increase, rates of self-reported PTSD symptoms may increase as well. This research suggested that 11 percent of journalists report back to their supervisors they have encountered symptoms of stress related to covering trauma stories. Another study in this area would be appropriate to compare journalists in various stages of their career with the rate of self-reported stress-related symptoms from covering traumatic events.

In addition, future studies should investigate the broader issue of why there is not more specialized training for journalists who cover trauma stories and how policies should be implemented. The literature showed most journalists, whether new to the field or a veteran, have been given little or no training on how to cope with trauma when

reporting accidents, disasters or violence. In conjunction, the topic of whether journalists are aware of the potential for stress-related syndromes or PTSD should be addressed. There is no documented data showing that journalists are prepared for the traumatic events and devastation they will most likely see in the field throughout their career.

The study could also be repeated at a different time of year to try and get a higher response rate. The data should then be compared.

Thesis Summary

This thesis examined media companies and their policies for helping journalists who have been exposed to trauma. In addition, it explored what those policies are, whether the media companies follow the policies in place, and available stress-related EAPs as a benefit for journalists.

The researcher distributed a survey via email to supervisor-level news management at selected television stations and newspapers across the United States. The respondents answered the questionnaire online through SurveyMonkey.com over a 14-day period (June 3 – 16, 2009). The research resulted in a 10.1 percent response rate.

The results found that management is aware of the emotional stress that journalists encounter when covering tragic events. In addition, media companies have shown some experience with policies. The respondents presented counseling and EAPs described as the most used. Other policies included disaster training, special on-site training and training with outside firms.

The compiled data also found that some programs are in place to assist in the coping and healing process from stress-related syndromes or PTSD. The most available

program based on the respondents is the option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty. The resource that is the most actually used is outside counseling.

APPENDIX A - Questionnaire

This survey has been designed to research the assistance programs provided by media companies that help journalists who may develop Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) from reporting on violent stories. To provide a full understanding, The American Psychiatric Association defines PTSD as, "an anxiety disorder precipitated by a traumatic event and characterized by symptoms of re-experiencing the trauma, avoidance and numbing, and hyperarousal." Also for this survey, debriefing, according to the American Psychological Association seeks to prevent symptoms by having trauma survivors share memories or relive the experience. Thank you for taking the time to contribute to this important industry research.

QUESTIONNAIRE:

A recent survey published by The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma indicated that journalists reporting a high rate or exposure to traumatic assignments are likely to report more Post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms than those who report fewer exposure incidents. Are you aware of the possibility that journalists who are exposed to covering trauma stories may suffer emotional stress? Y, N

Does your company have policies for journalists who cover trauma stories? (IE: special training, manuals, etc.) Y, N, N/A

If answered YES, please describe the policies in detail.

Are the procedures consistently followed? Y, N, N/A

If answered NO: **Are there plans to develop a procedure?** Y, N, N/A

In your opinion, what percentage of employees have reported to you symptoms of emotional difficulties as a result from covering trauma stories? Enter percentage

If a journalist covers a trauma story, is he/she required to go through a debriefing? Y, N, N/A

Does your company provide any programs to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress? Y, N, N/A

If answered YES – go to the "Resources" box below.

If answered NO:

Did your company once have any programs in place? Y, N

If answered YES:

What are the circumstances that led up to the change or termination of that program and how long ago did this occur? Please be specific. (open-ended)

If answered NO:

Does your company plan to implement any programs within the next 12-24 months?

If answered NO:

Does your company offer any programs to assistance with mental or behavioral illness?

If you answered YES to the question, **"Does your company provide any programs to help journalists who may suffer from emotional stress?"** please mark an X in the first column if the service is available to employees. Mark an X in the second column if it is actually used. Mark an X in the third column if it's not used.

RESOURCE	Available	Actually Used	Not Used
In-house Counseling with professionals			
Outside Counseling (outside agency)			
Group Counseling			
Workplace Chaplains			
Confidential Hotline (to call Counselors)			
Formal Debriefing Sessions			
Option for a journalist to rotate assignments without penalty?			
Informal Support from Supervisors			
Co-worker Support (may include volunteers)			
Employee Assistance Programs			
Printed literature explaining PTSD and how to cope			
Trauma Training/Seminars			
OTHER (please list)			

Any additional comments

Demographic Information

In what industry are you employed?
Newspaper
Television
Other

Newspaper answer would go to:
What is your newspaper's circulation?

Television answer would go to:
What is your television's market size?

OTHER would go to:
List the industry in which you are employed.

What is your title?
News Editor
Managing Editor
News Director
Programming Director
Human Resources Director
Other_____

Title question would go to:
How long have you been in this position?

How long have you worked in the Media industry? Answer in years

What is your age? Answer in years

What is your gender? M F

Would you be willing to discuss your answers in confidence with the researcher at a later time? Y, N

If answered YES:
Enter name and preferred way to be reached (phone or via email)

If answered NO:
Thank you very much for your time in taking this survey. Your knowledge has contributed to important research in the media industry related to journalists and Post-traumatic stress disorder.

APPENDIX B – Respondents' Answers to Describing Their Company Policies in Detail

"Correspondents who are being relocated to bureaus where they might find themselves in harm's way are required to receive counseling, before they go, as a condition of their reassignment. The counseling is also offered to their families. Correspondents (or photographers) who are deployed into hazardous or difficult situations -- foreign or domestic -- are offered counseling opportunities on their return. We also offer counseling to reporters or others who might have been involved in an incident or situation that is psychologically or emotionally fraught."

"We have an employee assistance program that is confidential and offers counseling and other services. However, it is up to the individual to seek out those services."

"Employee assistance program."

"Training prior to deployment and an examination upon return."

"Disaster training, Regular on-site training and meetings to discuss special situations, Special on-site counseling, On-site physician and nurses, Free after-the fact counseling, Continued follow-up at regular intervals."

"We offer counseling to journalists that is free of charge. In some cases, we make it mandatory."

"Counselors will be made available in the event of a major traumatic story. An example: The Columbine High School massacre. Also, health insurance covers counseling should a reporter feel the need."

"We undergo extensive training with outside firms that deal with news coverage in war zones and other hostile conditions. Regular and updated refresher courses. Most curriculum deals with terrorist situations, angry crowds, NCR attacks."

"They provide free counseling services for job- and non-job-related stress issues. It's voluntary involvement, so I do not know if they are consistently followed."

"Discussion BEFORE anyone is assigned to such stories. The right to refuse an assignment because of stress factors. A confidential Employee Assistance Program--free of charge--giving people a place to turn for counseling and other assistance."

"Employee Assistance Program that has trauma counseling available and that is offered during times of stress."

"We do not have a policy directed specifically at post-traumatic stress syndrome. But we have a general awareness of all sorts of emotional problems that could beset someone for stresses of all types, arising out of either work or domestic issues, and we react very quickly to problems in that area."

APPENDIX C – The Nielsen Company's Television Designated Market Areas
(Questionnaire Sent)

	DMA TV Households	% of U.S. TV Households	DMA Ranking
New York	7,391,940	6.553	1
Los Angeles	5,647,440	5.007	2
Chicago	3,469,110	3.076	3
Philadelphia	2,939,950	2.606	4
Dallas-Ft. Worth	2,435,600	2.159	5
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose	2,419,440	2.145	6
Boston	2,393,960	2.122	7
Atlanta	2,310,490	2.048	8
Washington DC	2,308,290	2.046	9
Houston	2,050,550	1.818	10
Detroit	1,925,460	1.707	11
Phoenix	1,802,550	1.598	12
Tampa, St. Petersburg, Sarasota	1,783,910	1.582	13
Seattle, Tacoma	1,782,040	1.580	14
Minneapolis, St. Paul	1,706,740	1.513	15
Miami, Ft. Lauderdale	1,536,020	1.362	16
Cleveland	1,533,710	1.360	17
Denver	1,477,280	1.310	18
Orlando, Daytona Beach, Melbourne	1,434,050	1.271	19
Sacramento, Stockton, Modesto	1,391,790	1.234	20
St. Louis	1,244,370	1.103	21
Pittsburgh	1,158,210	1.027	22
Portland	1,150,320	1.020	23
Baltimore	,095,490	0.971	24
Charlotte	1,085,640	0.962	25
Colorado Springs, Pueblo	326,380	0.289	93
Baton Rouge	317,550	0.282	94
Waco, Temple, Bryan	315,900	0.280	95
Davenport (IA), Rock Island, Moline (IL)	308,950	0.274	96
Savannah	306,680	0.272	97
El Paso	302,470	0.268	98
Johnstown/Altoona	295,180	0.262	99
Charleston (SC)	294,230	0.261	100
Evansville	290,060	0.257	101
Ft. Smith, Fayetteville, Springdale, Rogers	289,080	0.256	102
Myrtle Beach, Florence	279,820	0.248	103
Lincoln, Hastings-Kearney	277,270	0.246	104
Greenville, New Bern, Washington	276,020	0.245	105

Youngstown	273,480	[redacted]	0.242	[redacted] 106
Fort Wayne	273,240	[redacted]	0.242	[redacted] 107
Tallahassee (FL), Thomasville (GA)	267,850	[redacted]	0.237	[redacted] 108
Springfield, Holyoke	263,520	[redacted]	0.234	[redacted] 109
Reno	263,060	[redacted]	0.233	[redacted] 110
Tyler, Longview	260,800	[redacted]	0.231	[redacted] 111
Lansing	255,040	[redacted]	0.226	[redacted] 112
Boise	251,920	[redacted]	0.223	[redacted] 113
Sioux Falls	251,000	[redacted]	0.223	[redacted] 114
Augusta	250,790	[redacted]	0.222	[redacted] 115
Traverse City, Cadillac	247,690	[redacted]	0.220	[redacted] 116
Peoria, Bloomington	243,640	[redacted]	0.216	[redacted] 117
Meridian	70,740	[redacted]	0.063	[redacted] 186
Grand Junction, Montrose	69,320	[redacted]	0.061	[redacted] 187
Laredo	67,150	[redacted]	0.060	[redacted] 188
Lafayette (IN)	66,330	[redacted]	0.059	[redacted] 189
Parkersburg	63,680	[redacted]	0.056	[redacted] 190
Great Falls	63,520	[redacted]	0.056	[redacted] 191
Bend (OR)	62,870	[redacted]	0.056	[redacted] 192
Twin Falls	62,590	[redacted]	0.055	[redacted] 193
Butte, Bozeman	61,620	[redacted]	0.055	[redacted] 194
Eureka	59,660	[redacted]	0.053	[redacted] 195
Cheyenne (WY), Scottsbluff (NE)	54,380	[redacted]	0.048	[redacted] 196
San Angelo	53,110	[redacted]	0.047	[redacted] 197
Casper, Riverton	53,100	[redacted]	0.047	[redacted] 198
Mankato	51,290	[redacted]	0.045	[redacted] 199
Ottumwa (IA), Kirksville (MO)	51,290	[redacted]	0.045	[redacted] 200
St. Joseph	46,390	[redacted]	0.041	[redacted] 201
Zanesville	33,360	[redacted]	0.030	[redacted] 202
Fairbanks	32,550	[redacted]	0.029	[redacted] 203
Victoria	31,080	[redacted]	0.028	[redacted] 204
Presque Isle	30,860	[redacted]	0.027	[redacted] 205
Helena	26,360	[redacted]	0.023	[redacted] 206
Juneau	24,170	[redacted]	0.021	[redacted] 207
Alpena	17,510	[redacted]	0.016	[redacted] 208
North Platte	15,640	[redacted]	0.014	[redacted] 209
Glendive	3,890	[redacted]	0.003	[redacted] 210

APPENDIX D – Newspaper Listing and Circulation
(Questionnaire Sent)

Ranking	Frequency	Newspaper	Circulation
1	AVG M (M-F)	USA TODAY, WASHINGTON	2,293,310
2	AVG M (M-F)	WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK CITY	2,011,999
3	WKND	WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK CITY	1,927,247
4	SUN	TIMES, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	1,438,585
5	SUN	TIMES, LOS ANGELES (LOS ANGELES CO.)	1,055,076
6	AVG M (M-F)	TIMES, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	1,000,665
7	SAT M	TIMES, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	965,417
8	SUN	WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON	866,057
9	SUN	TRIBUNE (T), CHICAGO (COOK CO.)	864,845
10	SAT M	TIMES, LOS ANGELES (LOS ANGELES CO.)	825,911
11	AVG M (M-F)	TIMES, LOS ANGELES (LOS ANGELES CO.)	739,147
12	SUN	SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA NEWS GROUP	732,371
13	AVG (M-F)	SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA NEWS GROUP	711,309
14	SUN	NEWS, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	674,104
15	SAT M & SAT E	SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA NEWS GROUP	659,749
16	AVG M (M-F)	NEWS, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	632,595
17	AVG M (M-F)	POST, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	625,421
18	AVG M (M-F)	WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON	622,714
19	SUN	FREE PRESS (T), DETROIT (WAYNE CO.)	605,369
20	SAT M	WASHINGTON POST, WASHINGTON	584,313
21	SUN	CHRONICLE (T), HOUSTON (HARRIS CO.)	584,164
22	SUN	INQUIRER, PHILADELPHIA (PHILADELPHIA CO.)	556,426
24	SUN	STAR TRIBUNE, MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	520,828
25	AVG M (M-F)	TRIBUNE, CHICAGO (COOK CO.)	516,032
26	SUN	GLOBE, BOSTON (SUFFOLK CO.)	503,659
27	SUN	MORNING NEWS, DALLAS (DALLAS CO.)	483,841
28	SUN	LOS ANGELES NEWSPAPER GROUP	480,838
29	AVG DLY	FREE PRESS/NEWS, DETROIT (WAYNE	476,523

		CO.)	
30	SAT M	NEWS, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	465,779
31	SUN	JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, ATLANTA (FULTON CO.)	464,805
32	SUN	REPUBLIC (T), PHOENIX (MARICOPA CO.)	463,036
33	AVG (M-FRI)	LOS ANGELES NEWSPAPER GROUP, LOS ANGELES CO. (WOODLAND HILLS P.O.)	458,610
34	SUN	STAR-LEDGER, NEWARK (ESSEX CO.)	455,699
35	SAT M	CHRONICLE, HOUSTON (HARRIS CO.)	454,790
36	CMBD SAT	FREE PRESS/NEWS, DETROIT (WAYNE CO.)	454,040
37	SAT M	LOS ANGELES NEWSPAPER GROUP, LOS ANGELES CO. (WOODLAND HILLS P.O.)	454,020
38	AVG M (M-F)	CHRONICLE, HOUSTON (HARRIS CO.)	448,271
39	SUN	NEWSDAY, LONG ISLAND (MELVILLE P.O.)	433,894
40	SUN	POST-DISPATCH, ST. LOUIS (INDEPENDENT CITY)	423,588
41	SAT M	POST, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	421,848
42	SUN	PLAIN DEALER, CLEVELAND (CUYAHOGA CO.)	411,061
43	SAT M	TRIBUNE, CHICAGO (COOK CO.)	409,962
44	SUN	CHRONICLE, SAN FRANCISCO	398,116
45	SUN	TIMES, ST. PETERSBURG (PINELLAS CO.)	390,289
46	SUN	POST, NEW YORK CITY (NEW YORK CO.)	386,105
47	SUN	POST-INTELLIGENCER, TIMES, SEATTLE (KING CO.)	382,332
48	AVG M (M-F)	NEWSDAY, LONG ISLAND (MELVILLE P.O.)	377,517
49	SAT M	REPUBLIC, PHOENIX (MARICOPA CO.)	375,894
50	SUN	JOURNAL SENTINEL, MILWAUKEE (MILWAUKEE CO.)	375,857
51	CMBD SUN	MIAMI HERALD/EL NUEVO HERALD, MIAMI	366,712
52	SAT M	CHRONICLE, SAN FRANCISCO	363,779
53	AVG M (M-F)	REPUBLIC, PHOENIX (MARICOPA CO.)	361,333
54	SUN	SUN, BALTIMORE (INDEPENDENT CITY)	350,640
55	SAT M	STAR TRIBUNE, MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	347,773
56	SUN	OREGONIAN, PORTLAND (MULTNOMAH CO.)	344,950
57	SUN	UNION-TRIBUNE, SAN DIEGO (SAN DIEGO CO.)	342,384
58	SAT M	MORNING NEWS, DALLAS (DALLAS CO.)	340,685
59	AVG M	CHRONICLE, SAN FRANCISCO	339,430

	(M-F)		
	AVG M		
60	(M-F)	MORNING NEWS, DALLAS (DALLAS CO.)	338,933
		NEWSDAY, LONG ISLAND (MELVILLE	
61	SAT M	P.O.)	336,969
62	SUN	DISPATCH, COLUMBUS (FRANKLIN CO.)	331,977
63	SUN	STAR, KANSAS CITY (JACKSON CO.)	324,837
	AVG M		
64	(M-F)	GLOBE, BOSTON (SUFFOLK CO.)	323,983
	AVG M		
65	(M-F)	STAR TRIBUNE, MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	322,360
66	SUN	STAR (T), INDIANAPOLIS (MARION CO.)	321,760
67	SAT M	GLOBE, BOSTON (SUFFOLK CO.)	319,508
		UNION-TRIBUNE, SAN DIEGO (SAN DIEGO	
68	SAT M	CO.)	317,855
		POST-GAZETTE, PITTSBURGH	
69	SUN	(ALLEGHENY CO.)	317,008
	CMBD		
70	SAT	MIAMI HERALD/EL NUEVO HERALD	316,965
		INQUIRER, PHILADELPHIA	
71	SAT M	(PHILADELPHIA CO.)	316,426
	AVG		
	CMBD	POST-INTELLIGENCER, TIMES, SEATTLE	
72	DLY	(KING CO.)	316,313
	AVG M		
73	(M-F)	STAR-LEDGER, NEWARK (ESSEX CO.)	316,280
	AVG M		
74	(M-F)	SUN-TIMES, CHICAGO (COOK CO.)	313,176
75	SUN	SENTINEL, ORLANDO (ORANGE CO.)	307,976
	AVG M	PLAIN DEALER, CLEVELAND	
76	(M-F)	(CUYAHOGA CO.)	305,529
		JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, ATLANTA	
77	SAT M	(FULTON CO.)	302,958
		EXPRESS-NEWS, SAN ANTONIO (BEXAR	
78	SUN	CO.)	302,720
79	SAT M	TIMES, ST. PETERSBURG (PINELLAS CO.)	301,637
	AVG M	INQUIRER, PHILADELPHIA	
80	(M-F)	(PHILADELPHIA CO.)	300,674
81	SUN	BEE, SACRAMENTO (SACRAMENTO CO.)	299,207
		REGISTER, ORANGE CO. (SANTA ANA	
82	SUN	P.O.)	298,410
	AVG M		
83	(M-F)	FREE PRESS, DETROIT (WAYNE CO.)	298,243
	CMBD	POST-INTELLIGENCER, TIMES, SEATTLE	
84	SAT	(KING CO.)	296,505
85	SAT M	PLAIN DEALER, CLEVELAND	294,627

		(CUYAHOGA CO.)	
	AVG CMBD	MIAMI HERALD/EL NUEVO HERALD,	
86	DLY	MIAMI	288,179
87	SAT	FREE PRESS, DETROIT (WAYNE CO.)	285,590
	AVG AD	OREGONIAN, PORTLAND (MULTNOMAH	
88	(M-F)	CO.)	283,321
		STAR-TELEGRAM, FORT WORTH	
89	SUN	(TARRANT CO.)	280,447
		MIAMI HERALD, MIAMI (MIAMI-DADE	
90	SUN	CO.)	279,484
	AVG M	JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, ATLANTA	
91	(M-F)	(FULTON CO.)	274,999
		OREGONIAN, PORTLAND (MULTNOMAH	
92	SAT M	CO.)	273,961
		ENQUIRER (T), CINCINNATI (HAMILTON	
93	SUN	CO.)	272,703
		DEMOCRAT GAZETTE, LITTLE ROCK	
94	SUN	(PULASKI CO.)	270,477
	AVG M	UNION-TRIBUNE, SAN DIEGO (SAN DIEGO	
95	(M-F)	CO.)	269,819
		SOUTH FLORIDA SUN-SENTINEL, FT.	
96	SUN	LAUDERDALE	269,256
97	SUN	COURIER-JOURNAL (T), LOUISVILLE	268,942
	AVG M		
98	(M-F)	TIMES, ST. PETERSBURG (PINELLAS CO.)	268,935
923	SUN	KITSAP SUN, BREMERTON (KITSAP CO.)	30,649
924	SAT M	EAGLE, DOTHAN (HOUSTON CO.)	30,632
	AVG M	DAILY SUN, THE VILLAGES	
925	(M-F)	(LAKE/SUMTER/MARION COS.)	30,616
926	SUN	HERALD, ROCK HILL (YORK CO.)	30,576
927	SUN	HERALD, MONTEREY (MONTEREY CO.)	30,501
		STANDARD-TIMES, NEW BEDFORD	
928	SUN	(BRISTOL CO.)	30,496
	AVG M		
929	(M-F)	HERALD, PROVO (UTAH CO.)	30,489
		SUN-GAZETTE, WILLIAMSPORT	
930	SUN	(LYCOMING CO.)	30,419
	AVG M		
931	(M-F)	MIRROR, ALTOONA (BLAIR CO.)	30,343
	AVG M	RECORD SEARCHLIGHT, REDDING	
932	(M-F)	(SHASTA CO.)	30,319
		DAILY SUN, THE VILLAGES	
933	SAT M	(LAKE/SUMTER/MARION COS.)	30,304
		CITRUS COUNTY CHRONICLE, CRYSTAL	
934	SUN	RIVER	30,264

935	SUN	HERALD-SUN, DURHAM (DURHAM CO.)	30,192
936	SUN	CENTRE DAILY TIMES, STATE COLLEGE	30,185
937	SUN	STAR-TRIBUNE, CASPER (NATRONA CO.)	30,088
938	SUN	TIMES RECORD NEWS, WICHITA FALLS	30,070
939	SUN	MAIL TRIBUNE, MEDFORD (JACKSON CO.)	30,046
940	AVG M (M-F)	SENTINEL, GRAND JUNCTION (MESA CO.)	30,030
941	AVG M (M-F)	TRIBUNE, GREAT FALLS (CASCADE CO.)	29,957
942	SUN	JOURNAL TIMES, RACINE (RACINE CO.)	29,947
943	AVG E (M-F)	TIMES, BAY CITY (BAY CO.)	29,890
944	SAT M	NEWS-RECORD, HARRISONBURG	29,869
945	SUN	NEWS-TIMES, DANBURY (FAIRFIELD CO.)	29,794
946	AVG M (M-F)	INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, MARIN CO. (NOVATO P.O.)	29,742
947	SUN	EAGLE, BUTLER (BUTLER CO.)	29,730
948	AVG M (M-F)	NEWS, FLORENCE (FLORENCE CO.)	29,721
949	AVG M (M-F)	SUN, JACKSON (MADISON CO.)	29,720
950	AVG E (M-F)	CITIZEN PATRIOT, JACKSON (JACKSON CO.)	29,697
951	AVG M (M-F)	TOWN TALK, ALEXANDRIA-PINEVILLE	29,692
952	SAT M	NEWS-STAR, MONROE (OUACHITA PARISH)	29,689
953	SUN	COURIER-NEWS, BRIDGEWATER (SOMERVILLE P.O.)	29,675
954	AVG M (M-F)	NEWS-RECORD, HARRISONBURG	29,660
955	AVG CMBD DLY	INTELLIGENCER, NEWS- REGISTER, WHEELING	29,584
956	SUN	PROGRESS, CHARLOTTESVILLE	29,583
957	SAT E	CITIZEN PATRIOT, JACKSON (JACKSON CO.)	29,519
958	SUN	TIMES, WATERTOWN (JEFFERSON CO.)	29,501
959	FRI	CHIEF-CIVIL SERVICE LEADER, NEW YORK	29,457
960	SUN	GAZETTE, GASTONIA (GASTON CO.)	29,454
961	AVG M (M-F)	HERALD-SUN, DURHAM (DURHAM CO.)	29,449
962	SAT M	MISSOULIAN, MISSOULA (MISSOULA CO.)	29,449
963	AVG M	OLYMPIAN, OLYMPIA (THURSTON CO.)	29,425

	(M-F)		
	AVG M	INDEPENDENT-MAIL, ANDERSON	
964	(M-F)	(ANDERSON CO.)	29,399
	AVG M		
965	(M-F)	STAR/PRESS, MUNCIE (DELAWARE CO.)	29,396
966	SAT M	NEWS, FLORENCE (FLORENCE CO.)	29,334
		TIMES, ST. CLOUD (STEARNS, BENTON &	
967	SAT M	SHERBURNE COS.)	29,332
		HERALD, GRAND FORKS (GRAND FORKS	
968	SUN	CO.)	29,279
	AVG M	STANDARD-TIMES, NEW BEDFORD	
969	(M-F)	(BRISTOL CO.)	29,246
		TIMES-NEWS, CUMBERLAND (ALLEGANY	
970	SUN	CO.)	29,237
	AVG M	GAZETTE, TEXARKANA (BOWIE CO.), TX-	
971	(M-F)	(MILLER CO.), AR	29,206
	AVG M	TRIBUNE CHRONICLE, WARREN	
972	(M-F)	(TRUMBULL CO.)	29,206
		COLORADOAN, FORT COLLINS (LARIMER	
973	SUN	CO.)	29,006
974	SUN	NEWS, PARKERSBURG (WOOD CO.)	28,990
		TIMES DAILY, FLORENCE (LAUDERDALE	
975	SUN	CO.	28,959
976	SAT M	KITSAP SUN, BREMERTON (KITSAP CO.)	28,946
977	SAT M	HERALD, MONTEREY (MONTEREY CO.)	28,912
		PIONEER PRESS NEWSPAPER GROUP	
978	WKLY	CENTRAL	28,909
	AVG M	MAIL TRIBUNE, MEDFORD (JACKSON	
979	(M-F)	CO.)	28,884
	AVG E	ENTERPRISE, BROCKTON (PLYMOUTH	
980	(M-F)	CO.)	28,833
981	SAT M	CAMERA, BOULDER (BOULDER CO.)	28,774
982	SAT M	SOUTHERN ILLINOISAN, CARBONDALE	28,764
	AVG M	TIMES, BURLINGTON CO. (WILLINGBORO	
983	(M-F)	P.O.)	28,757
		STANDARD-TIMES, NEW BEDFORD	
984	SAT M	(BRISTOL CO.)	28,734
	AVG M	PRESS, JOHNSON CITY (WASHINGTON	
985	(M-F)	CO.)	28,614
986	SAT M	TOWN TALK, ALEXANDRIA-PINEVILLE	28,595
987	SUN	MESSENGER-INQUIRER, OWENSBORO	28,532
		MAIL TRIBUNE, MEDFORD (JACKSON	
988	SAT M	CO.)	28,489
989	SUN	BEACON NEWS, AURORA (KANE CO.)	28,425
		HERALD-TIMES, BLOOMINGTON	
990	SAT M	(MONROE CO.)	28,408

991	SAT M	TIMES, BURLINGTON CO. (WILLINGBORO P.O.)	28,401
992	AVG M (M-F)	MISSOULIAN, MISSOULA (MISSOULA CO.)	28,313
993	SAT M	INDEPENDENT JOURNAL, MARIN CO. (NOVATO P.O.)	28,305
994	SAT M	HERALD, ROCK HILL (YORK CO.)	28,163
995	AVG M (M-F)	DAILY PRESS, VICTORVILLE (SAN BERNARDINO CO.)	28,150
996	AVG M (M-F)	HERALD, MONTEREY (MONTEREY CO.)	28,107
997	SAT M	STAR/PRESS, MUNCIE (DELAWARE CO.)	28,071
998	AVG M (M-F)	JOURNAL TIMES, RACINE (RACINE CO.)	28,039
999	SAT M	SUN, JACKSON (MADISON CO.)	28,007
1000	SAT M	STAR-TRIBUNE, CASPER (NATRONA CO.)	28,006
1001	AVG M (M-F)	STAR-TRIBUNE, CASPER (NATRONA CO.)	27,989
1002	SAT M	TELEGRAPH HERALD, DUBUQUE (DUBUQUE CO.)	27,838
1003	AVG M (M-F)	JOURNAL, RAPID CITY (PENNINGTON CO.)	27,827
1004	AVG M (M-F)	REPORTER-NEWS, ABILENE (TAYLOR CO.)	27,810
1005	SAT M	PRESS, JOHNSON CITY (WASHINGTON CO.)	27,708
1006	AVG E (M-F)	NEWS, SALEM (ESSEX CO.)	27,701
1007	AVG M (M-F)	CAMERA, BOULDER (BOULDER CO.)	27,671
1008	SAT M	HERALD, GRAND FORKS (GRAND FORKS CO.)	27,650
1009	AVG M (M-F)	TIMES DAILY, FLORENCE (LAUDERDALE CO.)	27,641
1010	AVG M (M-F)	TELEGRAPH HERALD, DUBUQUE (DUBUQUE CO.)	27,623
1011	AVG M (M-F)	HERALD, ROCK HILL (YORK CO.)	27,614
1012	SAT M	INDEPENDENT-MAIL, ANDERSON (ANDERSON CO.)	27,611
1013	SAT M	INTELLIGENCER, WHEELING (OHIO CO.)	27,576
1014	SUN	TELEGRAPH, NASHUA (HILLSBOROUGH CO.)	27,551
1015	SAT M	HERALD, PROVO (UTAH CO.)	27,510
1016	SUN	STANDARD-TIMES, SAN ANGELO (TOM GREEN CO.)	27,468

1017	SAT M	TIMES-NEWS, CUMBERLAND (ALLEGANY CO.)	27,454
1018	AVG M (M-F)	ENTERPRISE-RECORD, CHICO (BUTTE CO.)	27,446
1019	SAT M	TRIBUNE, BISMARCK (BURLEIGH CO.)	27,365
1020	SAT E	NEWS JOURNAL, MANSFIELD (RICHLAND CO.)	27,355
1021	AVG M (M-F)	TIMES-NEWS, CUMBERLAND (ALLEGANY CO.)	27,329
1022	SAT M	LEADER-TELEGRAM, EAU CLAIRE (EAU CLAIRE CO.)	27,299
1023	SUN	HERALD, BELLINGHAM (WHATCOM CO.)	27,298
1846	M (TUE-SAT)	NEWS-COURIER, ATHENS (LIMESTONE CO.)	6,411
1847	M (TUE-SAT)	CURRENT-ARGUS, CARLSBAD (EDDY CO.)	6,400
1848	M (M-F)	BANNER, BENNINGTON (BENNINGTON CO.)	6,390
1849	SUN	EL NUEVO HERALDO, BROWNSVILLE	6,390
1850	SUN	EVENING STAR, AUBURN (DEKALB CO.)	6,390
1851	THU	WEST ESSEX TRIBUNE, LIVINGSTON (ESSEX CO.)	6,374
1852	SUN	LEADER, BROOKHAVEN (LINCOLN CO.)	6,364
1853	M (M-THU), SAT	HERALD, CHIPPEWA FALLS (CHIPPEWA CO.)	6,310
1854	SAT M	EL NUEVO HERALDO, BROWNSVILLE	6,308
1855	SAT M	NEWS, RED BLUFF (TEHAMA CO.)	6,258
1856	SAT M	JOURNAL, UKIAH (MENDOCINO CO.)	6,246
1857	E (M-F)	BOLIVAR COMMERCIAL, CLEVELAND (BOLIVAR CO.)	6,205
1858	M (M-SAT)	DISPATCH, ONEIDA (MADISON COUNTY)	6,193
1859	SUN	CORINTHIAN, CORINTH (ALCORN CO.)	6,186
1860	WED	MOUNTAIN EAGLE, WHITESBURG (LETCHER CO.)	6,179
1861	SUN	JACKSON COUNTY FLORIDAN, MARIANNA	6,173
1862	SUN	TRIBUNE, COSHOCTON (COSHOCTON CO.)	6,171
1863	M (TUE-SAT)	DAILY NEWS, ALAMOGORDO (OTERO CO.)	6,167
1864	E (M-F)	LEADER, BROOKHAVEN (LINCOLN CO.)	6,138
1865	M (TUE-SAT)	CORINTHIAN, CORINTH (ALCORN CO.)	6,113
1866	SUN	REGISTER, RICHMOND (MADISON CO.)	6,041

1867	AVG M (M-F)	TIMES-COURIER, CHARLESTON (COLES CO.)	6,026
1868	SAT M	ADVANCE-REGISTER, TULARE (TULARE CO.)	6,003
1869	SUN	PLAINSMAN, HURON (BEADLE CO.)	5,980
1870	M (TUE-F)	JACKSON COUNTY FLORIDAN, MARIANNA	5,967
1871	WED & FRI	CITIZEN-NEWS, FAIRFIELD (FAIRFIELD CO.)	5,928
1872	AVG M (M-F)	ADVANCE-REGISTER, TULARE (TULARE CO.)	5,874
1873	SAT M	TRIPLICATE, CRESCENT CITY (DEL NORTE CO.)	5,850
1874	E (M-SAT)	REGISTER, RICHMOND (MADISON CO.)	5,700
1875	SUN	BREEZE-COURIER, TAYLORVILLE (CHRISTIAN CO.)	5,692
1876	E (M-SAT)	NEWS, GARDNER (WORCESTER CO.)	5,642
1877	E (M-SAT)	TRIBUNE, COSHOCTON (COSHOCTON CO.)	5,641
1878	M (TUE-SAT)	PLAINSMAN, HURON (BEADLE CO.)	5,603
1879	E (M-F)	TRANSCRIPT, NORTH ADAMS (BERKSHIRE CO.)	5,570
1880	E (M-F)	BREEZE-COURIER, TAYLORVILLE (CHRISTIAN CO.)	5,541
1881	AVG M (M-F)	NEWS, SALEM (COLUMBIANA CO.)	5,502
1882	E (M-SAT)	TELEGRAPH-FORUM, BUCYRUS (CRAWFORD CO.)	5,478
1883	SAT M	TIMES-COURIER, CHARLESTON (COLES CO.)	5,452
1884	THU	HERALD, HARRODSBURG (MERCER CO.)	5,414
1885	WED	TRIBUNE, PACIFICA (SAN MATEO CO.)	5,403
1886	SUN	TRIBUNE, CANTON (CHEROKEE CO.)	5,377
1887	SAT M	NEWS, SALEM (COLUMBIANA CO.)	5,357
1888	SUN	TIMES, WEIRTON (HANCOCK CO.)	5,335
1889	AVG M (M-F)	RECORD, LOMPOC (SANTA BARBARA CO.)	5,331
1890	SAT E	TIMES, WEIRTON (HANCOCK CO.)	5,250
1891	SUN	RECORD, LOMPOC (SANTA BARBARA CO.)	5,248
1892	SUN	NEWS, SALEM (COLUMBIANA CO.)	5,245
1893	SUN	BOOMERANG, LARAMIE (ALBANY CO.)	5,233
1894	M (TUE-	BOOMERANG, LARAMIE (ALBANY CO.)	5,233

	SAT)		
1895	SAT E	NEWS HERALD, PORT CLINTON (OTTAWA CO.)	5,136
1896	AVG E (M-F)	TIMES, WEIRTON (HANCOCK CO.)	5,135
1897	THU	ADVERTISER, NEW CANAAN (FAIRFIELD CO.)	5,116
1898	M (M-SAT)	REGISTER-STAR, HUDSON (COLUMBIA CO.)	5,103
1899	SUN	HERALD-REPUBLICAN, ANGOLA (STEUBEN CO.)	5,072
1900	SUN	REGISTER-STAR, HUDSON (COLUMBIA CO.)	5,015
1901	M (W-SAT)	TRIBUNE, CANTON (CHEROKEE CO.)	4,913
1902	AVG M (M-F)	DAILY REGISTER, PORTAGE (COLUMBIA CO.)	4,839
1903	FRI	COUNTY TIMES, LITCHFIELD (LITCHFIELD CO.)	4,808
1904	SAT M	DAILY REGISTER, PORTAGE (COLUMBIA CO.)	4,778
1905	M (TUE-F)	TRIPLICATE, CRESCENT CITY (DEL NORTE CO.)	4,738
1906	E (M-SAT)	REPORTER TIMES, MARTINSVILLE (MORGAN CO.)	4,714
1907	THU	WARREN SENTINEL, FRONT ROYAL (WARREN CO.)	4,613
1908	E (M-SAT)	HERALD- REPUBLICAN, ANGOLA (STEUBEN CO.)	4,552
1909	E (M-SAT)	COURIER, WINFIELD (COWLEY CO.)	4,522
1910	AVG E (M-F)	NEWS HERALD, PORT CLINTON (OTTAWA CO.)	4,479
1911	E (M-F) & SAT M	REGISTER, BROOKINGS (BROOKINGS CO.)	4,461
1912	AVG M (M-F)	DAILY NEWS TRIBUNE, WALTHAM (MIDDLESEX CO.)	4,449
1913	TUE & FRI	FRONTIERSMAN, WASILLA	4,443
1914	SUN	LEADER, ORANGE (ORANGE CO.)	4,426
1915	THU	SIERRA STAR, OAKHURST (MADERA CO.)	4,370
1916	WKLY	NASHOBA PUBLISHING,	4,327
1917	SAT M	NEWS REPUBLIC, BARABOO (SAUK CO.)	4,305
1918	AVG M (M-F)	NEWS REPUBLIC, BARABOO (SAUK CO.)	4,251
1919	WED&FRI	SIERRA STAR, OAKHURST (MADERA CO.)	4,238

1920	FRI	ENTERPRISE, LOS BANOS (MERCED CO.)	4,076
1921	SUN	FRONTIERSMAN, WASILLA	4,064
1922	M (M-SAT)	LEADER, ORANGE (ORANGE CO.)	4,036
1923	WED	SHENANDOAH VALLEY-HERALD, WOODSTOCK	3,911
1924	THU	VALLEY BANNER, ELKTON (ROCKINGHAM CO.)	3,908
1925	M (M-SAT)	DESERT DISPATCH, BARSTOW	3,895
1926	FRI	RECORD, BEL AIR (HARFORD CO.)	3,895
1927	THU	GAZETTE-DEMOCRAT, ANNA (UNION CO.)	3,741
1928	AVG M (M-F)	LA FRONTERA, McALLEN (HIDALGO CO.)	3,673
1929	TUE & FRI	ENTERPRISE, LOS BANOS (MERCED CO.)	3,560
1930	WED	JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT, BROOKVILLE	3,517
1931	M (M-F)	JOURNAL RECORD, OKLAHOMA CITY	3,470
1932	AVG M (M-F)	DAILY NEWS TRANSCRIPT, DEDHAM (NORFOLK CO.)	3,316
1933	M (M-SAT)	DAILY MAIL, CATSKILL (GREENE CO.)	3,231
1934	FRI	PRESS, OXFORD (BUTLER CO.)	3,169
1935	AVG E (M-F)	SENTINEL, PARKERSBURG (WOOD CO.)	2,812
1936	THU	NEWS-REVIEW, DARIEN (FAIRFIELD CO.)	2,771
1937	SUN	DAILY MAIL, CATSKILL (GREENE CO.)	2,746
1938	SAT M	LA FRONTERA, McALLEN (HIDALGO CO.)	2,725
1939	AVG E (M-F)	FREEMAN-JOURNAL, WEBSTER CITY	2,698
1940	E (M-F)	JOURNAL-REGISTER, MEDINA (ORLEANS CO.)	2,452
1941	FRI	TIMES, NEW MILFORD (LITCHFIELD CO.)	1,973
1942	WED	NEWS, CHOWCHILLA (MADERA CO.)	1,924
1943	FRI	JOURNAL, BROOKFIELD (FAIRFIELD CO.)	1,448
1944	M (TUE-SAT)	NEWS TRIBUNE, JEFFERSON CITY (COLE CO.)	1,383
1945	FRI	ENQUIRER, LITCHFIELD (LITCHFIELD CO.)	1,047
1946	FRI	GOOD TIMES DISPATCH, KENT	569

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