

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

TIMELINE OF TRAUMA: A CASE STUDY OF NEWSROOM MANAGEMENT
AND SUPPORT DURING AND AFTER THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
DESIREE NEWHART HILL
Norman, Oklahoma
2018

TIMELINE OF TRAUMA: A CASE STUDY OF NEWSROOM MANAGEMENT
AND SUPPORT DURING AND AFTER THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY

Dr. Elanie Steyn, Chair

Dr. David Craig

Dr. Peter Gade

Dr. Bret Bradley

Dr. Alan Albarran

© Copyright by DESIREE NEWHART HILL 2018
All Rights Reserved.

Dedicated to the Oklahoma City journalists of April 19, 1995

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my committee for providing the foundation for me to successfully navigate the dissertation process. Committee chair Dr. Elanie Steyn worked tirelessly and supportively to coax my best work forward. Dr. Steyn partnered with me to bring my most authentic voice to the subject, and for that I'm forever appreciative.

Each of my committee members brought something unique to the process. Dr. Alan Albarran gave me my first job as an adjunct professor and suggested that I consider seeking a master's degree. A few years later, with master's in hand, I accepted my first fulltime teaching position. When it came time to consider a Ph.D., one of my first phone calls was to Dr. Albarran, and he's been my academic guide ever since.

My other committee members made huge contributions in the groundwork and execution of the dissertation. Dr. Peter Gade taught several of my most important and memorable Ph.D. courses at the University of Oklahoma. He challenged me throughout the process to see the subject matter from different vantage points, which elevated the quality of the final product. As my outside committee member, Dr. Bret Bradley added a unique voice, deepening my understanding of management theory, an important aspect of this work. Dr. David Craig was with me from the beginning, overseeing my first pilot study connected to the subject of journalism and trauma. His good advice at the outset paved the way for my dissertation research. All of my committee members are respected scholars. I'm honored that in this work, my name is forever joined with theirs.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to several individuals at the Oklahoma City National Memorial, Mary Ann Eckstein, Tony Stizza, and Helen Stiefmiller. They were always available for my questions, helped me patiently with my research, and most importantly, conveyed their trust in me throughout the course of the study. The Memorial is a special place where I always am inspired. I also thank Charlotte Lankard, one of the first counselors to work with journalists the day of the bombing. I appreciate the time Charlotte spent meeting with me, reading my material, and giving me feedback along the way.

My connection to this subject began at 9:02 a.m. on April 19, 1995 when a Ryder truck filled with explosives blew up in downtown Oklahoma City. As a young executive producer at KWTW, the CBS affiliate, in the days following, I worked literally and figuratively alongside every other journalist in the city to tell the story of the victims and their families. Like others who were there that day, that experience lives with me forever. To those colleagues: you know who you are and what we share.

My colleagues at the University of Central Oklahoma have supported me 100%. First, my department chair, Dr. Rozilyn Miller (now an assistant dean), had the confidence I could pursue the Ph.D., while teaching fulltime at UCO. She worked with me to arrange my teaching schedule every semester so I could attend my Ph.D. classes. My current chair, Dr. Mary Carver, took up where Dr. Miller left off, always ready to offer a listening ear during dissertation struggles. Other colleagues have helped me in various unique ways. Dr. Terry Clark has provided frequent “professional development,” as we call it, to talk journalism. Joe Hight played multiple roles in my work. In Joe, I am fortunate to have a work colleague who has a deep relationship with

the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma. Teddy Burch provided a last-minute proofread for me. My documentary partner, Jeffrey Palmer, patiently observed my readings of *Naturalistic Inquiry* and *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* en route to various film shoots in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and New York.

I want to thank my first journalism teacher, Mary Maude Gallagher. A legendary teacher from Coal Hill, Arkansas, she lit the spark of journalism in me, and the light is still burning today. I also want to thank my very first teacher, my mother, also a legend, who changed the lives of many of her students. She was the only mom I knew with a master's degree. As she studied, rather than leave me at home alone, she often just brought me with her to the library, which I loved. She was modeling the way for me in ways I couldn't yet comprehend. Her support throughout my dissertation process has been unfailing.

I lost my father during the course of the Ph.D. work. He would have been beaming with pride at my accomplishment. I have felt his presence every step of the way.

Finally, my husband, Steve, and son, Sam, have been champions throughout the Ph.D. and dissertation. Without Steve's patience and acceptance of my never-ending need for reading, thinking, and writing time, I couldn't have completed this project. Sam has encouraged me in ways that go beyond his years. Nothing is better than hearing your child tell you how proud he is of something you've accomplished.

There is darkness in this dissertation, but there is also light. To the 1995 crew: your voices were in my head all the way through.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	x
Abstract	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: History and Definition of PTSD.....	19
Pre-history of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).....	20
PTSD diagnostic criteria identified.....	23
Secondary traumatic stress (STS).....	28
Burnout (BRN).....	30
Compassion Fatigue (CF).....	32
Conclusion	35
Chapter 3: Research on Journalism and Trauma	37
1990s: Journalism and trauma come into the spotlight.....	38
April 19, 1995.....	40
2000s: Trauma and journalism studies become more specific.....	45
Conclusion	53
Chapter 4: Management, Trauma, and Support.....	55
Inside journalistic trauma.....	56
Organizational structure, culture, and climate	58
Perceived organizational support (POS).....	62
Perceived organizational support (POS) and journalism research.....	69
Social Support	75
Social support and journalism research	81

Conclusion	83
Methodology	85
Connecting the literature	86
Chapter 5: Methodology	92
Grounded theory	93
Interviews with Journalists from the Oklahoma City Bombing: Data Set One	95
Constant comparison and coding.....	97
Interviews with leaders from the Oklahoma City bombing: Data Set Two.....	104
Case Study Approach.....	111
Thick Description	114
Measuring the study’s trustworthiness.....	116
Conclusion	119
Chapter 6: Results, Journalists’ transcripts from the Oklahoma City Bombing.	121
Data Set One.....	123
Analysis.....	125
Journalists’ trauma experience.....	126
Summary: Journalists and trauma experience.....	138
Journalists and perceived organizational support (POS).....	139
Summary: Journalists and perceived organizational support	143
Social support.....	144
Summary: Journalists and social support	148
Conclusion	148
Chapter 7: Results, Interviews with Top Organizational Leaders.....	151
Analysis.....	154
Managers and trauma experience.....	155

Summary: Managers and trauma experience	163
Managers and perceived organizational support (POS)	164
Summary: Managers and POS	173
Social support	175
Summary: Social support.....	183
Future traumatic events	184
Summary: Future traumatic events.....	198
Conclusion	201
Chapter 8: Discussion	204
Key research findings.....	205
Trauma experience: journalists and managers	206
Summary of trauma experience: journalists and managers	215
Perceived organizational support (POS): Journalists and managers	219
Social support	224
Summary: POS and social support, journalists and managers.....	231
Future traumatic events	237
Summary: Future traumatic events.....	246
Limitations and directions for future research.....	251
Implications for journalism.....	252
Conclusion	261
References.....	265
Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Data Set Two.....	287
Appendix B: Data Set One Coding Diagram	288
Appendix C: Data Set Two Coding Diagram.....	289

List of Figures

Figure 1: Research Question Map	120
Figure 2: Timeline of Response Connecting to POS Literature	201
Figure 3: Model of Trauma Response Timeline	258

Abstract

Multiple studies over the past three decades have recognized the emotional consequences of trauma exposure for journalists. The work of journalism requires that reporters, photographers, and other media professionals respond to tragedies and disasters, such as terror attacks, mass shootings, tornadoes, and other emotionally scarring events. For some, the most difficult stories are never-ending, because journalists are required to continue telling the stories of victims, anniversaries, and trials. The range of studies has found that up to 29% of journalists will experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) during their careers, and that large numbers, up to 98%, have witnessed traumatic events as part of their work. The numbers demonstrate that the work of journalism in many cases *is* the trauma, but research also indicates that news organizations are often deficient in providing adequate workplace support for employees who may suffer emotionally as a result of their work.

This study uses a grounded theory approach to explore how the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and other traumatic events that followed changed the way trauma is managed in Oklahoma City newsrooms. The research purpose was to extend the theoretical knowledge of journalism, trauma, and management by analyzing two sets of data. This is the first study to analyze interviews from the Oklahoma City National Memorial's archives, which became Data Set One. Historians at the National Memorial gathered the interviews from 1999 to the present. Sixty interviews were included in the study. The second set of data, Data Set Two, is comprised of interviews with top organizational leaders in Oklahoma City who worked during the time of the bombing.

Analysis of the texts and interviews showed that the local journalists in Data Set One experienced initial and aftermath trauma, including indications of PTSD symptoms, from their work during the bombing. Findings from Data Set One also revealed that multiple support gestures, including perceptions of organizational support (POS) and social support, had a healing effect on journalists. Data Set Two became a conceptual mirror to Data Set One, finding that top organizational leaders recognized some of the journalists' traumatic reactions, although some symptoms of PTSD are not visible. Further, Data Set Two showed that managers themselves also experience emotional trauma in their work. Some became victims of secondary traumatic stress (STS) when journalists they assigned to stories were exposed to primary trauma. Finally, the study found that the shocking event of the bombing lead organizational managers to increase support measures for staff who dealt with the traumatic events that occurred in the years after 1995. These specifically related to counseling, leadership, and social support. Training, however, was one area that did not show significant organizational growth along a timeline from the bombing to the present. Cognitive preparedness and peer-to-peer education are two areas where training can mitigate symptoms of emotional distress post-trauma.

The study extends the understanding of journalism, trauma, and management by connecting journalists' trauma experience to the management response during and after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. The study finds that the newsroom leaders in the Oklahoma City market improved trauma response when exposed to multiple large-scale disasters over time, in part, because they, themselves, experience trauma and support alongside the journalists they manage. News organizations which have not experienced

shocking, traumatic events with a large loss of life may not experience the same organizational learning about trauma response as those in the Oklahoma City case study, for instance. The findings of this study may be a blueprint for other news organizations, so they can benefit from the organizational learning experienced by the Oklahoma City news organizations' timeline of trauma.

Chapter 1: Introduction

And we took some pictures and then Jim and I walked behind the Water Resources Board and a gas line blew up between us, and he went one way and I went the other and I never saw him again that day until later, after five o'clock at the newspaper. (Newspaper reporter)

I've got PTSD. It's something I've got for the rest of my life. And every April it's a tough time for me, and I try not to watch TV, which is really difficult for someone in my job. (Newspaper reporter)

I don't think any television station in the country had a plan for covering it. But basically, you use plans that you develop through the years and that you use every day, and, you know, you start at square one. (Television news manager)

It was almost a blueprint for how to cover a tragedy and so when these other tragedies, tornados or horrible plane crashes that have happened here, as those have come up, I feel like we've fallen back on the lessons from the bombing. (Television producer)

I remember (another reporter) and I had kinda met in the center of the newsroom and both of us just burst into tears. And all through that newsroom, people are hugging, crying, photographers and editors are sitting there, sobbing while they put video together. It was an amazing experience but we all pulled together. (Television reporter)

April 19, 1995 in Oklahoma City started with balmy weather and blue skies.

But by mid-morning, just two minutes after 9 a.m., a giant explosion rocked the heart of the city, and thick smoke turned the sky over downtown a gray-black. Emergency responders and journalists rushed to the scene. They found the city's nine-story federal building in ruins, blown apart by a homemade fertilizer bomb hidden in a yellow Ryder truck parked in front of the building. The blast killed 168 people, including more than a dozen children who were in the building's daycare center (Those Who Were Killed, n.d.). More bomb threats followed the initial blast, and first responders and journalists found themselves running for their lives (Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency

Management, n.d.). The Oklahoma City bombing was the worst act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history (Pestano, 2015).

Journalists from the city, state, country, and around the world converged on the bombed-out area downtown and where shocked, grief-stricken families gathered. The area around the bombsite looked like a war zone (Lackmeyer & Zizzo, 1995). Initially, rescue attempts suggested survivors; but after the first day only the dead remained in the rubble. City leaders established a central location where families could get information about missing loved ones (Reporters of the Associated Press, 2007). Local television stations broadcast around-the-clock, with no commercial interruptions for weeks after the event. The 24-hour coverage meant long hours and no time off for weary television, radio, and newspaper journalists.

In some cases, journalists witnessed scenes normally reserved for first responders -- fire, police, and medical emergency personnel. Reporters described hearing the cries of children and adults coming from inside the rubble (Lackmeyer & Zizzo, 1995). One AP reporter came from the Dallas bureau a few hours after the blast. A firefighter told her that a woman's leg was being amputated to free her from the debris; medical workers told the reporter how they had tagged the toes of dead children in the makeshift morgue (Reporters of the Associated Press, 2007). A portion of one story filed for the AP read: "A worker killed sitting in his office. A woman burned to death getting out of her car. Children's toys blown from a day-care center onto the street below" (Reporters of the Associated Press, 2007, p. 360).

Whether the trauma is the Oklahoma City bombing, the events of 9/11, the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, Hurricane Katrina, or a mass shooting at a post office, school, or

concert, reporters often speak in similar ways about such events (Simpson, 2004). They become weary of the coverage and having to face the same depressing story day after day. Media professionals¹ from throughout the Oklahoma City journalism community recalled that an event such as the 1995 bombing shattered the security of a community and became a story that never went away.

Charlotte Aiken (1996) was a reporter at *The Daily Oklahoman*² in 1995. She wrote about the aftereffects of the bombing on the reporting staff.

Personal relationships have been shaken or ended. Eating disorders and other emotional problems have developed. Use of sick time has skyrocketed...I began to dread the endless bombing stories that we wrote every day for an entire year. Enough was enough. Every time I wrote something, I heard that woman screaming for her dead babies. (p. 31)

Aiken's editor, Ed Kelley, explained why it is difficult for journalists and managers to acknowledge the trauma experienced in their work (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999).

We're taught in journalism school that this is a macho business, that you check your feelings at the door, that your personal emotions have nothing to do with it. Unlike anybody else in this society, we're supposed to shut it all out. It's a myth. We can't do it. (p. 39)

What Aiken and Kelley observed and experienced is reflected in a growing body of research on journalists and trauma. While it is a relatively new area, multiple studies

¹Throughout this dissertation, the words "journalist" and "media professional" are used to label the news gatherers who experience trauma in their work. Media professional is a descriptor which has been more recently adopted to encompass all kinds of news workers, such as reporters, photographers, news managers, producers, video editors, and new media producers (Bardoel & Deuze, 2001; Carpentier, 2005). Titles such as reporter or photographer are utilized when specificity is required in the context of the research.

² The title of *The Daily Oklahoman* changed to *The Oklahoman* in 2003 (J. Hight, personal communication, Dec. 5, 2017). This dissertation will refer to the newspaper by the title it held during the time period referenced.

over the past three decades recognize the emotional consequences of trauma exposure for media professionals (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Browne, Evangeli, & Greenberg, 2012; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Dworznik, 2011; Griffin, 2015; Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Freinkel, Koopman & Spiegel, 1994; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman, Simpson, & Handschuh, 2003; Pyevich, Newman, Daleiden, 2003; Simpson, 2004; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006).

Research on the effects of trauma on journalists is sparse prior to 2000. The first study on journalists and trauma was conducted by psychiatric scholars and published in a psychiatric journal, the *American Journal of Psychiatry* (Freinkel et al., 1994). Freinkel et al. studied 15 journalists who witnessed an execution, finding these journalists suffered short-term traumatic symptoms, including dissociative effects, detachment, and avoidance as a result of the experience. They cautioned that journalists may think that covering the story and doing the news work makes them immune from mental anguish, but they are mistaken.

Simpson and Boggs (1999) conducted the first study focused specifically on journalism and trauma and published in a journalism-focused journal, *Journalism & Communication Monographs*. They studied 130 print reporters, editors, and photographers who worked for newspapers in Washington state and Michigan. They found that 86% of local newspaper reporters in the study had covered at least one violent event during the course of their careers. Moreover, those who had been on the job the longest reported the most severe symptoms of trauma, similar to the symptoms found in public safety workers. A key finding of the study was that not only big traumatic events leave journalists emotionally scarred, but also the more routine,

everyday stories. As an example, the study found that stories of fatal car accidents, assigned to both veteran and brand-new reporters, bring about disturbing, intrusive memories for media professionals (Simpson & Boggs, 1999).

Subsequent studies have taken a more micro-level view of the relationship between trauma and journalism work. Research has focused on PTSD and other mental stressors, as well as organizational and social support factors that influence journalists' traumatic experience. In a national study of photojournalists, Newman et al. (2003) found 98% were exposed to events that mental health professionals would describe as traumatic, including murders, fires, and car accidents. This and other studies (e.g. Keats & Buchanan, 2009) supported the need to provide counseling for staff, something media managers can facilitate. However, simply recommending counseling is not enough, because many journalists do not believe they need it (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Sibbald, 2002; Simpson & Coté, 2006).

Further studies have taken a more focused approach to the ways newsroom managers influence traumatic outcomes among employees. Beam and Spratt (2009) conducted a national study of 400 journalists and found that management support correlated to higher morale, job satisfaction, and job commitment. Griffin (2015) studied 829 journalists and found a connection between organizational climate and traumatic experience. The research found that journalists perceived support from supervisors, but believed supervisors did not provide adequate training or support on the job to lessen trauma.

Organizations and organizational leaders can also facilitate gestures of social support which can be healing for workers who experience trauma on the job

(Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich, 2007). For example, Weidmann et al. (2007) studied 61 journalists who covered the 2005 Indian Ocean tsunami that killed more than 200,000 people. Almost every participant in the study experienced trauma, including witnessing dead bodies and interviewing victims. Several studies found a void in social support played a role in the level of trauma journalists experienced (Keats & Buchanan, 2013; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006; Smith, Newman, & Drevo, 2016; Weidmann et al., 2007).

Research on international journalists and coverage of traumatic content has resulted in similar findings to studies on their American counterparts (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; McMahon, 2001; Teegen & Grotwinkel, 2001). In one example, 96% of European and U.S. journalists reported experiencing various kinds of trauma on the job, including horror and hopelessness (Teegen & Grotwinkel, 2001). Another study on Finnish journalists who covered a school shooting found a range of emotional reactions, including sadness, fear, shock, and anxiety (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012).

Therefore, research over multiple decades, around the world, and across many media-related job descriptions and events demonstrates that journalists are exposed to trauma by merely doing their jobs (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Browne et al., 2012; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Dworzniak, 2011; Griffin, 2015; Feinstein et al., 2002; Freinkel et al., 1994; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003; Simpson, 2004; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006).

While the number of studies connecting journalists' trauma to organizations and management is limited, these studies do demonstrate one of the most extreme effects of trauma as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The American Psychological

Association did not officially recognize PTSD until 1980, following pressure from advocates for Vietnam veterans (Friedman, n.d.; Wilson & Barglow, 2009). The first research-driven connection between PTSD and journalism work did not occur until the Freinkel et al. (1994) study although PTSD “was not taken seriously by the journalism craft before 1999” (Simpson, 2004, p.77).

Several psychological and physical factors indicate PTSD. The first is the stressor criterion, a first-hand experience, such as a life-or-death situation, a sexual assault, or event involving physical harm (Friedman, n.d.; Meadors, Lamson, Swanson, White, & Sira, 2009-2010). Repeated indirect stressors, or secondary traumas, may also lead to PTSD (Weisæth, 1989). Secondary traumas are prevalent in journalism work, because they involve indirect exposures to trauma through victims’ firsthand accounts of emotionally-disturbing content (Zimering & Gulliver, 2003). Four other stressor indicators determine a PTSD diagnosis: avoidance (a concentrated effort to avoid thinking about the event), intrusive memories (flashbacks or powerful physical triggers, such as smells and sounds), negative affect (a negative view of reality), and alterations in arousal and reactivity (increased startle or destructive behaviors) (Breslau, 2002; Friedman, n.d.; Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.).

The number of journalists affected by PTSD across all studies varies from 4-29%. War correspondents are most at risk of PTSD (Feinstein & Nicholson, 2005, Pyevich et al., 2003; Teegin & Grotwinkel, 2001), while journalists who are secondary rather than primary witnesses of tragedy will experience lower percentages of PTSD (Pyevich et al., 2003). The variance in journalists affected by PTSD demonstrates “there is still a lot that we do not know about prevalence rates and experiences of

journalists and photojournalists who cover trauma (Buchanan & Keats, 2009, p. 163). As a comparison, 7-14% of the general population (Buchanan & Keats, 2009), and 7-13% of police officers in the U.S., and internationally will experience PTSD (Carlier, Lamberts, & Gersons, 1997; Feinstein et al., 2002).

Several studies have looked at the various ways journalists express traumatic responses to the most difficult stories they will cover, including unwanted memories of the traumatic event, as well as avoidance symptoms (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010). Journalists use words such as “detachment,” “being desensitized,” and “compartmentalization” to describe how they cope with traumatic experience (Simpson & Coté, 2006). The symptoms of PTSD are emotionally paralyzing, because they manifest as “recurring intrusive recollections, emotional numbing and constriction of life activity, [and] a physiological shift in the fear threshold, affecting sleep, concentration, and sense of security” (Ochberg, 1996, p. 21).

Journalists may also suffer other forms of traumatic emotional injury from their work, including secondary stress (STS), compassion fatigue (CF) and burnout (BRN). STS occurs when victims of a catastrophe pass along their traumatic stresses to others, including journalists, who may also become victims as a result (Figley, 1983; Ochberg, 1996). Individuals who experience BRN usually have an overload of demands and tend to spend large amounts of time with others who are troubled or needy (Maslach, 1988). CF occurs when frequent proximity to victims contributes to emotional burnout (Joinson, 1992). Joinson, a nurse, coined the term in relation to emergency room

personnel, finding that the more empathetic the worker, the more trauma she would absorb.

Several factors exacerbate these problems in a news environment. First, journalists are unable to avoid the trauma, because it is tied so closely to the work they do. Organizational literature calls for stressors and traumas to be removed from the workplace in order to curtail workers' exposures to stress (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). For journalists, the trauma often *is* the work. The negative consequences are amplified, because the job of media professionals requires telling and retelling of the traumatic event on anniversaries and significant milestones (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006).

The second factor that worsens work trauma for journalists is the viewpoint of colleagues and managers. Journalistic culture has traditionally not allowed media professionals to discuss emotional pain (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald, Saliba, Hodgins, & Ovington, 2016). Simpson and Coté (2006) described supervisors who believe journalists suffered little more than momentary effects when covering traumatic stories. Simpson (2004) suggested that some newsroom managers believe it to be a sign of weakness for journalists to show emotion when trauma occurs. Historically, journalism supervisors, and even the journalists themselves, believed they were able to cover difficult assignments with "immunity to emotional shock" (Simpson & Coté, 2006, p. 37).

Early journalism training is part of the problem, because trauma on the job was not traditionally included in textbooks, nor in the classroom (Simpson & Coté, 2006). Student journalists can be exposed to trauma in their earliest work in college media

programs (Dworznic, 2011). One study of 208 journalists and humanitarians found “not one recent graduate that we spoke to had received any training at university on eyewitness media in general, let alone on the potential of experiencing vicarious trauma as a result of viewing traumatic content” (Dubberly, Griffin & Bal, 2015, para. 27). Much of the trauma education that does exist for journalists, expects the journalist to take care of her own training in the event of emotional trauma (Dubberly et al., 2015).

In contrast, first responders, such as police, fire, and emergency medical workers have more routinely received training to deal with the trauma they encounter (Adams et al., 2006; Feinstein, 2004; Simpson, 2004; Simpson & Coté, 2006). A body of research exists regarding other first responder job categories. This literature is useful in teaching journalists to cope with trauma, but journalism work is different than police, fire, and other emergency work; therefore, specific trauma training for journalists is essential (Keats & Buchanan, 2012).

The third reality that has exacerbated emotional trauma for journalists is that media managers often lack training in managing and leading newsrooms. A long-standing criticism in media organizations is that managers do not receive proper training (Kelleghan, 2001; Killebrew, 2004). News managers are often promoted to leadership roles because they have achieved expertise in a particular skill set such as reporting, photography, or producing newscasts, and not because they have management and leadership abilities or interests (Chittum, 2014). Further, journalistic management culture does not prioritize instruction on how to best manage individuals through traumatic events (Griffin, 2015). Culture describes the unique beliefs and behaviors of

an organization that teach “new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel” (Schein, 1992, p. 9).

A number of studies has illustrated the difficulty of cultural change within news organizations (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010; Everbach, 2006; Gade, 2004; Gade & Perry, 2003). News routines, the repeated practices and processes within newsrooms, contribute to the culture of journalism organizations (Tuchman, 1973). Schneider, Brief and Guzzo (1996) suggested that only when leaders routinize trauma management practice will employees benefit. Organizational learning can lead to organizational change in organizations (Argyris & Schon, 1978; Cyert & March, 1964), but when leaders have few opportunities to learn from events, adaptive responses come more slowly (Levitt & March, 1988).

Organizational research points to the ways organizations and managers can mitigate the effects of stress outcomes in workers (George, Reed, Ballard, Colin, & Fielding, 1993; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1999). These gestures feed into an employee’s perceived organizational support (POS), the dyadic relationship between worker and employer involving what is given and received by employer and employee. A study of the POS literature reveals four core organizational responsibilities that can reduce traumatic response: communicating and providing emotional aid, such as counseling (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999), planning ahead and training for the possibility of traumatic events (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), communicating leadership support (George et al., 1993; Riggle, Edmonson, & Hansen, 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes, Nickerson, Adler & Litz, 2013; Kelley, Britt, Adler & Bliese, 2014).

No studies exist in journalism research which focus solely on POS and journalism trauma. However, multiple journalism studies have linked POS to a reduction of trauma for media professionals (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Geisler, 2005; Newman et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007). All the journalism studies that connect to POS found that a lack of organizational support makes the trauma worse for journalists. Specifically, instrumental forms of visible support can mitigate trauma, including planning ahead for major news events and organizing mental health support (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Flannery, 1990). Emotional forms of support are also healing for workers who experience harmful emotional events in the workplace, including communicating, caring, and listening post-trauma, which can occur both with peers and supervisors (Bootzin, 1997, Flannery, 1990).

The Oklahoma City disaster occurred at a time when PTSD's connection to journalism had barely been noticed (Freinkel et al., 1994), yet, at that time, it was the deadliest act of terrorism in the U.S. Approximately 350 local newsroom personnel and managers were exposed to trauma as they fulfilled their professional responsibilities. News managers had little, if any, opportunity to plan for the emotional turmoil their staffs would experience, because it was outside their realm of thinking that a terrorist attack would occur, especially in a medium-sized city in America's heartland.

But, other future disasters had the potential of altering the workplace culture regarding trauma response management in Oklahoma City newsrooms. Four years after the bombing, a tornado outbreak killed 40 people and injured 800 others in Oklahoma (The Great Plains Tornado Outbreak of May 3-4, 1999, n.d.). Seventy-four tornadoes touched down in the region over a two-day period (May 3, 1999 Oklahoma/Kansas

Tornado Outbreak, n.d.). Journalists and storm chasers witnessed gruesome injuries and scenes where people died.

Then, in 2001, a statewide tragedy became a particularly difficult event for one news organization. A plane carrying Oklahoma State University basketball players and staff crashed, killing all 10 on board, including local television sportscaster, Bill Teegins (Helsley, 2016). Teegins' closest friends and colleagues covered the breaking news live while at the same time grieving the shocking, sudden death.

Therefore, three disturbing events, the 1995 bombing, the 1999 tornadoes, and the 2001 plane crash, become a prism through which to view how organizational leaders understand their experiences of managing newsrooms through multiple traumatic events. Research has predominantly focused on the experiences of the journalists, but organizations and managers are ever-present in studies of journalism and trauma (e.g., Beam & Spratt, 2009). Often, the studies conclude with recommendations for managers to lessen the trauma by providing support, including counseling, training, and pre-planning (e.g. Newman et al., 2003).

The researcher explores the subject matter in this dissertation qualitatively and in two stages, using a grounded theory methodology. In the first phase, she analyzed archival interviews (Data Set One) conducted with journalists and managers who worked through the Oklahoma City bombing. Employees at the Oklahoma City National Memorial gathered the interviews beginning in 1999 and continue to conduct interviews through the present time. Data Set One focuses on the lived experiences of the journalists and their interpretation of how the work affected them. Understanding

how the bombing affected the journalists creates a deeper insight into the organizational leaders' management challenge.

In the second phase of the study, the researcher conducted depth interviews (Data Set Two) with organizational leaders during the bombing, or journalists who worked in Oklahoma City during the bombing, but became managers later in their careers. The first set of data allows for tentative theories or theoretical propositions (Schwandt, 2015). The second set of interviews allows the researcher to derive a relevant population to compare the two data sets, with resulting theory that is grounded in the research material. The researcher used constant comparison, open, axial, and selective coding to categorize the data and determine its meaning (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The research follows a case study approach, because it is marked by boundaries, both geographic, organizational, and temporal (Flyvberg, 2011). This study focuses on the three traumatic news events in 1995, 1999, and 2001 to create understanding for the case at hand. Case studies also use multiple data sources to understand a phenomenon (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). This case study reviews the factual background of the Oklahoma City bombing, the texts from journalists who covered the bombing, and depth interviews of the highest-level newsroom managers during the event, as well as the researcher's first-hand experience working as a media professional during the bombing.

The researcher becomes the research instrument in qualitative inquiry. Patton (1981) suggests that the qualitative report provide background about the researcher, including the experience she brings to the work and whether she has personal

connections to the people in the study. The researcher for this specific project was executive producer at the Oklahoma City CBS affiliate during the bombing. Her memory of the event serves as a narrative filter of the transcribed interviews, while keeping in mind that “memory is always selective” and “plays tricks on us” (Trahar, 2009). The narratives bring back disturbing memories for the researcher and the interview subjects regarding the day of the bombing and other distressing events that occurred in months and years that followed. Polkinghorne (1995) argues that only with retrospection can we give meaning to the events we have experienced.

The purpose of this study is to understand how journalism managers come to understand, demonstrate, and execute POS during extreme traumatic events where their staffs are potentially suffering from PTSD, STS, and other emotional trauma. This study asks an overarching research question: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations’ execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? Two further research questions contribute to the overarching one: how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations and how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma? Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend that researchers analyze data with no preconceived hypothesis to allow the theory to emerge unrestricted from the data. This study does not aim to test hypotheses on a statistical level, but to catalyze a deep understanding of the data instead (Fortner & Christians, 1981). Therefore, the researcher offers no hypotheses prior to data analysis.

The qualitative method of research for this study helps identify new ways of understanding how newsroom managers can better assist journalists through traumatic

experiences. The journalists' voices and words, combined with a researcher who experienced the disaster first-hand provides for an emic understanding of the media professionals' experience (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The emic perspective refers to the real-world language of the subjects of the study; in contrast, the etic view describes "outsider" meanings, which is often the researcher's perspective (Yin, 2016). The resulting evidence creates a different meaning, because some of the meanings may only be understood by those who directly experienced the event (Schwandt, 2015). In this study, the researcher serves as a cognitive translator to clarify the secret languages which intersect in a place between the language of the bombing event, and the painful memories that remain. "Every researcher has his or her own filters; however, by explicitly stating and acknowledging what these filters are, the researcher makes it easier for readers to contextualize the work" (Sutton & Austin, 2015, p. 227).

This study contributes to existing literature by communicating new understandings about the trauma effects for newsrooms, in particular, as trauma relates to journalists and top organizational leaders. It yields both theoretical and practical knowledge. The results of the study will extend theoretical knowledge, because the interviews in Data Set Two connect to previous studies on journalism and trauma and contribute to current understandings of the specific processes organizations and managers undergo to lessen media professionals' trauma. In addition, the findings will contribute to management literature by adding to the underlying constructs of POS specifically relating to trauma and journalism work. The findings will also extend practical knowledge by contributing to best practice guidelines news organizations can establish in response to trauma. The data and data implications are valuable, because

while the body of research on journalists and trauma is growing, no research exists which focuses solely on news managers and trauma.

Chapter 2 focuses on the history leading up to the establishment of PTSD as a medical condition, as well as the factors that contribute to PTSD and other traumatic disorders, such as secondary traumatic stress (STS). Chapter 3 looks at the historical record of the Oklahoma City bombing event and reviews the research and literature on journalism and trauma. Chapter 4 examines POS, its connection to trauma in the workplace and social support and its connection to workplace trauma, as well as their relationship to journalism research on trauma. Chapter 5 explains the methodological base for the study. Chapters, 6 and 7 communicate the results of the study. Chapter 8 details the conclusions from the research, its limitations, and implications for journalists, managers, and organizations.

Summarizing, the introduction provides an overview of the study of trauma, journalism, and newsroom management. Chapter 1 demonstrates that journalists experience trauma in their work (e.g. Newman et al., 2003). Emotionally difficult stories can occur in the biggest disasters, such as the Oklahoma City bombing, which resulted in a great loss of life, or in the seemingly routine events, such as car accidents (e.g. Simpson & Boggs, 1999). Journalists will experience a range of trauma responses, including symptoms of PTSD, STS, BRN, and CF. Newsroom management historically has been unprepared for the consequences of the emotional impact of journalism work (e.g. Beam & Spratt, 2009). However, multiple support gestures, including perceptions of organizational support (POS) and social support, can have a healing effect on journalists (e.g. Viswesvaran et al., 1999).

Despite traditional opposition toward preparing journalists and managers for disturbing events, Simpson (2004) suggested that overt industry resistance to training and emotional preparation for journalists is fading. This implies that a new generation of newsroom leaders has the opportunity to change the traditional ways of thinking about journalists and trauma. This will be the first study of its kind to specifically focus on news industry leaders, newsrooms, and the emotional consequences of traumatic events.

The following chapter focuses on PTSD, its history, symptoms, and treatment. Chapter 2 also defines other traumatic disorders, including STS, BRN, and CF, as well as how each of the trauma responses connect to existing research in the journalism profession.

Chapter 2: History and Definition of PTSD

I remember sitting in my car ... Just sobbing and not even really knowing why. And I think it was a combination of emotion, exhaustion... I sat there in my car and cried for about 30 minutes, got it together, and trudged on the next day. (Sports anchor)

Journalists expose themselves to emotional trauma simply by going to work every day (Dworznic, 2011; Feinstein et al., 2002; Freinkel et al., 1994; Griffin, 2015; Keats, 2010; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003; Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006). As the previous chapter demonstrated, many media professionals are not emotionally equipped to deal with the traumas they experience, because their journalism training does not typically prepare them for this (Simpson & Coté, 2006). Then, in the workplace, a culture of ignoring and downplaying traumatic responses has existed, and news organizations historically have not prioritized trauma outreach for employees (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald, Saliba, Hodgins, & Ovington, 2016). Until the 1990s, research on journalism and trauma was non-existent, contributing to a wide gap in acknowledgement of the problem for media professionals (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Keats & Buchanan, 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the ways individuals and journalists react to traumatic events, based on the ways trauma has come to be defined in the medical and psychological literature. In the following five sections, the researcher reviews the history of PTSD, in addition to a section on each of the following conditions: PTSD, secondary traumatic stress (STS), burnout (BRN), and compassion fatigue (CF).

Pre-history of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)

Individuals have likely experienced PTSD since the very beginnings of human existence (Friedman, n.d.). The Assyrian dynasty (1300-600 BC) in Mesopotamia documented the earliest accounts of traumatic stress disorders in an area that is present-day Iraq (Abdul-Hamid & Hughes, 2014). Medical texts from that time discussed war trauma, including altered mental states and depression. The Assyrians blamed the symptoms on the ghosts from enemies the soldier had killed in battle (Scurlock & Anderson, 2005).

The PTSD attributed to the Assyrian's recorded medical histories is a relatively new finding. In the past, Greek accounts by Herodotus in the 5th century BC were cited as the first known mention of PTSD-like symptoms. In this example, an Athenian soldier became so frightened on the battlefield that he suffered psychogenic mutism, or inability to speak (Crocq & Crocq, 2000). It was during this era that the word "trauma" emerged from the ancient Greek, which defined "trauma" as "wound" or "damage" (Definition of trauma, n.d.).

In the following centuries, literature and recorded histories continued to describe symptoms of what we know today as PTSD. The Icelandic *Gisli Súrsson Saga* dating to the 9th and 10th centuries describes a hero who cannot stop thinking of battle (DaSent, 1866). In 18th century revolutionary-era France, Goethe observed the battle of Valmy, and described the after-effects as "cannon fever" (Lewes, 1864, p. 372). He wrote in his diary how he felt after experiencing combat.

Something unusual was taking place within me...it appeared as if you were in some extremely hot place, and at the same time quite penetrated by the heat of it...it is as if the world had a kind of red-brown tint. (p. 372)

Goethe was functioning as a reporter and providing a first-hand narrative of his experience. In the same vein, media professionals have likely experienced PTSD and other traumatic consequences since the earliest beginnings of journalism work. A study of journalists and literary figures identified Ambrose Bierce (U.S. Civil War soldier), Ernest Hemingway (WWI ambulance driver), and Kurt Vonnegut (WWII prisoner of war) as suffering from PTSD-like symptoms (Underwood, 2011). Their works of fiction reflected their experiences on the battlefield.

Bierce's (1891) short story, "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge" treats death with the familiarity understood by soldiers and others who witness it in their work.

Death is a dignitary who when he comes announced is to be received with formal manifestations of respect, even by those most familiar with him. In the code of military etiquette silence and fixity are forms of deference. (p. 23)

Hemingway's (1929) work is valuable, because through fiction his writing captures the pain of repeated trauma. *A Farewell to Arms* is the first-person account of an American soldier in WWI.

The world breaks everyone and afterward many are strong at the broken places. But those that will not break it kills. It kills the very good and the very gentle and the very brave impartially. If you are none of these you can be sure that it will kill you too but there will be no special hurry. (p. 249)

Vonnegut (1969) wrote of another of PTSD's effects in *Slaughterhouse Five, or The Children's Crusade: A Duty Dance with Death*. "Every so often, for no apparent reason, Billy Pilgrim would find himself weeping. Nobody had ever caught Billy doing it. Only the doctor knew" (p. 100).

Bierce, Hemingway, and Vonnegut each brought something different to their writing about war, possibly because of their direct traumatic experience. Bierce and Hemingway were both injured as soldiers (Underwood, 2011), and Vonnegut survived

the bombing of Dresden in WWII as a prisoner of war (Vonnegut, 2005). Hemingway's war dispatches were different from those of other correspondents, because he focused on the plight of everyday people and how they were affected by conflicts in places such as Spain, Greece, and Turkey. Later, these experiences affected his approach to fiction (Putnam, 2006). Vonnegut tried to write about his experiences, but it was more than two decades before *Slaughterhouse Five* or *The Children's Crusade: A Duty Dance with Death* was published to critical acclaim (Vonnegut, 2005).

These examples serve to demonstrate how traumatic experience can affect the work of writers and journalists. The examples of Bierce, Hemingway, and Vonnegut are not an exhaustive list of war veterans and writers who may have suffered PTSD symptoms. But their personal experiences and work add to the body of knowledge that PTSD's effect on journalists existed before it was named (Underwood, 2011).

Post-World Wars I and II, euphemistic terms such as "shell shock" and "combat fatigue" were used to describe the conditions of soldiers once they returned home (Crocq & Crocq, 2000). After WWII, the Gross Stress Reaction became a way to measure trauma, and was included in the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) first Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-1) in 1952 (Andreasen, 2010). When the next edition was published in 1968, the Gross Stress Reaction was omitted. PTSD wasn't added to the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental disorders until 1980 (Friedman, n.d.) after supporters of Vietnam War veterans recommended it (Wilson & Barglow, 2009). PTSD's inclusion as an official disorder was significant, because, before that time, the symptoms of PTSD were blamed on "inherent individual weakness" (Friedman, n.d., para. 2), rather than a traumatic

event occurring outside the individual. The first research-driven connection between PTSD and journalism work did not occur until 1994 (Freinkel et al., 1994).

PTSD diagnostic criteria identified

Once PTSD was established as a disorder, diagnostic criteria were identified, then revised in 1987, 1994, 2000, and 2013 as the clinical understandings of the disorder became clearer. While the definition continues to evolve and become more specific, several benchmarks indicate PTSD. The first is the stressor criterion, a life-threatening or harmful event, such as physical or sexual assault (Friedman, n.d.). The medical literature also describes this direct exposure as primary traumatization, or first-hand experience (Meadors, Lamson, Swanson, White, & Sira, 2009-2010). Journalists face stressor criteria firsthand in their work, because some, such as war correspondents and first responders on the front lines of breaking news, are directly exposed to the life-threatening event. Repeated indirect exposures through one's work are also considered traumatic exposures and can lead to PTSD (Weisæth, 1989). The nature of journalism work means that media professionals will be repeatedly exposed to indirect stressors, such as arriving at the scene of a traumatic event immediately after it has occurred, interviewing victims of traumatic events, and covering victims, anniversaries, trials, and other angles of the traumatic story.

The stressor criterion is the first benchmark of PTSD, but others follow. Four emotional reactions are required for a diagnosis of PTSD: avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and alterations in arousal and reactivity (Friedman, n.d.).

Avoidance. Ochberg (1996) referred to avoidance strategies as “emotional anesthesia” (p. 23). Avoidance occurs when individuals avoid thinking about the

trauma or avoid being in situations that invoke memories of the distressing event.

Emotional numbing following traumatic exposure can initially be an adaptive response, but a continued avoidance can interfere with recovery (Ochberg, 1996). Some individuals are unable to remember parts of the event (McNally, 2003), and in extreme cases, avoidance behaviors can resemble agoraphobia (Friedman, n.d.).

Intrusive memories. Vivid images and flashbacks of the event create panic, fear, and hopelessness. The traumatic event becomes, “sometimes for decades or a lifetime, a dominating psychological experience that retains its power to evoke panic, terror, dread, grief, or despair” (Friedman, n.d., para. 10). Intrusive memories can also lead to crying episodes when grief and memories react together (Friedman, n.d.). Crying is sometimes considered a healthy response to a difficult event (Hendriks, Nelson, Cornelius, & Vingerhoets, 2008), but when it is associated with intrusive memories of the trauma it can be part of the PTSD reaction (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2017b). Stimuli, such as sounds and smells, can trigger powerful memories of the original trauma. Researchers have reproduced PTSD in laboratory settings by exposing individuals to audio or visual images related to the trauma (Keane, Wolfe, & Taylor, 1987).

Negative affect. Individuals who have been exposed to a traumatic event may begin to see their lives through a negative lens (Friedman, n.d.). They may believe the event has altered them in negative ways, blame themselves, and believe “nothing good can happen to me” or “the world is entirely dangerous” (Friedman, n.d., para. 12). A wide range of negative feelings such as anger or shame can occur. Individuals may also lose interest in activities and social interactions (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.).

Alterations in arousal and reactivity. Symptoms in this category include insomnia, angry outbursts, hypervigilance, and increased startle reactions (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.; Breslau, 2002). Reckless and self-destructive behaviors, such as unsafe sex, suicidal tendencies, and impulsive actions can also occur.

Therapy can help journalists and others who suffer from PTSD (Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003). Therapeutic options include counseling, both group and individual, cognitive processing therapy (CPT), and medical interventions, including medication. Little empirical evidence exists on group therapy across a variety of job descriptions (Friedman, n.d.), but CPT is a recognized treatment for adults with PTSD. CPT sessions consist of therapy once or twice a week (Zankas, 2010). The desired outcome is that individuals develop the ability to change the way they process the trauma (Campbell, Pickett, & Yoash-Gantz, 2010). Also, brief CPT sessions immediately after disasters, including group sessions, have been effective, although the research has been limited (Bass et al., 2013; Bryant et al., 2008).

Traumatic events do not affect all people in the same way because of individual differences (Friedman, n.d.). Cognitive and emotional processes affect each person's reaction to a disturbing event (Friedman, n.d.). For example, individuals predisposed to negative and disruptive affect have a higher likelihood of experiencing PTSD (Pyeovich et al., 2003). A study of highly-resilient ICU nurses found that those with stronger negative characteristics (poor social network, lower identification with role models, and negative thoughts) were more likely to receive a PTSD diagnosis than those with strong peer support, cognitive flexibility, and spiritual mindset (Mealer, Jones, & Moss, 2012). The Mealer et al. study suggests that cognitive behavioral therapy can mitigate the onset

of PTSD symptoms, because “characteristics of resilience can be learned” (p. 1449). Cognitive therapy can be used as a training tool to help people learn to cope before the onset of trauma. Coping strategies can build resilience by providing emotional tools for individuals exposed to distressing circumstances (Yehuda, Flory, Southwick, & Charney, 2006).

Several factors are significant for journalism work. Some individuals will experience PTSD as a delayed reaction, especially if the stressor event creates a numbing effect (Figley, 1978). It can be months or years before a triggering event occurs that is similar to the original trauma. Journalists can hide their emotions through the work, because “we cloak ourselves in notepads and microphones when we march off like good soldiers to the scene of disaster and devastation... While we may fool the public, it is harder to fool ourselves” (Casey, 2003, p. 110).

Specific factors contribute to the PTSD diagnosis. The individual must experience intrusive memories and avoidance symptoms for one month, as well as two symptoms from the negative affect and arousal/reactivity categories (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, 2016). Rapid intervention may mitigate the symptoms according to medical trauma literature, which recognizes more recent massive traumatic events. The PTSD section from the Department of Veterans Affairs mentions such events as the “September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, Hurricane Katrina, the Asian tsunami, the Haitian earthquake, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan” (Friedman, n.d., para. 26), but there is no mention of the Oklahoma City bombing. The section names responders as “medical personnel, police, and firefighters,” but there is no mention of journalists who may arrive on the scene before police and medical

personnel. These kinds of omissions may contribute to the stigma that journalists do not really suffer emotional effects from coverage of traumatic events.

PTSD is one of the most severe reactions to a traumatic stressor. But other trauma responses may occur, and their definitions and symptoms overlap with those of PTSD. Acute stress disorder (ASD) reflects PTSD symptoms which last longer than a week, shorter than a month (Friedman, 2000). Individuals who experience ASD will have nine or more of the symptoms reflected in the categories of intrusive memories, avoidance, negative affect or altered arousal and reflectivity, and may ultimately be diagnosed with PTSD (APA, 2013).

A lower-level traumatic response is adjustment disorder. In this case, the stressor events range from a community-wide disaster to a personal crisis, such as a divorce or serious illness (APA, 2013). Adjustment disorder symptoms develop within three months and can last up to half a year (APA, 2000). Symptoms include anger, depression, and guilt (APA, 2013).

Research is not settled on the number of journalists who will experience PTSD as the result of a traumatic work event. The numbers vary from 4-29%, a large range due to the difference in design and focus of different studies (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al, 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007). War correspondents, for example, are more likely than other journalists to suffer from PTSD, as are those who cover fatal vehicle accidents, child deaths, and violent events (Drummond, 2004; Norwood, Walsh & Owen, 2003). In comparison, 7-14% of the general population will experience PTSD (Buchanan & Keats, 2009), and 7-13% of first

responders, such as police officers, both in the U.S. and elsewhere (Carlier et al., 1997; Feinstein et al., 2002).

The medical literature defines other psychological stressors, which overlap with PTSD (Adams et al., 2006). These stressors are the result of second-hand trauma, and include secondary traumatic stress (STS), burnout (BRN), and compassion fatigue (CF). Each is detailed in the following sections.

Secondary traumatic stress (STS)

A number of other emotional reactions can occur when individuals are exposed to traumatic scenarios. For the purposes of this study, it is important to have an understanding of the various stress reactions, even though the study is framed through the lens of PTSD. The symptoms and definitions of PTSD overlap with other traumatic reactions, such as STS, and their definitions are still evolving (Zimering & Gulliver, 2003). While PTSD is first-hand exposure to trauma; STS is indirect exposure via a first-hand account from a trauma survivor (Zimering & Gulliver, 2003). STS occurs when victims of a catastrophe pass along their traumatic stresses to others, including journalists (Ochberg, 1996).

A number of studies has produced data that indicate individuals who experience secondary trauma are at risk of developing symptoms connected to traumatic stress (Adams, Boscarino, & Figley, 2006; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Salston & Figley, 2003; Strupp & Cosper, 2001). In the medical literature, STS is described as “empathetic engagement with traumatized clients” (Adams et al., 2009, p. 2). In journalism, media professionals engage with traumatized victims and witnesses on a regular basis (Newman et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007).

The population for studies of STS has primarily encompassed police, firefighters, medical personnel, and humanitarian workers (Keats & Buchanan, 2013). The populations in these studies resonate with the work of journalists, because, just as the medical professional must discuss and retell the traumatic details, the media professional must also write about, tell, and describe the traumatic event. Research of medical caregivers has established that this process of retelling can have detrimental effects on those who have to relive the events (Figley, 2002a; Figley, 2002b).

Research on STS is limited and contradictory (Zimering & Gulliver, 2003). Jenkins and Baird (2002) found a correlation between a previous personal history of trauma and secondary trauma, but two other studies did not (Schauben & Frazier, 1995; Adams, Matto, & Harington, 2001). Other studies have concluded that unresolved or unacknowledged trauma can increase STS symptoms (Munroe et al., 1995). The Schauben and Frazier study (1995) found that the more patients/survivors in a caregiver's caseload, the more secondary trauma symptoms these caregivers reported. The Schauben and Frazier research suggests that journalists who frequently interview survivors of trauma and disaster may be more susceptible to STS, and that journalists who have a personal history of trauma may be more at risk of STS.

The symptoms of STS are similar to those suffered by individuals with PTSD: nightmares, anxiety, heightened startle response, and avoidance, among others (Becvar, 2003; Bride, 2007). Researchers have conceptualized STS with similarities to PTSD, but ambiguities exist in the definitions and results of PTSD and STS (Meadors et al.; 2009-2010). The hallmark of PTSD is the initial stressor criterion, the first-hand experience. But some studies have found PTSD in individuals with second-hand

exposure to the traumatic event. Weisæth (1989) found individuals not present at the time of a workplace explosion to have PTSD symptoms. After 9/11, Schlenger et al. (2002) found PTSD symptoms in individuals outside the attack zone who watched television coverage of the event. This finding suggests that some individuals may be more susceptible to PTSD after experiencing STS and that intervening factors may also play a role in the emergence of PTSD (Schauben & Frazier, 1995; Schlenger et al., 2002). Thus, PTSD and STS overlap and their definitions continue to evolve (Zimmering & Gulliver, 2003). Another negative emotional response to difficult work situations is burnout (BRN). Its pre-cursors and outcomes also overlap with STS.

Burnout (BRN)

Burnout (BRN) is a specific response to demanding work situations. It is associated with job stress, emotional exhaustion, work conditions, lack of support, and reduced personal accomplishment (Adams et al, 2006; Jenkins & Baird, 2002). Maslach (1982) created the Maslach Burnout Inventory and contributed the most influential definition of BRN as a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. The definition was further refined to include workers with a high emotional connection to their work without adequate social support (Adams et al., 2006). STS, BRN, and compassion fatigue (CF) (discussed in the next section) overlap, because all are characterized by “the emotionally exhausting nature of working with survivors of trauma” (Adams et al, 2006, p. 104).

While this study is framed by the symptoms of PTSD, BRN is important in the context of this research. The organizational and social support which have a strong

influence on BRN are also an important factor in the study of PTSD and are presented in more detail in Chapter 4.

Individuals who experience BRN usually have an overload of demands. In addition, they tend to spend large amounts of time with others who are troubled or needy (Maslach, 1988). The primary results of burnout are emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001). Emotional exhaustion can manifest itself in fatigue, anxiety, and job-related depression (Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998). Depersonalization is described as a withdrawal or distancing from people in the workplace, such as patients, clients, or students. Alienation, disengagement, and cynicism are also connected to depersonalization (Demerouti et al., 2001). The third component of burnout, reduced personal accomplishment, is not as strongly correlated to burnout in the research as are emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Lee & Ashworth, 1996), but those with reduced personal accomplishment will experience feelings of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Demerouti et al., 2001).

A review of the literature on journalism and BRN revealed that some factors that contribute to BRN, such as exhaustion and cynicism, are on the rise among media professionals (Reinardy, 2011). Those most at risk are young copy editors or page designers at small newspapers (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook, Banks, & Turner, 1993; Reinardy, 2011). Reinardy speculated that the state of the industry could play a role, including the pressures of “plummeting circulation, declining revenues, new technology, convergence, conglomerate ownership, and layoffs” (p. 33). In a similar vein, MacDonald et al. (2016) found those most at risk for BRN to be less experienced,

younger females at small circulation newspapers. Editors and reporters were also at a higher risk of burnout than others in the MacDonald et al. study (2016). Supervisor and social support was found to mitigate BRN in reporters and copy editors (Cook et al., 1993). In particular, the study found the higher the supervisor support, the higher the levels of personal accomplishment, which in turn lowered instances of BRN.

The research has primarily focused on newspaper organizations, as opposed to broadcast or online media, which has curtailed the understanding of BRN in media work. Another limitation on the scope of knowledge on BRN and journalism is that the research has primarily focused on reporters, leaving room for more study on the ways BRN affects other kinds of media professionals, such as photographers, video editors, and producers. MacDonald et al. (2016) also expressed concern that study of BRN and journalism has been limited in areas related to trauma:

Since burnout as a construct primarily concerns emotional and interpersonal stressors, it is interesting that the burnout studies reviewed presently have not offered strong conclusions regarding the nature of journalistic relationships with sources, victims, family and friends of victims and associated burnout levels. (p. 43)

Maslach and Leiter (1999) echo the finding that supervisor and social support mitigated BRN, which is said to be more about the organization than the worker:

“When the workplace does not recognize the human side of work or demands superhuman efforts, people feel overloaded, frustrated and well, burned out. Self-improvement alone will not beat it” (Maslach & Leiter, 1999, para. 8).

Compassion Fatigue (CF)

Compassion fatigue (CF) is a combination of STS and BRN (Adams et al, 2006; Jenkins & Baird, 2002). Joinson (1992) coined the term in relation to emergency room

personnel, finding those who were more compassionate and empathetic absorbed the most trauma. CF is described as the desensitization and emotional burnout that emergency, disaster, and medical workers can experience, because of the compassion they must show in their work and toward those in need (Bride & Figley, 2007; Coetzee & Klopper, 2010; Kinnick, Krugman, Cameron, 1996). McCann and Pearlman (1990) noted that working with people affected by trauma could create a negative filter-down effect on counselors and therapists leading to “vicarious traumatization,” a term that has been used in ways similar to CF.

While CF was first discussed in the context of medical work, its definition also encompassed first responders to traumatic events (Adams et al., 2006). Not only are journalists required to work at the scene of tragic situations, but they sometimes arrive on the scene before the first responders. Therefore, in recent years, the definition of CF has grown to include media professionals (Dworznic, 2011; Figley, 1995; Simpson & Coté, 2006).

Journalists face a paradox in expressing compassion in their work. Without compassion, they face the danger of growing cynical about the stories and victims they cover. As they reduce compassion and empathy, they may also depersonalize subjects at the center of the tragic event (Baird & Jenkins, 2003; Dutton & Rubinstein, 1995). Simpson and Coté (2006) describe the no-win emotional situation journalists face:

If you protect yourself too much by screening out the unpleasantness, you cheat the reader by failing to convey the horror, which is, after all, your job. On the other hand, if you allow yourself to absorb the reality of what you see and hear, you run the risk of destroying yourself emotionally. (p. 40)

Juggling of these emotions is taxing. One connection to CF may lie in the relationship to the emotional labor (EL) that workers perform when they are displaying

moods they may not genuinely be experiencing (Hochschild, 1983). EL can cause alienation among responders and can create negative psychological consequences (Hochschild, 1983). EL and CF have been connected in the health literature, because nurses are expected to show compassion and hide inappropriate emotions (Peate, 2014). While no research exists that specifically focuses on journalists and EL, the work of media professionals is public. The journalist is on display, whether interacting with the community or performing work on camera even during the most traumatic circumstances, requiring a specific, and taxing, form of EL. Journalism work requires reporters and other media professionals to translate tragedies to “film and paper” (Fields, 1999, p.16).

Several factors influence the likelihood of an individual developing CF: a history of trauma, lower social support, and an inability to cope with the demands of the work in relation to showing empathy (Adams et al., 2006). Showalter (2010) wrote in first person about how CF can make medical professionals feel. “We do not just witness in the abstract, it is personal. We actually experience the pain vicariously” (p. 239). She went on to describe the symptoms as fatigue, depression, withdrawal from family and friends, loss of interest in activities, persistent thoughts, sleep problems, and physical symptoms.

The conceptualizations of STS, BRN, and CF are evolving (Adams et al., 2006). For example, CF and BRN are associated with STS, which has created “conceptual confusion” (Meadors et al., 2009-2010, p. 104). In some cases, CF and STS have been used interchangeably, but they are “phenomenologically different” (Meadors et al., 2009-2010, p. 105). Adams et al. (2006) and Figley (2002a) called for more study and a

“greater level of awareness in the helping professions to better mitigate trauma for workers in empathetic professions” (Figley, 2002a, p. 1440). Despite the evolving conceptualizations of STS, BRN, and CF and their overlap with pre-cursors and symptoms of PTSD, continued research provides more precise definitions, which can lead to better diagnoses for journalists and others who deal with trauma in the course of their work (Figley, 2002a).

Conclusion

The work of journalism calls for media professionals to confront newsworthy events, which can be horrific, shocking, and unimaginable. While the definitions of PTSD, STS, BRN, and CF are still evolving, as evidenced by the updates to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders and the overlapping definitions, the symptoms become a part of the journalists’ experience on their jobs, no matter how these symptoms are labelled.

Historically, young media professionals have not been trained to deal with the traumas they experience (Simpson & Coté, 2006), and once they arrive in the workplace, they have been encouraged to ignore emotions (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2016). These factors have exacerbated the trauma, because, as this chapter has demonstrated, training, counseling, and social support can mitigate the effects of PTSD, STS, BRN, and CF (Campbell et al., 2010; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003).

The consequences and interventions of PTSD inform the broader and underlying research questions of this study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations’ execution of organizational support in future traumatic

events; how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations; and how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from perceived organizational support (POS) research on trauma? These interventions facilitated by organizations and managers are crucial and urgent, because media professionals can experience trauma on any day they report for work.

Much of the discussion of PTSD, STS, BRN, and CF comes from research on medical professionals, first responders, and soldiers returning from war. Journalists were not associated with PTSD in a research environment until the first study on the subject published in 1994 (Freinkel et al., 1994). The decade of the 1990s brought the idea of journalists and trauma into focus for scholars, news managers and practitioners, in part, because of the events of the Oklahoma City bombing (Aiken, 1996; Hight & Smith, 2003; Simpson & Coté, 2006). The disaster created a space for conversations about how the disaster affected news employees, and to begin to generalize those experiences for journalists everywhere. Then, the events of 9/11 helped drive a more focused approach to research on the ways journalists experience trauma. Chapter 3 explores the earliest research on journalists and trauma, as well as the history of the Oklahoma City bombing. The chapter concludes with the current state of research in the field of trauma and journalism.

Chapter 3: Research on Journalism and Trauma

To this day I have a sad cup that is filled from the Oklahoma City bombing, and it is filled to the brim. And I can't put anymore in it, but I can't dump it out either. So it is a special place where all of that emotion is kept for me. (Television reporter)

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was not officially recognized as a medical condition until 1980 (Friedman, n.d.), yet historic texts and literature recognized its existence much earlier (Abdul-Hamid & Hughes, 2014; Crocq & Crocq, 2000; DaSent, 1866). While early recorded history focused on the emotional wounds of soldiers in battle (Abdul-Hamid & Hughes, 2014), virtually no attention was given to those who recorded the history, the storytellers, historians, writers, and journalists who documented the war and destruction. Journalists will witness trauma or be exposed to traumatized individuals on any given day that they report for duty (Simpson & Boggs, 1999), yet media professionals have historically been expected to put emotions aside (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2016).

As mentioned in previous chapters, studies found a wide range of journalists experiencing PTSD in their careers (Buchanan & Keats, 2011), or witnessing traumatic events (Newman et al., 2003). Studies on journalism work and PTSD have explained its connection to war reporters (Feinstein & Nicholson, 2005; Feinstein et al., 2002), disasters (Coté & Simpson, 2000; Weidmann et al., 2007); general news coverage (Pyeovich et al., 2003; Simpson & Boggs, 1999), photojournalists (Newman et al., 2003), trauma's connection to professionalism (Griffin, 2015), and management issues (Beam & Spratt, 2009).

While PTSD was officially recognized in 1980, it would take more than another decade for scholars to connect PTSD to journalists. This chapter explores how the

concept of journalism and trauma came into the spotlight in the 1990s, as well as how the Oklahoma City bombing and 9/11 created a new urgency for understanding how traumatic events affect media professionals. More specifically in the context of this study, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing became a catalyst for more dialogue on traumatic events, journalists, and the presence or absence of their coping mechanisms. The chapter concludes with a review of the most recent literature on journalism and trauma.

1990s: Journalism and trauma come into the spotlight

In the context of journalism and trauma the decade of the 1990s began with the establishment of the Victims and Media Program at Michigan State University in 1991. The program recognized that journalists could be victims of trauma, too, and included the first-of-its-kind debriefing team where journalists were asked to share their experiences and reactions to trauma (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999). The program led to one of the first documented instances of journalists meeting with an outside trauma team. The Victims and Media team went to Ludington, Michigan, where a fire had killed eight children and one adult. The newspaper's managing editor said the sessions gave the staff "a chance to vent their feelings" (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999, p. 37).

Then, in the 1990s the first two studies connecting journalists to trauma were published. In the first study, published in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Freinkel et al. (1994) examined the emotional effects of journalists who witnessed a violent event, an execution. In other words, the study was not fielded specifically on journalists and trauma, but has become an important benchmark for scholars in this area of study, because it was the first time trauma was noted among journalists in a research-driven

setting.

Some literature was published on journalists and trauma prior to the Freinkel et al. (1994) study, including articles on Vietnam war correspondents (Gassaway, 1989; Morgan, 1984) and suicide among journalists (Pratte, 1992), but these were not research-based. Research did address stress and burnout among journalists (Cook et al., 1993), but the studies did not closely examine the relationship of stress, violence, and long-term exposure to trauma for media professionals. In some cases, 9/11 was seen as the catalyst which brought PTSD into the forefront of news work post-traumatic event (Matloff, 2004).

Journalists in the Freinkel et al. (1994) study witnessed a gas chamber execution. At the time of the study, not only was there no research on journalists and trauma, but little research had been conducted on witnesses *to* trauma, in comparison to victims *of* trauma (Freinkel et al., 1994). In the study, journalists watched from behind a glass wall, as a condemned man died, after a tense night of multiple delays to the execution. The study found the journalists did not experience long-term trauma, but did experience short-term symptoms, including dissociative effects, detachment, and avoidance. More than half of the journalists felt distant from their emotions (53%); 60% felt estranged or detached from other people, and 53% avoided thoughts of the execution. More television reporters and female journalists reported dissociative behaviors, especially in contrast to radio journalists and male reporters. One reporter described how emotions were shut down during the execution, “You click into another mode when reporting. I was so involved in my work that I wasn’t aware of any emotions” (Freinkel et al., 1994, p. 1337). The study described that the journalists

experienced Acute Stress Disorder (ASD), rather than PTSD. The ASD symptoms included anxiety and feelings of dissociation, which include compartmentalization and detachment from the event (Spitzer, Barnow, Freyberger, & Grabe, 2006). The authors surmised that the dissociation served to alleviate the trauma for journalists, because it lessened the immediate psychological impact (Freinkel et al., 1994).

April 19, 1995

A small study in a psychiatry journal drew some attention to the subject of journalists and on-the-job trauma. But it was an explosion in Oklahoma City one year after the Freinkel et al. (1994) study that forced the conversation into the spotlight (Hight & Smith, 2003, Simpson & Coté, 2006). The mass tragedy for the community created mass trauma in newsrooms throughout the city, as well as for journalists assigned to cover the story from across the country and around the world. The perpetrator was an anti-government extremist who wanted to retaliate for federal crackdowns on other extremists, including the Branch Davidian Waco siege, which had occurred exactly two years earlier, on April 19, 1993. His weapon was a yellow Ryder truck, filled with explosive material (Oklahoma City bombing, n.d.).

The journalists involved in the incident detailed the initial trauma in their interviews for the archives of the Oklahoma City National Memorial. The shock was evident moments after the explosion was felt and heard in every newsroom in the city. The blast was so loud and jarring that some media professionals believed their own buildings had been hit (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). Reporters and photographers in newsrooms located near one of the busiest traffic arteries, the Broadway Extension, were able to quickly head downtown where dark

smoke stained the sky. Journalists arrived to a chaotic, unthinkable scene. Injured people, many with bloody wounds, wandered near the site of the Alfred P. Murrah building, ground zero for the explosion, and fires burned all around (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). As journalists and first responders began to comprehend the level of destruction, they learned a daycare was located in the federal building; 15 children died there (Bragg, 1995).

Not long after the journalists arrived, emergency responders called for an evacuation, because there was a second bomb scare. In an instant, the journalists became primary victims of trauma. The journalists feared the worst and ran for their lives (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). Two bomb scares occurred in the hours after the bombing; both were false alarms (Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management, n.d.).

For some media professionals their jobs became connected to their personal lives because the likelihood existed that they knew some of the victims. Charlotte Aiken (1996) wrote, “My friend Ted's brain ended up splattered across his desk on April 19, 1995. I stood on the sidewalk below and took notes and did my job” (p. 30). Aiken’s editor at *The Daily Oklahoman*, Ed Kelley, said, “I have a lasting image of reporters clearing their throats and wiping away tears in order to write, edit, photograph, and create” (Simpson & Coté, 2006, p. 254). In a post-9/11 world, some might find it difficult to grasp the enormity of the 1995. The deputy press secretary to Oklahoma Governor Frank Keating called it “the biggest spot news since the Kennedy assassination” (Simpson & Coté, 2006, p. 260).

The transcripts housed at the Oklahoma City National Memorial describe that

journalists encountered painful images and emotions everywhere they went (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). Some were assigned to the bombed-out building where a rescue effort was underway and no survivors were found in the rubble after the early hours of the rescue effort. Other journalists were posted at local hospitals where the injured and dying were brought in by ambulance and with the help of good Samaritans. Some were assigned to cover the makeshift morgue and the church where families with missing loved ones were housed. That was just the first day.

Hours after the bombing, Oklahoma City psychologist Vernon Enlow said the emotional wounds of what happened would affect the entire city. He asserted it would be important for victims of the disaster to talk about what happened and what they were feeling. He advocated professional help for those without an emotional sounding board (Staff reports, 1995). His words were intended for the entire Oklahoma City community, including the journalists and their organizational leaders.

The story was massive for a community with medium-sized newsrooms. The bomb site and surrounding area was an enormous crime scene (Oklahoma City Bombing, n.d.). The Oklahoma City newsrooms weren't staffed to report around-the-clock. Day after day, journalists were tasked with reporting on the families who had lost loved ones. The process of covering each of the 168 victims and telling their stories was daunting and depressing (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017).

In some cases, the journalism became a part of the history and investigation of the bombing. A photo from a *Daily Oklahoman* photographer helped solve the mystery of a woman who died after she exited the Murrah building. Rebecca Anderson was a

nurse who went into the building as a medical volunteer. The photographer took a picture of her as she walked out of the building. She collapsed soon after and died four days later. Doctors figured out by the position of her hands in the photo that she likely received a fatal blow to the head while inside the building (Simpson & Coté, 2006).

For the Oklahoma City journalists, some of them still on the job today, the bombing story will never end, which is reflective of previous research on this specific aspect of trauma (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006). The weeks following the bombing were spent covering the suspects, the implosion of the bombed-out building, the injured victims, and families of the dead. Then came the anniversaries, the trials, an execution, more anniversaries and milestones, and even a yearly marathon that benefits the National Memorial, now located at the place where the Murrah building once stood.

The events of Oklahoma City and the journalists' experiences contributed to the first study by journalism scholars for a journalism publication at the end of the decade (Simpson & Boggs, 1999). The researchers wanted to understand how journalists talked about their emotions in regards to covering violent events. The study also looked at how work-related trauma affects journalists in comparison to those in other professions, such as public safety workers. The research centered around newspaper staffs at three dailies in Michigan and three dailies in Washington state (as well as a fourth smaller newspaper) in Washington state. The respondents included editors, reporters, and photographers. Eighty-six percent of the respondents had covered violent trauma.

Forty percent of journalists in the study were able to vividly describe the first

traumatic story they covered. One respondent said, “Car struck by train. I can still see the two victims dead in the front seat, even though this happened in 1967” (Simpson & Boggs, 1999, p. 15). Another said, “Bodies of teenagers lying on the road, a burned-out car on its roof, three disintegrated bodies inside, long lines of cars being detoured around the crash, a very cold and windy night” (Simpson & Boggs, 1999, p. 15). Forty-six percent said they were not prepared for the trauma they faced on their first assignments (“I was two months out of J-school” [Simpson & Boggs, 1999, p. 16]). The journalists said the hardest traumatic stories to cover involved children and teenagers, a finding echoed in future studies (Newman et al., 2003). Some said interviewing family members of the dead was the most difficult. The journalists in the study dealt with stress by talking about the traumatic events with coworkers, friends, and family. Other coping skills noted by a few respondents included crying, praying, exercising, music, and physical gestures, such as hugs.

The trauma symptoms for journalists in the study were anxiety, memories of the scene, nightmares, guilt, sickness, and sleep problems (Simpson & Boggs, 1999). Respondents also described symptoms their co-workers experienced as anger, hostility, crying, cynicism, and mood swings. Other symptoms of co-worker trauma were repetitious stories about the event, as well as excessive smoking and drinking. Thirty percent said their employers helped them handle the stress, which means a significant number did not receive help. One respondent said, “My employer makes counseling available as a benefit, but nobody has ever suggested that it be used” (Simpson & Boggs, 1999, p. 16).

One of the authors of the landmark Simpson & Boggs (1999) study was a

catalyst for one final important action for journalists and trauma at the end of the decade. Roger Simpson was instrumental in setting up the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma at the University of Washington. The center was an out-growth of the Victims and Media Program at Michigan State University, established earlier in the decade. Today the Dart Center is based at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University and has become an international resource for journalists and trauma (Mission & History, n.d.).

The years of the 1990s brought the realities of trauma and media work into the consciousness of journalism academia and news organizations. Next, the decade of the 2000s became a time to refine the understanding of journalistic trauma. The subject of journalists and trauma began to attract more interest, fueled in part by 9/11, and also by mass tragedies such as school shootings (Beam & Spratt, 2009). The enormity of 9/11, and its impact on a large number of journalists, resulted in several studies and articles about journalists and their experiences (Newman et al., 2003; Ricchiardi, 2001; Strupp & Cospers, 2001).

2000s: Trauma and journalism studies become more specific

Studies in the 2000s sought to provide more specificity on the subject of journalists and trauma. The 9/11 terror attacks became another backdrop for the understanding and study of traumatized journalists (Matloff, 2004; Ricchiardi, 2001; Strupp & Cospers, 2001). The first accounts were published in industry publications days after the attack. Strupp and Cospers (2001) reported the trauma symptoms journalists experienced, such as sleeplessness, intrusive memories, survivor guilt, and depression. Ricchiardi (2001) interviewed journalists for the *American Journalism*

Review, some of whom were injured in the midst of the attacks on the World Trade Center. Journalists said they were comforted by talking about their experiences to other journalists and friends, as well as working hard to cover the story in the days and weeks after the attacks. CNN and *USA Today* brought in grief counselors for staff in New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. The managing editor of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* wrote that the stereotype of the unfeeling journalist “has us impervious to all that, anyway -- hardened, cynical chroniclers of that which befalls other people. This week’s events have rudely reminded us how ridiculous that is” (Ricchiardi, 2001, para. 21).

Newman et al. (2003) fielded a national study of 875 photojournalists which focused on their exposure to death and injury. Ninety-eight percent had been exposed to events that mental health professionals would describe as traumatic. These included fires, car accidents, and murders; 6% met criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD. The numbers of assignments, decreased social support, and a pre-existing history of trauma increased PTSD risks.

War correspondents report the highest rates of PTSD among journalists. Feinstein et al. (2002) conducted the first empirical study on the psychological health of war correspondents with the finding that 28.6% experienced PTSD. The study compared war journalists to domestic journalists not assigned to conflicts overseas. The journalists in the study had been wounded, experienced the deaths of colleagues, and two had been subjected to mock executions. Those who had covered wars in places such as Bosnia, Chechnya, the Middle East, and Rwanda were more likely to have PTSD, depression, and alcohol problems than those who had not covered conflicts.

Feinstein et al. (2002) noted that despite the emotional distress in the war correspondent group, they were not “more likely to have received help” (p. 1574), and “this observation together with the fact that we have found no previous research on this topic speak to a culture of silence on the part of the news bosses and the journalists themselves” (p. 1574).

In a study of 906 newspaper journalists, Pyevich et al. (2003) found that more exposure to traumatic events, combined with negative cognitive beliefs mediated the effects of PTSD, reported by 4.3% of the sample. Journalists’ traumas included covering a traumatic assignment (78.7%) or a gruesome scene (53.8%), and witnessing someone hurt or killed on assignment (20.2%). The most common work-related trauma was covering a vehicle accident (80.7%), and the most stressful was covering the death or injury of a child (36.1%). While negative cognition influenced PTSD symptoms, covering of traumatic events was a more powerful mediator of PTSD. The authors of the study noted “that solely focusing upon cognitive beliefs in prevention programs for journalists who frequently encounter job-related traumatic events may not be the most useful intervention” (Pyeovich et al., 2003, p. 328).

Weidmann et al. (2007) studied 61 journalists who had covered the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the first research to focus on journalists covering a natural disaster. The disaster killed more than 220,000 people. Print, radio, and television journalists were exposed to a wide range of traumatic situations, including witnessing dead bodies, speaking to distressed victims, and working in extremely damaged areas. Almost 7% of the journalists met the diagnostic criteria for PTSD. Those with less supervisor and colleague support suffered more negative emotional response. Lower levels of support

from peers and family members were significantly associated with higher levels of depression.

Social support was also a factor in Dworzniak's (2011) study of 280 broadcast reporters, photographers, and live truck engineers. The study found 7% met the criteria for a PTSD diagnosis and 30% experienced moderate to severe symptoms of compassion fatigue. Those with the least job commitment, the least social support and the most work pressure were most likely to experience compassion fatigue.

Keats and Buchanan (2009) introduced the concept of assignment stress injury (ASI), similar to operational stress injury (OSI) used by the Canadian military to denote psychological stresses that can occur on the job. In a series of three articles, Keats and Buchanan (2009, 2012) and Buchanan and Keats (2011) explored a range of subjects related to trauma and journalism, including recommendations from journalists (2009), coping strategies (2011), and the tensions between journalism culture and the journalist's experience (2012). The researchers gathered 31 interviews and conducted six onsite observations with Canadian broadcast and print journalists who had covered traumatic content. In the first study, the journalists discussed specific areas where they wanted more help from their organizations: peer support, time to reflect on experiences, more supportive managers, better communication, specific trauma education for journalists, more beneficial professional assistance, and post-trauma exercises about what they learned from the traumatic event (Keats & Buchanan, 2009). One respondent acknowledged the stigma in the industry when media professionals seek psychological support: "If anyone ever found out that you're going for some psychological help

because you've covered too many stories it might almost be a sign of weakness" (p. 172).

Buchanan and Keats (2011) used the same data set for a later study that focused on journalists' coping activities. The most common strategies they identified related to the symptoms of PTSD: avoidance at work, exercise "to avoid thinking about things" (p. 132), controlling emotions and memories, remaining "emotionally detached" through dark humor (p. 132), and drug and alcohol abuse to "(try) to get rid of these images. Waking up in the middle of the night with nightmares" (p. 133). The respondents also used work as a coping mechanism, focusing on technical aspects in the "moments of thinking how terrible for these people, there isn't time to dwell on it and maybe that's part of what gets you through the day" (p. 133).

The final study that emerged from the Keats and Buchanan (2012) data set focused on the ways journalists understand their experiences in balancing work and trauma. The study revealed four broad areas: education, cultural considerations, psychological and social support, and maintaining a balance between one's work and personal life. Keats and Buchanan (2012) recommended multiple means of education, including pamphlets and websites for both newsrooms and journalism schools, as well as training for journalists on elements of trauma, coping with trauma, and constructive communication in the workplace (Keats & Buchanan, 2012). The study also addressed unique needs for journalists when it comes to counseling.

Clear accessibility to support services that intersects with and considers the culture of journalism in their delivery is required. The act of addressing journalists' needs must be done within the limits and possibilities of the culture. We believe that this can best come about if journalists and professional counselors or psychologists work together...we strongly recommend that therapists have training and understanding of the culture of journalism and the

types of assignment stress injuries with which journalists may be struggling. (p. 220)

In a study of 400 journalists, Beam and Spratt (2009) further addressed managers' perceptions towards journalists after coverage of violent events. The study population was derived from journalists who had previously taken part in the American Journalist surveys, which have been conducted every 10 years since 1971. The Beam and Spratt study was the first of the American Journalist surveys to incorporate questions about news work and trauma, with three new questions about emotional distress, physical safety, and management support being added. The findings suggested that journalists with empathetic managers have higher job satisfaction and perceived morale, with lower turnover intent. A negative correlation was found between job advancement and open communication about trauma experienced on the job; the journalists believed that admitting emotional difficulty would affect opportunities for promotion. Beam and Spratt (2009) acknowledged, "A supportive approach to dealing with violent and traumatic events is not only a moral obligation of an employer but also, this research suggests, just good business" (p. 433).

Novak and Davidson (2013) were interested in exploring protective factors that may prevent PTSD and other negative emotional conditions in journalists. The qualitative study found a variety of coping methods, including identifying "relationships with their colleagues as resources for training, support, and opportunities to make sense of distressing events" (p. 320). The researchers also found the journalists' sense of professionalism to bolster resilience, in particular the role of objectivity, which allowed some emotional distancing from the difficult reporting. A conscious approach to finding balance between the journalist's personal and work life also mitigated trauma;

the process “seemed continuous and indefinite” (Novak & Davidson, 2013, p. 320). The small sample was taken from English-speaking members of the British media posted in various war-torn parts of the world such as Iraq, the Balkans, and Northern Ireland.

Griffin (2015) found a relationship between a journalist’s professional values and the likelihood of trauma symptoms. The study surveyed 829 journalists from across the U.S. Eighty-eight percent had been exposed to trauma on the job. The most common reported traumatic event was coverage of sudden violent death, such as homicide (71%). The study found between 7% and 30% of the respondents with diagnosable trauma symptoms, depending on the individual and symptom noted. Griffin (2015) found the journalists to perceive their managers as friendly, who care about workers’ well-being, and provide good advice. However, the journalists acknowledged they were not well informed about the potential of trauma exposure or how to cope with it. “Instead, journalists report trauma is not addressed in the newsroom and journalists are left on their own to figure out what to do if they suffer as a result of job-related trauma exposure” (Griffin, 2015, p. 143). The study called for “policies, practices, and procedures” (p. xiv) to support journalists’ mental health in the wake of on-the-job trauma.

Other studies have revealed that journalists experience new layers of trauma. Carter and Kodrich (2013) investigated newspaper journalists in El Paso, Texas, an area situated next to one of the deadliest cities in the world, Juarez, Mexico. The qualitative study added a unique dimension to the existing research in the U.S., because drug cartels across the border in Juarez have targeted journalists. Some journalists have been

killed and wounded, which has had a dramatic impact on the El Paso media professionals nearby. While this study did not measure for PTSD, it recognized the stress and trauma the journalists face in their work.

Discussion of emotions and fear did not appear to be a natural part of the newsroom culture...the journalists are risking their lives to tell the region's stories -- the least management and the public can do is listen to the journalists' own personal stories. (p. 343)

Research of international journalists found similarities with their American counterparts, although some of the international studies also include U.S. journalists (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; Marais & Stuart, 2005; McMahon, 2001; Teegen & Grotwinkel, 2001). Ninety-six percent of media professionals in a study of European and U.S. journalists reported different kinds of trauma, including fear, horror, and hopelessness (Teegen & Grotwinkel, 2001). A study of Australian journalists reported a relationship between self-reported PTSD and exposure to traumatic assignments (McMahon, 2001). Marais and Stuart (2005) researched 50 journalists from the US and Europe, studying the role personality plays in reaction to traumatic stress; those who were highest in neuroticism experienced the most severe PTSD symptoms. Journalists who were least able to cope or manage stress were more susceptible to PTSD. Research on Finnish journalists who covered a school shooting found emotional distress, a low-incidence of PTSD, and previous personal trauma moderated higher incidences of distress (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012).

Combined, a number of studies have established that journalists sustain trauma in their work (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; Beam & Spratt, 2009; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Dworznik, 2011; Griffin, 2015; Feinstein et al., 2002; Freinkel et al., 1994; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al.; Pyevich et al., 2003; Simpson, 2004; Simpson &

Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006; Teegen & Grotwinkel, 2001). A number of factors can influence PTSD severity, including the type of coverage (Feinstein et al., 2002); presence or absence of social support (Newman et al., 2003; Novak & Davidson, 2013; Weidmann et al., 2007), personality (Marais & Stuart, 2005), previous trauma (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003) and frequency of traumatic coverage (Newman et al., 2003; McMahon, 2001; Pyevich et al., 2003). Journalists often seek more support from their organizations than what the organizations offer (Carter & Kodrich, 2013; Griffin, 2015; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Keats & Buchanan, 2012; Pyevich et al., 2003).

Conclusion

The formal recognition that journalists can suffer emotional harm through their work began in the 1990s. Psychology scholars, Freinkel et al. (1994), conducted the first study of journalists and trauma. Then, Simpson and Boggs (1999) became the first journalism researchers to conduct a study of media professionals and trauma. The Oklahoma City bombing, bookended by both studies, became a catalyst for a conversation by, among, and about journalists and the emotional wounds they faced in covering a large-scale community disasters (Aiken, 1996; Hight & Smith, 2003; Simpson & Coté, 2006). Since then, a number of other studies have looked in more detail at journalism and trauma, including research on the impact of traumatic work on specific media-related job descriptions, such as photographers or war correspondents (Feinstein et al., 2002; Newman et al., 2003), the underlying psychological factors affecting traumatic impact (Pyeovich et al., 2003), effects of trauma on journalists outside the US (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; McMahon, 2001; Teegen & Grotwinkel,

2001), and how management support affects journalists' coping skills (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Dworznik, 2011; Griffin, 2015).

Research is limited on how leaders manage trauma in the newsroom (Beam & Spratt, 2009). Yet, the small number of studies demonstrate that organizational and management-related decision-making can mitigate symptoms of trauma, through social support facilitation, preparation for trauma, and mental health support (Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Simpson & Boggs, 1999). Historically, journalists were taught to put their feelings aside in the workplace (MacDonald et al., 2016); therefore, media managers did not consider trauma management to be part of their job description (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999).

To address the central research question of the study -- how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events -- Chapter 4 reviews the literature on organizational culture, climate, perceived organizational support, and social support. These concepts work together in organizations to affect organizational action and learning, employee perception, and trauma response. While little research connects POS and social support to journalism and trauma, the chapter includes an examination of relevant literature to explain the thread that runs from trauma to journalism to organizational leadership.

Chapter 4: Management, Trauma, and Support

It created this amazing family in this city, in this television station, and it lasts today. For the more than a decade that I have been gone, I still get emails, letters and cards from people who just want to know how I am doing because once we had spent that very intimate time together, it was very much like a family. (Television anchor)

Research has shown that working in the journalism industry leads to a number of stress factors for reporters, photographers, editors, producers, and others (Dworznic, 2011; Feinstein, Owen & Blair, 2002; Freinkel et al., 1994; Griffin, 2015; Keats, 2010; Newman, Simpson & Handschuh, 2003; Pyevich, Newman & Daleiden, 2003; Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006). Though a significant percentage of journalists will experience PTSD during the course of their careers (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003) many more have the potential to experience other stress outcomes, including acute stress disorder (ASD), secondary stress (STS), burnout (BRN), and compassion fatigue (CF).

Organizational and management decisions can mitigate the effects of stress outcomes. Specifically, counseling, training, leadership style and social support can alleviate the effects of trauma on newsroom staff (Campbell et al., 2010; George et al., 1993; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). These interventions are crucial, because media professionals can experience trauma on any day they report for work. Unfortunately for journalists, newsrooms have historically been places where trauma, emotionally-scarred employees, and poorly-trained leaders have existed in a culture where psychological injury has been

suppressed or ignored (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Kelleghan, 2001; Killebrew, 2004; MacDonald, Saliba, Hodgins, & Ovington, 2016).

This chapter begins with the ways journalists explain what trauma feels like to them. These explanations illustrate the difficult job a newsroom manager has in alleviating the emotional suffering among his/her staff. Then, the chapter explains organizational culture and climate, specifically as it relates to journalism work. The chapter takes a macro-level view of the way employees understand organizational support, followed by a micro view of perceived organizational support (POS) in relation to PTSD and other negative emotional consequences of journalism work. It further reviews journalism literature connected to POS and its relation to journalism work and connects social support to POS, because their meanings overlap (Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011). The chapter concludes with a review of journalism research regarding social support and trauma.

Inside journalistic trauma

Very little research has focused on the specifics of managing journalists when traumatic events occur, but a small number of studies indicate that management-level decisions have the power to lessen stress responses among media professionals (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Dworzniak, 2011; Griffin, 2015). Media managers often come into their roles with little experience and no training. News managers are often promoted because of their skills as reporters and producers, rather than their leadership and management abilities (Chittum, 2014; Kelleghan, 2001; Killebrew, 2004).

The following quotes from journalists demonstrate what newsroom managers face in leading through newsroom trauma -- for both the mass scale disasters, and the

routine, seemingly smaller traumas. The first quotes (obtained from the transcripts at the Oklahoma City National Memorial) describe some of the emotional effects for media professionals who covered the Oklahoma City bombing.

It affected everyone in this newsroom. I saw no one that went unaffected. You would be on the air, anchoring, you know, for the time that you were allotted to be up there. And you'd get off the air and you'd just start crying... And you saw that all the time. I mean, reporters would be at their desks typing. And, all of a sudden, you'd see these tears just rolling down their faces. But they'd keep typing and they'd get it done. (Television anchor)

If you became caught up in the emotion of it, it would -- and it would overwhelm you. And there were reporters there at the trial who had become overwhelmed, and you didn't want to be that reporter who became overwhelmed and would break down sobbing in the courtroom. (Newspaper reporter)

These and other quotes from Oklahoma City journalists speak to the unique disaster of the Oklahoma City bombing. Yet, other journalists writing and speaking from different places and times echo the same themes. The so-called everyday stories, car accidents, shootings, and fires, can be catalysts for many of the stress outcomes on the PTSD spectrum (Drummond, 2004; Norwood, Simpson & Coté; 2006; Walsh & Owen, 2003). Burroughs (1999) described the emotional roller-coaster for young reporters as they cover routine traumatic events.

It does not take long for a reporter at a small-town newspaper to become hardened. Still new on the job, he is ordered out by his editor to investigate car accidents, fires, killings, and all sorts of calamity, and when he's not covering breaking news, he spends a lot of time writing obituaries. Usually in a matter of months he's had enough exposure to death and the darker side of human nature to be able to perform his job without being swept away in the wash of pain and suffering he has witnessed. Sometimes, he can even joke about it. (p. 78)

The day-to-day coverage of shootings and car accidents is one kind of stress, but another stressor for journalists is dealing with victims, families of victims, and tragedies involving young children. Some reporters will cover thousands of deaths during their

time on the job (Germer, 1995). Miami reporter Tracie Cone decided to quit her job shortly after refusing to interview a seven-year old who had just witnessed his father's drowning. She said, "Every day your whole job was to interview people on the absolute worst days of their lives and write about the absolute saddest things that happened to them" (Germer, 1995, p. 39). Cone ultimately became a feature reporter after realizing the emotional toll caused by the difficult work.

Whether it is a local homicide or one of the biggest acts of terrorism in U.S. history, the process of managing individuals who are suffering is a formidable one. Leading employees during small and large traumas requires experience, organization, training, and support (George et al., 1993; Rhoades & Esienberger, 2002; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). Leadership and management occur within organizational structures and are affected by organizational culture and climate. The following section defines organizational structure and explains how organizational culture and climate affect organizational management.

Organizational structure, culture, and climate

An organization is defined as "a system of consciously coordinated activities of two or more persons" (Barnard, 1938, p. 73), as groups of individuals who work together toward a common goal (Blau & Scott, 1962), and as a "stable pattern of transactions" between individuals or groups of people (Ouchi, 1980, p. 140). The news industry has its own organizational norms for coordinating and grouping individuals in departments, such as news, business, sales, engineering, and production (Albarran, 2017; Stovall, 2005).

Organizations have unique beliefs and behaviors that describe their *culture*. The concept of organizational culture is rooted in anthropology (Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006), and refers to the knowledge that shapes the different groups, including racial, religious, geographic, and others (Schein, 1992). Culture is such a strong influence that it can affect a group's ability to survive (Boyd & Richerson, 2009). Organizationally, culture influences decisions, priorities, behaviors, and outcomes (Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006) and affects "how the members think, feel, and act" (Schein, 1992, p. 9). Organizational culture exists on both the macro and micro levels: macro, where it encompasses concepts, such as values and beliefs, and micro, where it incorporates actions, such as roles and procedures (Gade & Perry, 2003). Within organizations, culture can be influenced structurally through technology and market conditions, for example, or by individuals, in regards to leadership style, communication, and socialization processes. The organizational culture communicates norms, rituals, and behaviors to newcomers implicitly and explicitly via socialization, storytelling, and myths (Bowen & Schneider, 2014).

Negative cultures can also develop in organizations. Individuals can adopt workplace behaviors that are "mean...not because they are that way but because the organization trained them to be that way" (Schein, 1996, p. 230). Deeply embedded organizational cultures can prevent learning in the organization, or what Schein (1996) called "learning disabilities" or "defensive routines" (p. 235). Organizational cultural norms can become so deeply rooted that individuals will not question them (Argyris, 1995). In some cases, "the members of a culture are not even aware of their own culture until they encounter a different one" (Schein, 1996, p. 236).

Organizational cultures are influenced by a number of factors, including national norms, leadership characteristics, and the company's primary line of business (Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006). In the media industry, for example, companies in the same industry sector, such as television, share organizational cultural aspects because their products, markets, and technologies are similar (Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006). Conversely, they would be expected to differ in some ways from newspapers and other media organizations, because of differences in product and technologies.

More narrowly, departments within media organizations have their own professional sub-cultures (Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006). "Routines are independent of the individual actors who execute them and are capable of surviving considerable turnover in individual actors" (Levitt & March, 1988, p. 320). Routines and institutional memory influence the culture of media organizations, including those that are informal (Hollifield, 2011). "One of the key elements of informal structures on news organizations is the strength of the traditional professional culture of journalism" (Hollifield, 2011, p. 204). Journalism's professional culture is affected by factors such as professional knowledge, a code of ethics, education, independence, and public service (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 1996). Autonomy, individual freedom in one's work, is another characteristic of journalists' professional identification. Multiple studies have identified autonomy as an influencing factor for job satisfaction among journalists (Chang & Sylvie, 1999, Gade, 2004; Gade & Perry, 2003; McDevitt, Gassaway, & Perez, 2002).

A number of studies have illustrated the difficulty of changing the culture of news organizations (Gade, 2004; Gade & Perry, 2003). Others have demonstrated that

culture shifts happen slowly in the news industry (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010; Everbach, 2006; Gade, 2004; Gade & Perry, 2003). Schein (2009) advised that with organizational change, “It is much easier to draw on the strengths of the culture than to overcome the constraints by changing the culture” (p. 102).

Organizational climate focuses on the individual’s perception of the work environment (Rosseau, 1988). In some cases, the terms organizational culture and organizational climate are used interchangeably; “culture and climate are similar concepts since both describe employees’ experiences of their organizations” (Patterson et al., 2005, p. 380). The dominant definition conceptualizes climate as employees’ shared experiences and perceptions of events, practices, and procedures in the workplace (Patterson et al., 2005). At the individual level in contrast to the group or team level, these perceptions are referred to as “psychological climate” (James & Jones, 1974). Climate, then, can be understood as a “surface manifestation of culture” (Patterson et al., 2005, p. 381). Several studies connect organizational climate to stress and burnout in the workplace (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001; Zaph, Knorz, & Kulla, 1996). Culture in media organizations can change at the micro level, when leaders focus on actions such as roles and procedures (Gade & Perry, 2003). In a parallel sense, journalists can experience change at the climate level when they perceive a difference in practices and procedures (Patterson et al., 2005).

Organizational learning is a concept that relates to culture and organizational routines. Organizational learning looks to the future, “while routines are based on interpretations of the past, rather than interpretations of the future” (Levitt & March, 1988, p. 320). Organizational learning refers to the adaptive behavior of the

organization and the learning processes that occur to bring about change (Agyris & Schon, 1978; Cyert & March, 1964). One barrier to organizational learning is the small “sample size” of learning events (Levitt & March, 1988, p. 334). Levitt and March (1988) suggest that learning experiences within organizations may have imperfect outcomes, but that is part of the process.

An employee-centric organizational view is that of perceived organizational support (POS). POS explains a wide range of organizational relationships between workers and supervisor, interdepartmental, and peer (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Hayton, Carnabuci, & Eisenberger, 2012; Levinson, 1965; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The following section provides an overview of POS, and details the research that examines how trauma in the workplace can best be managed, through the lens of POS.

Perceived organizational support (POS)

Perceived organizational support (POS) posits that workers believe organizations will value their work and care about their welfare in recognition of their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Eisenberger, Stinglhamer, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2002). The review of POS reveals four core responsibilities for organizations in reducing traumatic response: communicating and providing emotional aid (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leadership consideration in the form of concern and support for the employee (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

POS research began under the umbrella of organizational support theory “with the observation that if managers are concerned with their employees’ commitment to the organization, employees are focused on the organization’s commitment to them” (Eisenberger, n.d., para. 2). One of the foundations of POS is the norm of reciprocity, which occurs when one person treats another well (Gouldner, 1960). In this vein, the organization can expect that workers will be more productive when the organization values their work, cares about their well-being, and helps them when they have problems (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Levinson (1965) suggested organizations’ contribution to the norm of reciprocity goes beyond financial and legal responsibilities to moral ones, as well.

POS connects to the employer’s responsibility to workers under traumatic circumstances, because it is an “assurance that aid will be available from the organization when it is needed to carry out one’s job effectively and to deal with stressful situations” (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, p. 698). Employees with higher POS generally suffer fewer psychological stress symptoms, such as anxiety and burnout, and fewer physical symptoms, such as headaches and fatigue, and find their jobs more enjoyable overall (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Further, POS leads to more commitment, a higher desire to help the organization succeed, and an increased psychological well-being (Kurtessis et al., 2015). An individual’s psychological health often refers to personal characteristics, but Maslach and Lieter (1999) indicated that organizational structure and environment were more important.

Three meta-analyses found a link between POS and desired employee outcomes, such as higher productivity and reduced work stressors (Eisenberger et al., 2015;

Kurtessis et al., 2015; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Riggle et al., 2009). Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) reviewed more than 70 studies in their meta-analysis to determine the antecedents of POS, which were perceived supervisor support (PSS), fairness, organizational rewards, and job conditions. Riggle et al. (2009) reviewed 167 studies and confirmed that POS has a strong connection to job satisfaction. Similarly, Kurtessis et al. (2015) found a strong correlation between POS and PSS.

The earliest meta-analysis on POS determined rewards and job conditions to be among the three antecedents of POS, along with fairness and PSS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Rewards and job conditions are described as recognition, pay, promotions, job security, autonomy, role stressors, and training. Role stressors are connected to those related to trauma, because they are considered to be job-related stressors, which the organization can control (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The organization can minimize the individual's response to the stressor by communicating to workers that emotional aid and support is available (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). News organizations and supervisors cannot control large-scale traumatic events or micro-traumas, which can result in emotional stressors for journalists. It is not possible for newsroom managers to completely remove the demands of covering distressing content. However, the organization and supervisor can control the management of the stressors and the communication of available resources.

Training is another aspect of the rewards and job conditions indicated by POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Training is a discretionary workplace action, which communicates an investment in the employee (Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997). Planning and training for traumatic scenarios can reduce traumatic impact and improve

the employee's perception of POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). This component has a dual role in relation to workplace trauma: the preparation indicated by planning and training can allow the employee to feel better prepared for difficult events, and the organizational gesture improves POS.

One finding of the Riggle et al. (2009) meta-analysis was a strong positive relationship between POS and organizational commitment and job satisfaction. The research team confirmed "that firms perceived to be higher in organizational support are more apt to have employees who are not only more satisfied with their job, but also more committed to the organization" (p. 1029).

Perceived supervisor support (PSS) is closely connected to POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), because supervisors are inextricably connected to their organizations. Supervisors act as agents of the organization; gestures of support contribute to employees' perception of the organization, partly because supervisors play a hands-on leadership role in providing rewards and resources to workers (Wayne et al., 1997). More specifically, employees who believe their leader to be considerate and task oriented perceive support from the organization and reciprocate with higher commitment (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

The Kurtessis et al. (2015) meta-analysis looked at leader consideration and leader structure. Leader consideration encompasses the actions of supervisors who support and show concern for employees (Kurtessis et al., 2015). Leader structure refers to the organization of the work, such as clear communication of work expectations. In this pair of attributes, the leader consideration more strongly correlated

to POS than leader structure. Thus, leaders who show care, support, and concern for staffs enhance POS and PSS.

An even stronger correlation occurred in comparing transformational and transactional leaders. Transformational leaders motivate through inspiration, individual consideration, and are often charismatic (Bass, 1990). Transactional leaders use rewards for motivation, and corrective action to solve problems, which is associated “with the short-term trade of effort for wages” (Kurtessis et al., 2015, p. 8). The same study also found a strong correlation between leader-member exchange (LMX) and POS. In LMX, the leader provides support and resources, and in turn the worker “exchanges” effort and performance quality (Liden, Sparrowe, & Wayne, 1997). Overall, the Kurtessis et al. study found higher correlations with some of the most positively-oriented supervisor and leadership attributes. These findings are significant in the study of trauma, leadership, and journalism. Leader consideration, in the form of support and concern for employees; the quality of transformational leadership, motivation through consideration; and LMX, providing support and resources, all support POS. This, in turn, has the potential to mitigate trauma for journalists.

POS reaches beyond organization and supervisor support. Peer support is related to POS, because workplace social networks are associated with the organization (Hayton et al., 2012). Departments outside the newsroom are representative of the organization, therefore the interdepartmental support contributes to POS (Hayton et al., 2012). Burt (2005) suggested that interdepartmental support has become more important as organizations flatten traditional hierarchies.

The most recently published meta-analysis confirmed a high correlation between POS and job satisfaction (Kurtessis et al., 2015). The social exchange aspects of work relationship are a more powerful indicator of POS than the economic ones (Kertussis et al., 2015). Social exchange relationships in POS elicit trust, an expectation that efforts will be rewarded, and felt obligation. In the economic-only relationship, employees trade work for short-term rewards.

Research outside the management literature supports this line of thinking. A study of 256 nurses who worked with HIV/AIDS patients found lower negative mood among those with stronger organizational and social support at work (George et al., 1993). Nurses perceived higher organizational support when the organization provided them with resources to cope with the stress of managing patients living with HIV/AIDS. Resources included counseling, time off from work, and reassignment to less stressful units (George et al., 1993). The research team wrote that simply “*knowing* (author’s emphasis) that these and other resources are available may enhance perceptions of resources and options for coping and lead to less experienced distress” (p. 160).

POS further connects to workplace traumas, because it negatively relates to stress and burnout symptoms. These conditions are, in turn, connected to a lack of resources in dealing with demands in the workplace (Demerouti et al., 2001; see Chapter 2 for more details). In the Kertussis et al. (2015) meta-analysis higher POS was negatively correlated to burnout and emotional exhaustion.

Very little research exists on the relationship between POS and mental health symptoms, including PTSD (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). PTSD has not been a serious concern for traditional workplaces, which is one reason the subject has

received little attention (Kelley et al., 2014). Barnes et al. (2013) looked at the relationship between POS and PTSD in soldiers on a peacekeeping mission. The study found higher POS contributed to lower PTSD before, during, and after the deployment. Kelley et al. (2014) examined the relationship between POS and stigma and found that a supportive environment could reduce stigma, which could lead to more openness for soldiers in addressing PTSD symptoms. Stigma, as related to the Barnes et al. (2014) research, is relevant for journalists because of the traditional newsroom culture which has frowned upon emotion in the workplace (Simpson, 2004).

Stigma has also been a problem for service members. A study of service members found they were much less likely to reveal psychological problems than medical ones (Britt, 2000). Employees concerned about how others may judge them if they get professional help may not get needed mental health support (Couture & Penn, 2003). Barnes et al. (2014) found the more supportive the environment (high POS), the lower the stigma and symptoms of PTSD. A significant finding is that workers who feel their organizations value them see their symptoms of PTSD reduced.

Kelley et al. (2014) suggest that organizations can decrease symptoms of PTSD and the stigma that some perceive by generating positive and supportive organizational attitudes and behaviors in leadership training, policies, and early intervention. The Barnes et al. (2013) study pointed out that stress levels may affect the way employees perceive POS, and may cast it in a negative light, because one symptom of PTSD is an increased negative affect. Barnes et al. (2013) advocate training for both workers and leaders to minimize this problem. Such training should address the negativity issue and the biases that can result, and workers should be allowed to communicate concerns

about POS, without fear of retaliation (Barnes et al., 2013).

The review of POS and PSS literature communicates core responsibilities for organizations in reducing traumatic response: communicating and providing emotional aid (George et al., 1993; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Viswesvaran et al., 1999), planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leadership considerations in the form of concern and support for the employee (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

Researchers have not studied POS in news environments specifically, but much of the journalism literature on news work and trauma links to POS. The next section of this chapter focuses on existing research in journalism work and its connections to POS.

Perceived organizational support (POS) and journalism research

A number of studies focused on journalism and trauma relate to POS. Newman et al. (2003) found almost all of their 875 study participants had covered the scene of a death or injury. Only in 11% of cases did respondents indicate that their employers warned them that newsgathering might have a negative emotional affect and only 25% of participants had the opportunity to receive counseling. Empathetic support had a positive effect on morale in a 2005 study on journalists and managers (Geisler, 2005). However, the same study found almost a quarter of respondents experienced “no concern” from their organizations.

Similar to the findings in the Kertussis et al. (2015) meta-analysis, Beam and Spratt (2009) found journalists who saw managers as empathetic during difficult situations have higher job satisfaction, better-perceived morale, and more career

commitment. Journalists in the study reported higher job satisfaction if they felt prepared and cared for by supervisors, both on emotional and physical safety levels. On the other hand, journalists were less satisfied with their jobs if they believed they could not show signs of emotional stress at work, and those expressing turnover intent believed that management was not emotionally supportive or concerned about safety. As studies found with regard to work environments, facilitating POS in the newsroom is good for both the employee and the organization. “Good managers will want to hang on to productive employees because hiring, socializing and training new workers is costly” (Beam & Spratt, 2009, p. 433).

A lack of concern from the organization affected PTSD symptoms in a study of 61 journalists who covered the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami disaster. Journalists witnessed the dead and the injured, and interviewed family members of the victims. Close to 7% of the journalists in the study experienced PTSD; a lack of acknowledgement about the trauma from supervisors and co-workers was a significant factor contributing to these conditions (Weidmann et al., 2007).

Counseling. The organization can minimize negative responses related to job stressors when it communicates to workers that emotional aid and support is available (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). A range of cognitive processing therapies (CPT) has shown positive results for victims of trauma across a variety of emotionally-scarring situations, including individual, group, and brief interventions after large-scale disasters (Bass et al., 2013; Friedman, n.d.; Bryant et al., 2008; Zankas, 2010). CPT can also encompass cognitive behavioral therapies (CBT), which work to identify and reshape negative thinking (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2017-b).

Much of the literature relating to POS, journalists, trauma, and PTSD recommends counseling as an instrumental support mechanism (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003). However, most studies provide little direction beyond “arranging for counselors to be available at the office” (Newman et al., 2003, p. 10), “offering programs that help them cope” (Beam & Spratt, 2009, p. 433), “cognitive therapy interventions to assist journalists with work-related PTSD” (Pyevich et al, 2003, p. 328), and organizing “journalists and professional counselors or psychologists work(ing) together” (Keats & Buchanan, 2012, p. 220).

Simply recommending counseling is not enough, because many journalists do not believe they need it (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Sibbald, 2002, Simpson & Coté, 2006). Soon after the Oklahoma City bombing, the newspaper and television stations brought in counselors. At *The Daily Oklahoman* only a small percentage of the staff took advantage of this service (Simpson & Coté, 2006). Gender and job description played a role in these decisions: male reporters and editors were the ones who avoided the counseling (Simpson & Coté, 2006).

Further, journalists are wary of counseling, because they believe “that outsiders couldn’t understand the rigors of being a witness on behalf of society” (Ricciardi & Gerczynski, 1999, p. 36). Keats and Buchanan (2012) recommend that “therapists have training and understanding of the culture of journalism and the types of assignment stress injuries with which journalists may be struggling” (p. 220).

Planning and training. Planning and training for traumatic situations is a key factor in POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Simpson and Coté (2006) recommend

that news managers provide in-depth self-care training for staff. Evidence exists that cognitive preparation learned through training can lessen the effects of PTSD symptoms (Mealer et al., 2012).

Planning can be problematic for organizations, although organizational best practice calls for detailed crisis planning (Mainiero & Gibson, 2003). Few managers, except those in emergency services and policing roles, “are better prepared to deal with a traumatic event than the average person” (Mainiero & Gibson, 2003, p. 138). Managers can have negative attitudes about planning ahead for crisis, as well as a lack of responsibility, money, staff, and knowledge to be able to effectively do so (Drabek, 2000; Rousaki & Alcott, 2007; Wang & Richie, 2012). Sylvie (2008) described news planning as a management tool which sometimes requires adaptation, a similar skill required for dealing with unanticipated events. Albarran (2017) noted the need for media managers to have a complex set of problem-solving and planning tools due to the constant change in the industry.

Thorough planning in newsrooms can be difficult, because managers may lack organizational skills due to inexperience and poor training (Kelleghan, 2001). Downsizing has led to inadequate management staffing and has affected many management roles, including planning (Farhi, 2011). Planning can also be difficult in the news industry, because unexpected, and even unimagined events are to some extent one of the main characteristics of the news industry (Sylvie, 2008).

Turnover can also affect planning, insight, and empathy. In U.S. newsrooms, for instance, annual management turnover rates can be as high as 50% (Sylvie, 2008). A news manager may have experience in leading staff through a local traumatic event,

such as a tornado disaster. But if that manager leaves for another job, the news team can lose the institutional knowledge or the transactive memory the previous manager had. Transactive memory systems (TMS) are organizational networks that represent the ability to connect knowledge (Wegner et al., 1985). Leaders are important in TMS as they are conduits of information (Wolfer et al., 2015). The loss of transactive memory can severely hamper proper planning and preparation for potential crises. In television markets Nielsen ranks at number 25 and larger, the average lifespan of a news director is only two years (Papper, 2014). Frequent turnover in news managers means that newsrooms may also lose an empathic understanding of the kinds of traumatic stories individuals in the newsroom have covered or been exposed to. A new manager cannot know that major anniversaries hit a certain journalist particularly hard, or that fatal car accidents are a difficult story for another to cover. The manager can learn, but within that learning curve, trauma can be unintentionally intensified.

A 2015 study of more than 800 journalists in the U.S. identified a lack of pre-training for trauma. Griffin (2015) found while the journalists perceived support from supervisors, they believed the supervisors did not provide adequate training to lessen trauma. The study found journalists without “organizational support or basic training to figure out what to do if they suffered as a result of job-related trauma exposure” (p. 163).

Some news organizations have been able to proactively train journalists in important ways. The BBC prepared journalists before the 2003 invasion of Iraq by urging teammates at home to listen for signs of stress in their colleagues at war (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Simpson, 2004). After the 9/11 attacks, newsroom leaders in New York

and Washington, D.C. planned for different scenarios in the event of a major/traumatic news event, including communication planning, backup newsrooms, and special teams for the potential breaking news story (Smolkin, 2003).

Smaller news organizations may be incapable or unwilling to budget for crisis and psychological training, which can mitigate staff trauma (Beam & Spratt, 2009). Inexperienced or poorly trained news managers may not have the skills to pull together a system to prepare for the beginning, middle, or end of a traumatic event (Kelleghan, 2001). A study of Australian journalists found that none of the journalists was aware of any planning on the part of their media organizations in case of a major pandemic (Hooker, King, & Leask, 2011).

Leadership consideration. Leaders who communicate concern and facilitate a supportive workplace can lessen the effects of work trauma (Barnes et al., 2013; George et al., 1993; Kelley et al., 2014; Riggle et al., 2009). Leadership consideration is a facet of PSS, whereby employees see managers to extend care, empathetic gestures, and comfort (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009).

Attributes of caring are: understanding, respect, empathy, compassion, and love (Coffman & Ray, 1999; Coffman & Ray, 2002; Norbeck, Chafetz, Skodol-Wilson, & Weiss, 1991). Comfort is demonstrated through availability, listening, encouragement, and sharing experiences (Coffman & Ray, 1999; Coffman & Ray, 2002). In the Kurtessis et al. (2015) meta-analysis, supervisor support that communicated care and positive valuation of the employee was the component with the strongest relationship to POS. Employees who believe their leaders are considerate perceive higher support from the organization and reciprocate with higher commitment (Rhoades &

Eisenberger, 2002). Post 9/11 Mainiero & Gibson (2003) advised that considerate leaders understand that employees will react in individual ways to traumatic situations.

A study of 120 reporters and copy editors found supervisor support to affect burnout, as well as peer cohesion, physical comfort, involvement, autonomy, and stress (Cook, Banks, & Turner, 1993). In that study, supervisor support was defined as manager support of employees and managers encouraging employee support toward one another.

Facilitation of social support. The POS literature also points to facilitation of social support in the workplace as a way to alleviate trauma for employees (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). The next section reviews social support as a broad concept that exists within the organization and can be demonstrated as POS, but one that also exists outside the organization, encompassing the community and industry as a whole (Kossek et al., 2011).

Social Support

The previous section discussed the importance of perceived organizational support (POS) and perceived supervisor support (PSS) in regards to workplace trauma response (Kurtessis et al., 2015; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), as well as the connection of POS to journalism research on trauma (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Dworzniak, 2011; Griffin, 2015; Hooker et al., 2011; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Ricciardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson, 2004). Research on trauma and the workplace corroborates the value of social and peer support during traumatic circumstances (Newman et al., 2003; Prati & Piertrantoni, 2009; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007). In their early study on

journalists and trauma Simpson and Boggs (1999) wrote “mutual support among co-workers was the most helpful resource for many affected reporters” (p. 19).

Some overlap exists among POS, PSS, and social support (Kossek et al., 2011), because organizations and supervisors can also be sources of social support. Social support networks may be formal or informal, and both exist in the workplace (Mealer et al., 2012). Organizational leaders can facilitate these networks, although support can also occur on a more casual level as colleagues develop friendly relationships.

Few studies exist focusing on the subject of journalists, trauma, and social support (Newman et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007). Therefore, to study this phenomenon in the journalism industry, researchers need to turn to studies done in trauma-prone professions such as the medical fields and the military.

Social support entails the presence and reliability of individuals who exhibit care during times of need (Sarason, Levine, Basham, & Sarason, 1983) and “the availability of helping relationships and the quality of those relationships” (Leavy, 1983, p. 5). Social support positively affects psychological well-being in general (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988), but a narrower view indicates that social support can mitigate the negative effects of stressors related to PTSD in the workplace (Mealer et al., 2012; Viswesvaran et al., 1999).

Social support is distinct from peer support in that the latter is a specific relationship that exists in the workplace, while social support encompasses the broader network of friends, family, and community. Peer support also differs from POS and PSS in that it indicates a relationship among equals. Peer cohesion is connected to peer

support, and is defined as support and friendship in the workplace (Cook, Banks, & Turner, 1993).

Research regarding trauma-inclined professions often discusses the concepts of social and peer support (George et al., 1993). However, the concept of social support has not been clearly defined or systematically studied, and research in the area is limited (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005; Hegyvary, 2004). A meta-analysis on social support and work-family conflict did not find enough literature to analyze peer and social support from an organizational or supervisor perspective (Kossek et al., 2011). More specifically relating to the area of news work, researchers have not yet focused on constructs related to social support and journalism (Weidmann et al., 2007).

The literature defines social support in various ways. In a meta-synthesis of the concept of social support in the health care field, Finfgeld-Connett (2005) identified two kinds of social support: emotional and instrumental. Emotional support includes: (a) comforting actions, (b) knowledge that support is available, (c) faith-based gestures, (d) attentive listening, and (e) distraction. Instrumental support is a tangible good or service, such as counseling (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005).

Individuals who are offering or receiving social support should understand it is a dynamic process that can change as the circumstances change (Coffman & Ray, 1999). A study of HIV/Aids nurses found that having someone to listen without judgment was a helping gesture (George et al., 1993). Other hallmarks of social support include two-way conversations, humor, and fun (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005).

Social support was an important factor in a study of ICU nurses who were less likely to suffer PTSD than their colleagues (Mealer et al., 2012). Conversely, a meta-

analysis of risk factors in the military found a void in social support to be one of the highest risk factors relating to PTSD (Brewin, Andrews, & Valentine, 2000). Mealer et al., (2012) found spirituality (92%) and social support (85%) to be the most commonly-mentioned coping skills. Social support networks in the workplace contributed to the nurses' overall resilience, because "supportive interactions with an individual's social network provide valuable opportunities to discuss a traumatic event and process the event by assigning meaning and explanations to the event" (Mealer et al., 2012, p. 1450). One important characteristic of the social support for workers, such as the ICU nurses who experience traumatic events, is the value of close relationships. Support groups alone cannot completely substitute for meaningful relationships (Mealer et al., 2012).

Researchers have also studied social support in a more general context of the workplace and stressful situations. In one such meta-analysis, Viswesvaran et al., (1999) found that social support mitigates strains. In the literature, "stressors" refer to the conditions or stimulus which lead to strains; "strains" refer to the individual's response to the stressors (Jex, Beehr, & Roberts, 1992). Viswesvaran et al. determined a three-fold social support effect relating to stressors and strains. The primary role of support is to reduce strains, and its secondary roles are to reduce the strengths of the stressors and help reduce the effects of the stressors on the strains.

Further, Viswesvaran et al. (1999) determined that the effects of the support reduced the impact of stressors, rather than stressors causing the social support to be mobilized. The same authors, however, acknowledge the difficulties in researching social support, stressors, and strains. Viswesvaran et al. questioned whether support

reduces strain or “a strained individual fails to maintain his/her support network” (p. 329).

Support networks are valuable in helping individuals cope with stressors. Those who reach out for social support are able to reduce their negative stress reactions (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Individuals who actively seek moral support, sympathy, and understanding are said to use *approach* strategies (Littleton, Horsley, John, & Nelson, 2007). If individuals do not know how to seek social support, the Viswesvaran et al. (1999) research reveals they may experience a more negative stressor response.

While healthy approach strategies can bolster resilience and adaptiveness, it is recommended that organizations have a support network in place before a traumatic event occurs. Research has found that those who receive or perceive social support before the traumatic event will cope more positively with trauma than those who need to ask for the support (Prati & Piertrantoni, 2009).

When it comes to unexpected news events, it is difficult for newsroom managers to control the stressor. In the context of this study, the stressor for media professionals is the traumatic breaking news event embedded in the work. However, while journalists cannot control breaking news, they can actively seek social support. The approach strategy scenario is important, because it speaks to healthy adaptive coping skills. Those with characteristics of high self-esteem, assertiveness, hardiness, and an internal locus of control are found to have more positive approach strategies (Agaibi & Wilson, 2005).

Cognitive training is an important opportunity for workplaces and newsrooms,

because maladaptive coping can increase the likelihood of PTSD. Maladaptive coping occurs when the individual engages in avoidance behaviors, such as denial or disengagement from thoughts and emotions (Smith, 2009). Maladaptive coping can also include the inability to seek out available social networks. Cognitive training on positively managing stressors can lessen PTSD-related symptoms during traumatic events (Mealer et al. 2012). Training can be focused on both the individual and amongst peers to reduce the maladaptive responses. Mealer et al. (2012) encouraged a variety of support mechanisms, including resilience training, debriefings after traumatic exposures, and facilitation of teamwork and collaboration.

Training for social support is important, because not everyone sees social support through the same lens. For some individuals, social support is best presented in the form of listening, rather than verbal exchange (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). Cultural differences can affect communication. Individuals from Asian countries, for example, may be less comfortable openly sharing emotions in the workplace (Chan, Molassiotis, Yam, Chan, & Lam; 2001). Gender may play a role, as it did after the Oklahoma City bombing, where male staff were more avoidant of counseling opportunities at *The Daily Oklahoman* (Simpson & Coté, 2006). Individual differences mean that not all will seek or desire social support in the same way (Agabi & Wilson, 2005; Smith, 2009). Individuals with high self-esteem and who are more assertive may be better-positioned to seek support (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989).

Connected to the broader concept of social support is the idea of social acknowledgement (Maercker & Muller, 2004). Social acknowledgement refers to the way those outside an individual's closest social network express recognition of a

traumatic experience. These may be community viewpoints and media coverage. This is important, because recently traumatized people can be more sensitive to the social feedback they receive through networks and public opinion (Herbert & Dunkel-Schetter, 1992).

A small number of studies connect journalism to trauma and social support. The next section reviews the literature that discusses support in relation to various emotional reactions for journalists.

Social support and journalism research

Studies on journalism and trauma recommend that newsroom managers facilitate peer support (Keats & Buchanan, 2013; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006; Smith, Newman, & Drevo, 2016). Specifically, managers are urged to facilitate an environment where media professionals are comfortable talking about their feelings (Simpson & Coté, 2006). The handful of studies that discuss social support in the context of journalism and trauma advocate for communication and acknowledgement of the trauma (Newman et al., 2003; Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007).

More specifically, only a few journalism-related studies connect to the concepts of social and peer support. Newman et al. (2003) studied 875 photojournalists and their experience to trauma in their work. Almost all the respondents (98.4%) had been at a scene where someone was hurt or killed. Based on their research findings, the authors recommended social support, both in the form of POS and peer support.

Given the high level of photojournalists' exposure to traumatic events, promoting social support to those who cover traumatic events is warranted. Social support can be increased by news editors offering support to individuals who cover traumatic events, arranging for counselors to be available at the

office, encouraging staff to dialogue about responses to covering traumatic events, providing food at the time of major events, providing leave and peer support programs, and other organizational initiatives. (p. 10)

Weidmann et al. (2007) studied 61 journalists who covered the 2005 Indian Ocean tsunami that killed more than 220,000 people. It was the first of its kind to look at journalists, trauma, and natural disasters. Almost every participant in the study experienced traumatic situations the authors listed, including talking to victims, seeing dead bodies, and dealing with traumatized children. Weidmann et al. (2007) found that 6.6% of the journalists fit the PTSD diagnostic criteria. Journalists with a low degree of acknowledgement from supervisors and colleagues suffered more post-traumatic and depressive symptoms.

Lower peer support has negative consequences for journalists in a variety of scenarios. In a meta-analysis of studies that focus on the relationship between burnout and journalists, McDonald et al. (2016) found that low levels of peer cohesion indicated higher levels of burnout among journalists. Further, the study found the journalist most at risk of burnout are younger females with the least amount of journalism experience, working for smaller newspapers.

A number of studies on journalism and trauma recommend that newsroom managers facilitate peer support (Keats & Buchanan, 2013; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006; Smith et al., 2016). Some managers may believe that social and peer support happen organically, but the data indicate otherwise. Specifically, managers are urged to facilitate an environment where media professionals are comfortable talking about their feelings (Simpson & Coté, 2006). Journalists should also be trained to better communicate with one another about their traumatic

experiences. Keats and Buchanan (2013) advised, “We believe that this can best come about if journalists and professional counselors or psychologists work together” (p. 220).

Smith et al. (2016) concluded not only that journalists would benefit from further peer and organizational training, but that other positive consequences would follow. “An emerging literature examining occupational outcomes among journalists would suggest that not only would more organizational support likely result in a reduction of mental health harm, but a reduction in occupational dysfunction and an increase in job performance (and likely work satisfaction)” (para. 22).

Some examples exist of news organizations that have put these results into practice. The BBC established a program in the 1990s that involved multiple interventions for employees under duress, including peer support (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999). An employee taken hostage in Iran in 1980 helped develop the program. The program included informal conversations with colleagues, as well as in-person counseling, debriefing, and a help line. The BBC supported family members of the journalists, because the family support reduced stress symptoms in journalists who were away (Beam & Spratt, 2009, Simpson, 2004). These gestures link peer-oriented social support to POS. In particular, the planning and training for the journalists communicate an investment in the employee and can potentially mitigate trauma response (Wayne et al., 1997).

Conclusion

Thus far, this study has established that PTSD, secondary traumas, and other PTSD-like symptoms exist among journalists due to the trauma they experience in their

work (Dworznic, 2011; Feinstein et al., 2002; Freinkel et al., 1994; Griffin, 2015; Keats, 2010; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003; Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006). The culture of journalism has historically been one in which journalists have been expected to be resistant to emotional pain, and have avoided showing signs of emotional suffering for fear of being seen as weak (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald, Saliba, Hodgins, & Ovington, 2016; Simpson, 2004).

Chapter 4 reviewed the literature on organizational culture, climate, perceived organizational support, and social support to contribute to the broad research question of the study -- how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? These concepts work together in organizations to affect organizational action and learning, employee perception, and trauma mitigation. Chapter 4 further demonstrated the force of culture and climate in organizations. Culture can be so deeply rooted in journalism organizations and others that it influences individuals' cognition, perception, and action in the workplace (Schein, 1992).

This chapter demonstrated that some organizational actions can mitigate workplace trauma. Perceived organizational support (POS) leads to conditions where employees have higher job satisfaction with fewer negative stress symptoms, including those indicated by PTSD. The helping, caring gestures of POS connect in a broader way to social support, which entails presence, availability, and reliability of care during times of need (Sarason, Levine, Basham, & Sarason, 1983). Social support can come

from individuals in the workplace, such as peers, or from members of a larger local or professional community (Mealer et al., 2012).

Few studies exist that focus on the management of journalists during times of traumatic experience. Therefore, the current study turns to further research to understand how newsroom managers can facilitate POS and social support to lessen the emotional harm among media professionals.

Methodology

The purposed of this study is to extend understanding of journalism, trauma, and management by using two sets of data to produce results. The researcher frames the study through the interpretivist paradigm to consider and communicate the journalists' meaning through recollections of their lived experience during the bombing event (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). This study is the first to analyze journalists' transcripts from the archive of the Oklahoma City National Memorial (Data Set One). Data Set One has three purposes in the study. First, the data reveal the journalists' emotional reactions during and after the 1995 bombing event. Second, the transcripts provide a partial understanding of how the news organizations' management decisions affected the journalists' emotional outcomes. Third, the journalists' interviews reveal how multiple kinds of support affected their coping mechanisms after the disaster.

The second data set (Data Set Two) works as an organizational mirror to Data Set One. Data Set Two is a sample derived from top organizational leaders and top department leaders who worked at Oklahoma City media organizations during the bombing (or who worked in lower-level positions during the bombing and became leaders later in their careers). Data Set Two generates data that inform the overarching

research question of the study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? Data Set Two also contributes to two companion questions of the study: 1) how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations and 2) how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma?

The researcher uses a grounded theory approach to explore Data Sets One and Two. The grounded theory method allows the researcher to explore new areas not covered by existing theories, by allowing knowledge to emerge from the data (Glaser & Strass, 1967). In this method “a researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind. Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend that researchers analyze data with no preconceived hypothesis to allow the theory to emerge unrestricted from the data. Therefore, no hypotheses are offered prior to data analysis.

The archival material of Data Set One and depth interviews of Data Set Two are analyzed using a constant-comparative method, open, axial, and selective coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Schwandt, 2015). Analysis of Data Set One in connection with the literature review of PTSD, POS, social support, and journalism research on trauma allowed for the construction of interview questions for Data Set Two.

Connecting the literature

Four primary areas inform the data analysis: the emotional response to trauma, specifically PTSD; research on journalists regarding the consequences of trauma;

perceived organizational support (POS); and more broadly, social support. Chapter 1 introduces the subject of journalism and trauma, identifies the key concepts, the research method, and outlines the purpose of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the history and definitions of PTSD, and other psychological stress reactions to disturbing events, including acute stress disorder (ASD), secondary traumatic stress (STS), burnout (BRN), and compassion fatigue (CF). PTSD wasn't formally added to the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental disorders until 1980 (Friedman, n.d.) and occurs in some individuals when they are exposed to death or serious injury, and may also be caused by indirect exposure on the job. Individuals with PTSD will experience avoidance, intrusive memories (vivid images, flashbacks, triggers), negative affect, and alterations in arousal and reactivity (increased startle, self-destructive behaviors) (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.). The numbers of journalists that will experience work-related PTSD range from 4-29%, depending on the kinds of journalists who have been studied (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al, 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007). War correspondents are more likely to suffer from PTSD, as are those who cover fatal vehicle accidents, child deaths, and violent events (Drummond, 2004; Norwood, Walsh & Owen, 2003). The studies demonstrate that the work of journalism often *is* the trauma, but research also indicates that news organizations are deficient in providing adequate workplace support for employees who may suffer emotionally as a result of their work (Griffin, 2015; Weidmann et al., 2007). Therapeutic options can help journalists and others with PTSD, including a range of counseling, such as individual, group, and cognitive processing therapy (CPT) (Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Zanskas, 2010). PTSD can be exacerbated in

the workplace due to a number of factors, including lower perceived organizational support, lower social support, and stigma (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014; Weidmann et al., 2007).

Chapter 3 connects journalism research to PTSD and other disorders journalists may experience as a result of their work. Journalists were not associated with PTSD in a research environment until the first study on the subject published in 1994 (Freinkel et al., 1994). The study found that journalists who witnessed an execution experienced short-term trauma symptoms, including dissociative effects, detachment, and avoidance. Not long after the study's publication, the 1995 bombing brought the idea of journalists and trauma more sharply into focus for scholars, news managers and practitioners (Aiken, 1996; Hight & Smith, 2003; Simpson & Coté, 2006). The disaster created a space for conversations to occur about how the disaster affected news employees, and to begin to generalize those experiences for journalists everywhere. In the days, months, and years to follow, the Oklahoma City journalists experienced secondary trauma as they covered the victims' families, the trial of the perpetrator, his execution, and yearly anniversaries of the event (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). In the wake of a community disaster like none other in the United States prior to 9/11 (Pestano, 2015), managers struggled to create new organizational norms to alleviate the range of traumas experienced by their staffs.

Then, the events of 9/11 in the following decade helped drive a more focused approach to research on the ways journalists experience trauma. Studies on journalism work and PTSD have explained its connection to war reporters (Feinstein et al., 2002), disasters (Coté & Simpson, 2000); general news coverage (Simpson & Boggs, 1999),

photojournalists (Newman et al., 2003), and management (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Griffin, 2015). Simpson and Boggs (1999) found 86% of newspaper journalists had covered at least one violent event during their careers. The study found not only the biggest traumatic events leave journalists emotionally scarred, but also more routine stories that happen every day, such as fatal car accidents. The studies and literature describe that journalists are especially vulnerable to traumatic work experience, because trauma is a routine part of the work, and the job requires retelling the traumatic event on anniversaries and significant milestones (Ricchiardi & Gerczynski, 1999). Historically, young media professionals have not been trained to deal with the traumas they experience (Simpson & Coté, 2006), and once they arrive in the workplace, they have been encouraged to ignore emotions (Beam & Spratt, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2016).

Chapter 4 reviewed the literature on organizational culture and climate, perceived organizational support, and social support. The literature demonstrates the intense role that culture plays in organizations, including in the news industry (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010; Gade, 2004; Schein, 1985). A number of studies have demonstrated the difficulty of cultural change in news organizations (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010; Everbach, 2006; Gade, 2004; Gade & Perry, 2003).

More narrowly, employees view their organizations through a framework of perceived organizational support, which posits that workers believe organizations value their work and care about their welfare in recognition of their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Positive effects for both the organization and workers occur in the presence of POS, including less absenteeism, higher performance, more job

satisfaction, less turnover, and fewer PTSD symptoms (Barnes, 2013; Kurtessis et al., 2015; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

A review of the literature further revealed four actions the organization can execute to reduce trauma in the workplace and increase POS: providing mental health support (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999), planning and training for traumatic events (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leadership consideration (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). The concept of social support has some overlap with POS, because both include helpful, caring gestures (Kossek et al., 2011; Sarason et al., 1983). Social support can come from individuals in the workplace, such as supervisors, peers, and interdepartmental colleagues, or from members of a larger local or professional community outside the organization (Mealer et al., 2012). Social support can play a role in lessening emotional stressors in the workplace, such as PTSD (Mealer et al., 2012; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). Several studies of journalists and trauma relate to POS and, more broadly, to social support. The studies have looked at counseling post-trauma (Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003), pre-planning for trauma (Newman et al., 2003); training (Griffin, 2015); leadership support (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Geisler, 2005; Weidmann et al., 2007), social support (Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007) and job satisfaction (Beam & Spratt, 2009). Research suggests that journalists with social support fare better during and after coverage of traumatic events (McDonald et al., 2016; Newman, et al., 2003; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007).

Chapter 5 describes the methodological approach to this study, as well as the background and selection of Data Sets One and Two. The history of the bombing, the intimacy of the interviews, and the researcher's own first-hand work experience of the event bring "thick description" to the research process (Geertz, 1973).

Chapter 5: Methodology

There was no way to grasp the scale of it, because we hadn't seen anything like it before...it is our job to have a handle on perspective, and it is our job to put things in context. How in the world could we put this thing without context into context? (Television anchor)

This chapter outlines the methodology of the study. The previous chapters have demonstrated that journalists experience trauma in their work (e.g. Simpson & Boggs, 1999) and organizational, supervisor, and social support can lessen the emotional injury (e.g. Barnes, Nickerson, Adler & Litz, 2013). To work toward a contribution to the theoretical knowledge base, the researcher uses grounded theory, case study approach, constant comparative technique, and depth interviews to create meaning about these traumatic impacts from the words of and conversations with journalists and their managers. The researcher frames the study through the interpretivist paradigm to consider and communicate the journalists' meaning through their recollections of their lived experience during the bombing event (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). The methodology connects to the main research question: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events, because the methodology creates a framework for the researcher to ask *how* and *why* of the interview subjects.

This research adds value to the field, because almost every study of journalists and trauma provides recommendations for managers to alleviate the suffering of news workers after traumatic events. But, while the body of research on journalists and trauma is growing, very little research specifically focuses on news managers and trauma. This study extends journalism's understanding of how traumatic events are experienced from the organizational leaders' point-of-view: how they understand media

professionals' trauma and their organizational and support responses post-trauma. The research also adds to knowledge of how trauma support can evolve after the occurrence of a shocking event, such as the Oklahoma City bombing. The grounded theory approach allows for flexibility in the study, because "a researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind. Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). Further, "grounded theory looks for what is, not what might be" (Glaser, 1992, p. 67). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe the researcher as "amoeba-like" in this process, because "he inches his way from the known to the unknown" (p. 349).

Grounded theory

Theories explain how the world works (Turner, 1998). Scholars define theory in different ways, depending on how the theorist sees the world or what the theorist wants to know about the world (Miller, 2005). Scientists, for example, can observe and measure data to theorize about the physical world (Baran & Davis, 2012). But human behavior can be difficult and complex to measure. "It is easy to identify a single factor that causes water to boil. But it has proved impossible to isolate single factors that serve as the exclusive cause of important actions of human behavior" (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 10). Therefore, some researchers turn to methods that allow them to *understand* the world, rather than measure it quantitatively.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) conceived of grounded theory as a response to what they described as an overemphasis on the verification of theory. Grand theories attempt to explain all aspects of a phenomenon (Baran & Davis, 2012). Rather, theory grounded in data would allow researchers to explore new areas not covered by existing

theories, in contrast to the deductive layering of theory from previous study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As a result, the grounded theory method involves the creation of theory, rather than the testing of it. Grounded theory can be presented as either a set of propositions or as a theoretical discussion: “The form in which a theory is presented does not make it a theory; it is a theory because it explains or predicts something” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 31). A properly executed grounded theory method, with the correct population sample and good analysis can produce consistent theory-making (Potter, 1996).

The qualitative method of research for this study helps uncover new ways of understanding how newsroom management can better assist journalists through traumatic experiences. Grounded theory analysis is often used in sociology and social psychology, because it is appropriate for researchers studying “issues relating to human behavior in organizations, groups, and other social configurations” (Glaser, 1992, p. 13). The method allows *verstehen*, German for understanding. *Verstehen* has a central place in the grounded theory and interpretivist approach, because it is a method that believes reality is created by individuals, “and the task of the inquirer is to unearth that meaning” (Schwandt, 2015, p. 169).

Glaser (1992) lays out four criteria to determine well-constructed grounded theory: fit, work, relevance, and modifiability. Fit refers to whether the research content rings true to subjects, practitioners, and other researchers from the field of study. If the theory works, it will explain behaviors in the subject at hand. If the research fits and works, it is considered relevant. Modifiability means that when

presented with new data, the theory can be adapted to accept the new concepts (Glaser, 1992).

The work of grounded theory is distinguished in several ways:

- Data may be coded and analyzed simultaneously (Strauss & Corbin, 1990);
- The analysis focuses on action and process rather than themes (Schwandt, 2015);
- Multiple sources of data are gathered (Lincoln & Guba, 1998);
- The researcher may sample other populations (or activities) to explain the theoretical construct (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Interviews with Journalists from the Oklahoma City Bombing: Data Set One

Interviews with local journalists reside in an archive of more than 800 first-hand accounts from survivors, family members, elected officials, and others connected to the time of the bombing at the Oklahoma City National Memorial (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). Data Set One focuses on approximately 60 interviews with local journalists, including the researcher, who covered the story of the Oklahoma City bombing. The journalists who were interviewed for the archive represented an array of job roles, including reporters, photographers, producers, and television anchors. The interviewers at the Memorial were not academic researchers, but the line of questions follows a pattern that provides consistency across the individual interviews. Most of the interviews were conducted by three people who work at the National Memorial. In some cases, the videographer worked alone and conducted the interview; in others, the videographer worked with another individual who conducted most of the interviews (T. Stizza, personal communication, Oct. 6, 2017). Each of the three interviewers structured the interviews somewhat differently.

For example, one worked with a list of questions, while another worked without a written list (T. Stizza, personal communication, Oct. 6, 2017). In general, most of the interviews began with a question about the journalists' role during the time of the bombing -- at 9:02 a.m. and the moments just before. Overall, the questions focus on the journalists' response to the bombing, their first moments on the scene, memories of coverage, the reaction to the children killed in the daycare, how the story changed the journalist, and how the community supported the news organizations (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017).

More specifically, the interviews range in length from 11 to 59 minutes. Five of the interviews were completed in the years 1999-2000, before the existence of the National Memorial, and were orchestrated by an outside firm, Hillmann & Carr (T. Stizza, personal communication, Oct. 6, 2017). Later, after construction of the Memorial, interviews were conducted on-site beginning in 2008 and continue to the present time. A professional transcription company transcribed all interviews, generating 907 pages of single- and double-spaced pages. The 1999-2000 interviews were double-spaced; the 2008-era interviews, single-spaced (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017).

The first data set presented a few challenges. Since the researcher did not conduct the interviews, some of the content was not germane to this project. Some of the interviews in the larger archive were conducted with journalists from national networks or out-of-town newspapers and media entities. Those interviews were put aside, because the journalists did not live and work inside the city where the trauma occurred.

The researcher traveled to the Oklahoma City National Memorial on three occasions to download the data from the archive between the spring of 2015 and the fall of 2017. The National Memorial required an application process for permission for the researcher to access to the data. At the archive, the researcher searched the data base to locate the local journalists' transcripts. The researcher's experience in working in television in Oklahoma City during the 1990s meant that she had a familiarity with the names of many of the journalists in the archive. However, she also worked with professionals at the National Memorial to double-check that all of the journalist interviews were included in her data set. The researcher determined that the individuals represented in the interviews should only be named by job title. When the journalists shared their historical experiences with interviewers at the National Memorial, they did not know their material would be reviewed for further study with their names attached. After procuring the data, the researcher could begin the first steps of analysis.

Constant comparison and coding

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that the process of analysis and coding can occur simultaneously by combining the “analytic procedure of constant comparison” with coding, because the “explicit coding itself often seems an unnecessary, burdensome, task” (p. 102). Coding is the process of organizing discrete bits of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This study uses open, axial, and selective coding methods, along with the constant comparative technique to make meaning from the data. When the operations of constant comparison and coding overlap, the researcher can consider every idea. Otherwise, if rules for the data are established too early, it is possible to overlook or discard important pieces of information. Glaser and Strauss (1967) instruct

that the process of constant comparison and the act of coding data should “blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation until its end” (p. 43).

The grounded theory process requires the collection, coding, and analysis of data. Glaser & Strauss (1967) recommend “that all three operations be done together as much as possible” (p. 43). The constant comparative analytical process begins with the phenomenon to be studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Then, the researcher narrows the process by identifying concepts or structural features that relate to the overall phenomenon. For this study, the overall phenomenon was journalism and trauma, and the concepts the researcher sought in the transcripts related to POS and the management response to the trauma following the bombing.

Open coding. Open coding was applied as “the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). The grounded theory method emphasizes “developing categories from firsthand contact with the evidence” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 250). In the initial coding of data, the researcher is open to ideas and new ways of interpretation. Strauss (1987) described that the goal of open coding is “to *open up* the inquiry. Every interpretation at this point is tentative...Whatever is wrong in interpreting those lines and words will eventually be cancelled out in later steps of the inquiry” (p. 29, emphasis in original). Strauss and Corbin (1998) describe the beginning of the coding process:

Doing analysis of a word, phrase, or sentence consists of scanning the document, or at least a couple of pages of it, and then returning to focus on a word or phrase that strikes the analyst as being significant and analytically interesting. Then, the analyst begins to list all of the possible meanings of the word [phrase or sentence] that come to mind. With this list in mind, the analyst can turn to the document and look for incidents or words that will point to

meaning...It is up to the analyst to discern which interpretations are most accurate by looking to the data and doing a comparative analysis...We might find that none of these meanings holds up to scrutiny when we make comparisons against data. But at least when looking at the data, the analyst has some ideas of what to look for rather than simply staring into space with nothing emerging because the analyst has no idea what he or she is looking for. (p. 93)

Thus, the open coding began in an unstructured way in this study, but became more structured as the analysis became more focused. “Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis” (Patton, 1981, p. 306).

The open coding process overlaps with the constant comparative technique (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For this study, the researcher first worked with a small selection of the transcripts to conduct four pilot studies. Those studies were qualitative in scope, and used textual analysis to look broadly at overall themes contained in the transcripts, and more narrowly at leadership implications and individual regret and guilt for journalists post-bombing (Hill, 2015; Hill, 2016). Within that framework, the researcher first read through the transcripts multiple times with an open mind to extract the themes using the constant comparative approach, re-reading the material, constantly looking for similarities and differences (Schwandt, 2015).

During the first reading of the transcripts, the researcher allowed herself to be open to the data emergence by “listening” to the data and “hearing” the meaning the journalists communicated. In the same time period, the researcher immersed herself in journalism literature relating to trauma, and became familiar with PTSD research on reporters, photographers and other media professionals.

From pilot study to dissertation, it was important for the researcher to understand the journalists' comprehension and description of their experiences. Spending time with and studying all the transcripts, in comparison to the few from the pilot study, allowed a more complete picture to emerge. The researcher read the transcripts multiple times and began to focus more on certain sections, and less on others. For example, the researchers at the Oklahoma City National Memorial focused on coverage of the bombing in their interviews, how it occurred from the time of the event until the execution of the perpetrator. Since coverage is not the topic of research in this study, the researcher began to focus less on that sort of information and more on the areas of trauma and management response.

The multiple readings of the transcripts allowed the constant comparative process and open coding to unfold simultaneously. The constant-comparison process continues until the data saturates and no new information emerges. "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 23). Further, these comparisons allow abstract categories to arise from the data. "In this way, the resulting theory is considered conceptually dense and grounded in the data" (Schwandt, 2015, p. 63).

A broad category of trauma emerged from these readings, which the researcher understood in two ways: initial trauma and aftermath trauma. The researcher's interest in the organizational management response to the journalists' trauma was an area that had been further identified as relating to the phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and required another way of looking at the data, since the interviewees at the National

Memorial did not specifically ask about management or leadership in their interviews. During this process, the researcher studied a number of organizational and management concepts and theories. This allowed her to consider different ways of studying the organizational and management process of trauma response.

In this phase, the researcher borrowed from Hall's (1975) approach by taking "a long preliminary soak in the data" (p.15). This meant she used different methods to understand the data in various ways. In addition to multiple readings of the data, she put the transcripts aside after reading and considered the meaning of the content. Sometimes the thinking time would lead to a re-reading of the transcript to ensure the researcher understood the entire context; at others, the thinking process would last for days after reading the transcripts and before reviewing it again. In some cases, the researcher would read a group of transcripts, then re-read them in a different order. Sometimes the "soaking" process would occur after a reading of journalism or organizational literature.

This process allowed another theme to emerge from the data: support. Though the interviewers at the National Memorial didn't ask about management or organizational leadership of trauma after the bombing, and though the journalists were only asked about community support in the interviews, the open coding process revealed elements of organizational and different forms of support scattered throughout the transcripts.

Axial coding. The next phase of the coding process "reshape(s) the categories and provides deeper meanings of them (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The purpose of axial coding is to see new connections among the categories. "Axial," refers to the axis of the

category, where categories are linked at the property and dimension level (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

In this step of the process, the researcher transcribed the data into a word document where she categorized by subject each word, sentence or set of sentences that belonged together. The researcher categorized “data on the basis of its coherent meaning -- standing on its own -- not by an arbitrary designation of grammar” (Spiggle, 1994, p. 493). This means that, in some cases, a phrase or a few words might be categorized together with an entire sentence or paragraph. The researcher then compared these units of content based on “coherent meaning,” determined similarities, and allowed each piece of information from the journalists to go into their designated categories.

Trauma. The axial coding method revealed an overall trauma category. The journalists in Data Set One used words denoting trauma, shock, fear, horror, chaos, war-torn, or descriptions referring to deaths and injuries they observed in describing their initial experiences on the day of the bombing. Even journalists not originally dispatched to the scene described their experiences in terms of fear, shock, and chaos. They also described their trauma in terms of the four symptoms of PTSD: avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and increased startle and reactivity (Friedman, n.d.). They did not use medical terminology to describe their symptoms, but they used descriptors that fit the overall meaning of individual PTSD symptoms. For example, for the symptom of avoidance, one photojournalist described his experience as “all of a sudden all this stuff you suppress just coming to the surface, and out of the blue you may start crying for some unnecessary reason.”

Support. A broad category of support also emerged from the axial coding and constant comparative processes. The journalists interviewed for Data Set One spoke of support they received from their organizations, including supervisor, peer, interdepartmental, and corporate. They also described support from other sources, such as the community and from journalists outside their news organizations. The grounded theory method allowed an organizational view of support, perceived organizational support (POS), to emerge from the data. As the researcher continued to study and analyze Data Set One, she also began to study POS in connection to workplace trauma. Therefore, concepts such as counseling, emerged as gestures relating to the overall support category.

As a result of this process, common themes emerged and grew into larger concepts, and the data became pieces that fit into “a coherent theoretical structure” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014, p. 123). In this study, the researcher moved between two areas -- being open-minded for new data to emerge, but also looking for specific content within the transcripts regarding management support during the bombing. The openness allowed for the category of social support to emerge, while the focus of management created structure in areas regarding counseling and other areas of POS and workplace social support.

When a point has been reached in the research where no new information seems to be forthcoming, productive, or possible, the categories are considered to be “saturated” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The next step in the process is referred to as selective coding.

Selective coding. In the selective coding phase, the open coding process ends. During this refining period, the researcher “select(s) the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 116). The researcher may consider new elements may be considered at this point, but they should focus on the core variables (Glaser, 1992). The selective coding process led to the design and selection of the population for Data Set Two.

Interviews with leaders from the Oklahoma City bombing: Data Set Two

Using the grounded theory method, a second set of data emerged from the first in the form of interviews with a specific population group of newsroom managers. In this study, Data Set One can be considered the *what data* and Data Set Two the *how* and *why data*. The grounded theory method calls for a primary set of data that allows for tentative theoretical propositions, which then determines the course of action for the secondary set of data (Schwandt, 2015). Data Set One raised questions about the organizational response during the bombing and the support response, as well as organizational support following future traumatic events in the Oklahoma City area. The decisions on how to define the population for the second set of interviews were informed by the content of the first set of interviews, specifically the trauma and support experiences the journalists detailed. The depth interviews were constructed from both the researcher’s “area of study” and the textual picture that resulted from the first data set.

Therefore, the researcher sought an appropriate population to illuminate the main research question of the study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic

event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? The study also has two other research questions that contribute to the overarching one: how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations and how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma?

Supervisors represent the organization, and therefore are relevant in POS research (Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2002), so the researcher focused on top organizational leaders who worked in Oklahoma City newsrooms during the bombing. The leaders also worked in the market along a timeline of other traumatic stories, including the May 3 tornado outbreak that killed 40 people in Oklahoma (Oklahoma tornado deaths - 3 May 1999, n.d.) and the Oklahoma State University plane crash that killed players, staff, and a local sports journalist (Helsey, 2016). Using this timeline as a qualifying hurdle for the study meant that managers and future managers experienced the same traumatic events over the same time period, thus allowing for a consistent baseline from which researcher could analyze the interviews (Baker & Edwards, 2012). Managers and future managers who worked during the bombing and the later traumatic events had opportunities to learn from each event and to refine their leadership of some of the most difficult events their staffs would cover. There would be other tornadoes and other losses of newsroom colleagues for these individuals, but those who worked and managed during these years had a common foundation from which the questions in this study arose (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

The researcher chose to select department-level news leaders and top organizational station general managers to have two sets of leaders who reside in decision-making roles and responsibility for “the entire organizational environment” (Albarran, 2017, p. 12). Middle managers in the news organizations were not included in the study, in part, because those individuals are not the top-level managers in their organizations, and lack final decision-making authority for issues such as budgeting, training, and mental health outreach (Albarran, 2017).

Twelve individuals fit the criteria for inclusion in Data Set Two. Three were mid-level newspaper editors at the time of the Oklahoma City bombing; all became editors-in-chief later in their careers at *The Oklahoman* and/or other newspapers outside the market. Four of the leaders in the study are the top organizational managers at three local television stations. In this group, three are general managers, and one is a station owner. (The other two stations are owned by large media corporations, Hearst and Tribune.) All three general managers were sales managers at the time of the bombing. The other five leaders in the study were news department heads during their careers. One was news director during the bombing and later became Vice President of News at the same station. The other four held a range of jobs during the bombing, including producer, special projects producer, and assignment manager. All in this group became news directors later in their careers in Oklahoma City. A 13th manager was included in the study, even though this participant left the market two months before the January, 2001, timeline. The researcher included this respondent in the population sample because of close ties to the station in the two months leading up to the OSU plane crash and during the time of the tragedy. This individual was the senior producer during the

time of the bombing, executive producer during the May 3 tornado event, and news director at three stations during the course of her career, including Oklahoma City. All 13 individuals agreed to participate in the study. Top organizational leaders and news department heads who worked in Oklahoma City during the bombing who are not included in this study either left their jobs and the market soon after the bombing and did not qualify for the timeline requirement, or are deceased.

The researcher selected the managers to be interviewed for this study based on their specific job description before and after the bombing. Newsrooms, both broadcast and print are built on a structure with one top manager and several sub-managers who oversee the day-to-day news work. In local broadcast newsrooms, the highest-level manager is the news director (Albarran, 2017). This person is considered a top-level manager and reports directly to the highest level manager of the television station, the general manager. Print newsrooms are led by the editor-in-chief, and further managed by the managing editor and the city editor, as well as editors for each section of the newspaper, including business editor, state, sports, photo and lifestyles (Stovall, 2005). The researcher did not include radio stations in this study, because in Oklahoma City in the years after the bombing, radio newsrooms shrunk dramatically. Radio in Oklahoma City today has very few journalists left to manage.

The second set of interviews allowed for depth interviews, and a more specific focus to the research questions. The interview is a conversation with a purpose (Dexter, 1970), and allows an understanding as to how participants define their realities (Fortner & Christians, 1981). Depth interviews are valuable, because they allow the researcher to understand events that cannot be observed or understood by other means (Lindlof,

1995). Interviews generate “here and now constructions” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 268) and permit “the respondent to move back and forth in time -- to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 273).

The interviews allowed for questions about the ways newsroom managers’ methods of managing newsroom trauma evolved during the bombing and through various traumatic events in the years after. These conversations allowed the researcher to further narrow the focus of the study into the areas of employee trauma, POS, and social support.

The researcher worked with the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Oklahoma in August 2017 to gain approval for the Data Set Two interviews. Participants signed a consent letter, which informed them of the content of the researcher and their rights within the interview process. The researcher informed the interviewees of the topic and purpose of the study. Participants learned that their names would not be used, but that it might be possible for their identities to be known due to the small sample size and geographically concentrated nature of the research. The researcher prepared a list of questions that derived from analysis of Data Set One, as well as the literature connected to the content of Data Set One. The researcher used an interview protocol (Appendix A, page 287) to provide both structure and flexibility to the process (Lindlof, 2011). All of the interviews were recorded on two audio devices. Once the audio interviews were secured on the researcher’s computer, she erased the interviews from the recording devices. The researcher then transcribed each interview.

The grounded theory method calls for the first data set to “ground” the study (Schwandt, 2015). The second set completes the picture, by allowing the researcher to ask more specific questions with a secondary research source (Data Set Two) and to include a number of other individuals who were not originally interviewed by employees at the Oklahoma City National Memorial for the purposes of the first data set. The two sets of research contribute to the grounded theory approach in that the theories derive from the patterns, themes, and categories that emerge from the data (Glaser, 1992).

Analysis of Data Set Two. Analysis of Data Set Two had similarities to the analysis of Data Set One. The researcher used a constant comparative approach, along with open, axial, and selective coding. However, important differences existed between the two data sets. The researcher was able to construct the interview design for Data Set Two, unlike the pre-existing archival material that comprised Data Set One, and the interviews were targeted to the subject of journalists, trauma, organizational, and social support as a result. The researcher audio-recorded the interviews using primary and back-up recording devices. The preliminary analysis began during the interviews, as the researcher noted certain data points and made notes from the interviews (Yin, 2016). Next, the researcher transcribed the 13 interviews into 230 double-spaced pages of content. The process of transcription was valuable, because, working with the interviews and hearing them a second time, and writing out the content, added a valuable second “hearing” of the content.

Next, the researcher read through the resulting transcripts multiple times, and began to categorize the material. This open coding process continued until categories

and concepts revealed themselves (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this phase of the process, the researcher found herself moving between the literature, Data Set One, and Data Set Two, as the content of Data Set Two added new context to the previously existing material. The questions for the interviewees in the second data set emerged directly from the findings of the first data set. Therefore, the Data Set Two became a conceptual mirror of Data Set One. The constant comparative process allowed the researcher then to move between the two sets of data.

The researcher made the decision to manually analyze the data, rather than use computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS). The “human instrument has certain special properties” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 250), so the researcher determined that manual analysis would bring her closer to the data, with more hands-on work, reading, thinking, and categorizing. St. John and Johnson (2000) argued that the computerized “reduction of data can distance the researcher from the data, resulting in loss of meaning and context and creating sterile and dehumanised data” (p. 396). Further, journalism, similar to other professions, has its own language. “The meaning of words or phrases are derived from context, body language, and inflection, and a meaning may be implied without using actual words” (St. John & Johnson, 2000, p. 396). For example, in this study, some of the words are capitalized in the Data Set Two quotes, because of the inflection of the interviewee, which demonstrates the importance of those words in the context of the interview. However, the researcher also considered the positive attributes of CAQDAS. Computerized data reduction can be helpful when working with large quantities of data (Yin, 2016). The analytical distance of CAQDAS may allow the researcher a more objective view of the content (Richards, 1998).

The research is based on a grounded theory design, whereby the first data set, the texts, laid the groundwork for the second data set, the interviews. Together, the data sets contribute to the case study framework for this study, discussed next.

Case Study Approach

The case study aspect of this research is determined by the events of the Oklahoma City bombing, the May 3rd tornado outbreak, and the OSU plane crash, as well as the individuals who specifically covered and worked through the disaster, and the geographic boundary of the event. Lincoln and Guba (1985) observed that case studies are wide-ranging without a simple definition. A case study may be a “slice of life” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 360), an in-depth examination, or a “complete examination of a facet, an issue, or perhaps the events of a geographic setting over time” (Denny, 1978, cited in Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 360). The value of the case study is that it can provide understanding to complex relationships (Gravetter & Forzano, 2003). Merriam (2009) defined case study as “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (p. 40). Merriam’s bounded system approach provides a structure for the case: everything inside the boundary lines is part of the case; anything outside is not.

Flyvbjerg (2011) included Merriam’s idea of bounded system in her four-point definition, stating that case studies are:

- Marked by *boundaries*;
- *Detailed, rich, complete, deep*;
- Related to *environment and context*;
- *Evolving over specific time and place* (author’s emphasis in italics).

Flyvbjerg's (2011) points are amplified in this study. The boundaries are drawn in multiple ways, around the event of the Oklahoma City disaster, around the journalists in Data Set One, around the newsrooms in the study, and around the top organizational leaders in Data Set Two. The study provides depth through use of multiple data sources, including documents, historical and factual evidence of the Oklahoma bombing, depth interviews of the highest-level newsroom managers during and after the event, and the researcher's first-hand experience from working as a media professional during the bombing. The study revolves around the context of the journalists' trauma and their managers' understandings of those experiences. The case has evolved over a specific time and place, beginning April 19, 1995, with specific emphasis on other disasters which have occurred on a timeline until the present.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) define case studies as both respondent and reader focused. First, the case study approach is suited for emic inquiry, because it is respondent focused (emic), rather than inquirer focused (etic). Second, the case study builds on the reader's tacit knowledge. "Readers thus receive a measure of *vicarious* experience; were they to be magically set down in the context of the inquiry they would have a feeling of *déjà vu*" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 359, emphasis in original). Third, the case study reveals the interplay between the researcher and the respondents. In the vicarious reading of the case and the *déjà vu* moments, the reader has the opportunity to judge the accuracy of the inquirer's work (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Scholars should be aware of the disagreements, downsides, and criticisms of case studies. First, not all scholars agree on how case studies should be defined (Schwandt, 2015) leading to a "definitional morass" (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 302). Yin

(2003) cautions against sloppiness and bias in case study work. Third, case studies are not generalizable, because they lack rigorous comparison (Hollifield & Coffey, 2006).

Several attributes can counter some of the negatives scholars raised about case study research. Despite the limitation of generalizability, Stake (1978) argued that case studies “may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader’s experience, and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization” (p. 5). Hollifield and Coffey (2006) recommended that researchers select cases which address the most salient themes of the study topic.

Merriam (1988) further suggested four attributes of good case study research: particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive. Wimmer and Dominick (2014) define the particularistic as description referring to a particular situation, meaning that case study research is a good way to investigate a real-life problem. The Oklahoma City bombing, May 3rd tornadoes, and the OSU plane crash provide a salient backdrop against which to study journalists, because it is a unique and particular situation that affected a large number of journalists. The descriptive characteristic refers to the detail the case study can provide. Thick detail exists regarding the Oklahoma City bombing, including its history and descriptions the journalists provided in their interviews at the Oklahoma City National Memorial. A heuristic approach can put forth new perspectives on the topic being studied. This study identifies how leaders evolved their management styles through specific traumatic events in Oklahoma City in the 20-plus years since the bombing. Merriam’s (1988) final requirement for case study research is that it uses an inductive approach. The inductive method in this study connects to grounded theory, which in turn supports the case study approach.

Thick Description

The first set of data, the texts from journalists who covered the bombing, allow for “thick description” as conceived by Geertz (1973). Thick description provides a detailed description of the scene being studied and may also involve the researcher’s first-hand experience of the study topic. Embedding myself into the memories of 60 journalists who covered the Oklahoma City bombing allowed me in a small way to understand the individual experiences of each person whose interview resides at the Oklahoma City National Memorial’s archive. My memory (as a researcher) is a part of the depth of description, too, because the researcher becomes the research instrument in qualitative inquiry. Patton (1981) suggests that the qualitative report provide background about the researcher, including the experience he/she brings to the work and whether he/she has personal connections to the respondents included in the research. As executive producer at the CBS affiliate in April of 1995, the work of that day and the days that followed collide with my own emotions and memories, as well as the texts and recollections from my colleagues and competitors in Oklahoma City. My experience is part of the archival material at the Oklahoma City National Memorial and merges with the memories of the other journalists interviewed for Data Set one. These firsthand experiences, the historical context, and the data allow the researcher to create meaning by “soaking in the culture through his or her pores” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302).

Bracketing. My memories are a filter of the events of the bombing and the transcribed interviews, but throughout the process I have kept top of mind the knowledge that memory is selective and time can distort (Trahar, 2009). While the

passage of years can muddle memories, Polkinghorne (1995) argues that only with retrospection can we give meaning to the events we have experienced. Bracketing and reflexivity are two techniques I used to acknowledge and put aside biases in this study (Schwandt, 2015). In doing research about journalism, I use journalistic techniques to assist with the bracketing, or setting aside previous judgments about reality (Schwandt, 2015). I filter the events of the bombing with the content of the data sets. I have pictures in my mind of the work on the day of the bombing, and the weeks and months that followed. I also have feelings about the work experience during that time. I use the bracketing technique to think of those memories in terms of snapshots, as opposed to opinions or positions on the content of study. The lived pictures in my mind help me “see” the words and experiences included in Data Sets One and Two, and then reconstruct them for this document.

Reflexivity. Reflexivity is an active process of “critical self-reflection on how the researcher’s background, assumptions, positioning, and behavior impact on the research process” (Finlay & Gough, 2008, p. ix). I frame the content through a lens of objectivity, which is a tenet of the grounded theory approach, where data are allowed to emerge without judgment or interference (Glaser, 1992). In coding, analyzing, and reconstructing understandings of the data, I focus on the content of the data. This helped me minimize my own assumptions and positions on the subject at hand (Finley & Gough, 2008). Although I experienced the Oklahoma City bombing as a journalist-participant, in the current role I aspire to be an objective researcher who can interpret and reassemble the data into a portrait of the true experience of the journalists and leaders included in Data Sets One and Two.

Tacit knowledge is a part of the understandings the memories create. “Tacit knowledge creates a multitude of unexpressible [*sic.*] associations which give rise to new meanings, new ideas, and new applications of the old” (Stake, 1978, p. 6). Further, “it is not possible to understand *any* phenomenon without reference to the context to which it is embedded” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302, emphasis in original). The history, the interviews, my experience, and the data provide a thick depth of context for this work.

Measuring the study’s trustworthiness

In the positivist’s vernacular four components measure the quality of the research: internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity (Potter, 1996). Qualitative researchers must use a different process for measuring trustworthiness. Lincoln and Guba (1985) put forth four complementary terms more suited to the qualitative paradigms: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility/internal validity. Credibility refers to “the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 186). Lincoln and Guba (1985) substitute “credibility” for the more positivist terminology “internal validity.” Credibility is achieved when the findings are “approved by the constructors of the multiple realities being studied” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 296). In this way, “the purpose of qualitative research is to describe or understand the phenomena of interest from the participant’s eyes, the participants are the only ones who can legitimately judge the credibility of the results” (Trochim, 2001, p. 162).

Transferability/external validity. Transferability occurs when the results of the research can be generalized to other similar settings. It is the researcher’s job to

provide readers with sufficient (“thick”) description of the case under study; the individual interested in comparing the case will decide if the research is transferable (Schwandt, 2015).

Dependability/reliability. Dependability applies to the logic, consistency, and transparency of the process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that dependability is suggested by credibility, but they suggest dependability can be strengthened by overlap methods, such as triangulation, and by audits of the research content.

Confirmability/objectivity. Confirmability relates to processes, such as triangulation and maintenance of the “residue or records” which accrue as the researcher gathers material (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 319). Trochim (2001) suggests that the researcher can document the procedures for data analysis and reduction throughout the course of the study. Member checks and peer debriefings can verify the findings (Schwandt, 2015). Member checks consist of study respondents reviewing the material to confirm its reflection on their lived experiences. Peer debriefings occur when the researcher’s colleagues review the material to establish another layer of validation. In qualitative research, this audit trail is metaphorically compared to the financial audit of a business. Halpern (1983) recommends multiple techniques to maintain a record of the research process, including raw data, data reduction process, data reconstruction and synthesis activities, and personal notes.

Utility. Potter (1996) added one more idea necessary to improve the overall quality of the research: utility. Utility is the usefulness of the study to scholars and practitioners. This study has both practical and theoretical application: practical in the sense that findings may be applied in classrooms and newsrooms, and theoretical in that

the findings will contribute to existing literature on journalism, trauma, and organizational leadership.

This study employs three methods to fulfill measures of trustworthiness (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Trochim, 2001). First, the study uses triangulation (dependability) of two data sets, the researcher's lived experience, and historical documents to ensure the analysis is thorough, robust, and comprehensive (Denzin, 1978). The triangulation process does not just let the facts "speak for themselves." They must be selected, marshaled, linked together, and given a voice" (Barzun & Graff, 1992, p. xii).

The second method the researcher used is a member check system (credibility, confirmability). In this method, the researcher takes the findings back to the individuals whom she interviewed to verify that what she has assembled reflects their lived experiences (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Three individuals in Data Set Two reviewed the findings for this phase. In this step of the process, the researcher made a small number of wording changes to provide more clarity and specificity to the interviewee's quotes. For Data Set One, the researcher made a decision with a member of the dissertation committee that a member check would not be necessary, because the lapse of time since the interviews may have affected the memory of the interviewees. Moreover, the researcher in this study was not the primary interviewer in the Data Set One material.

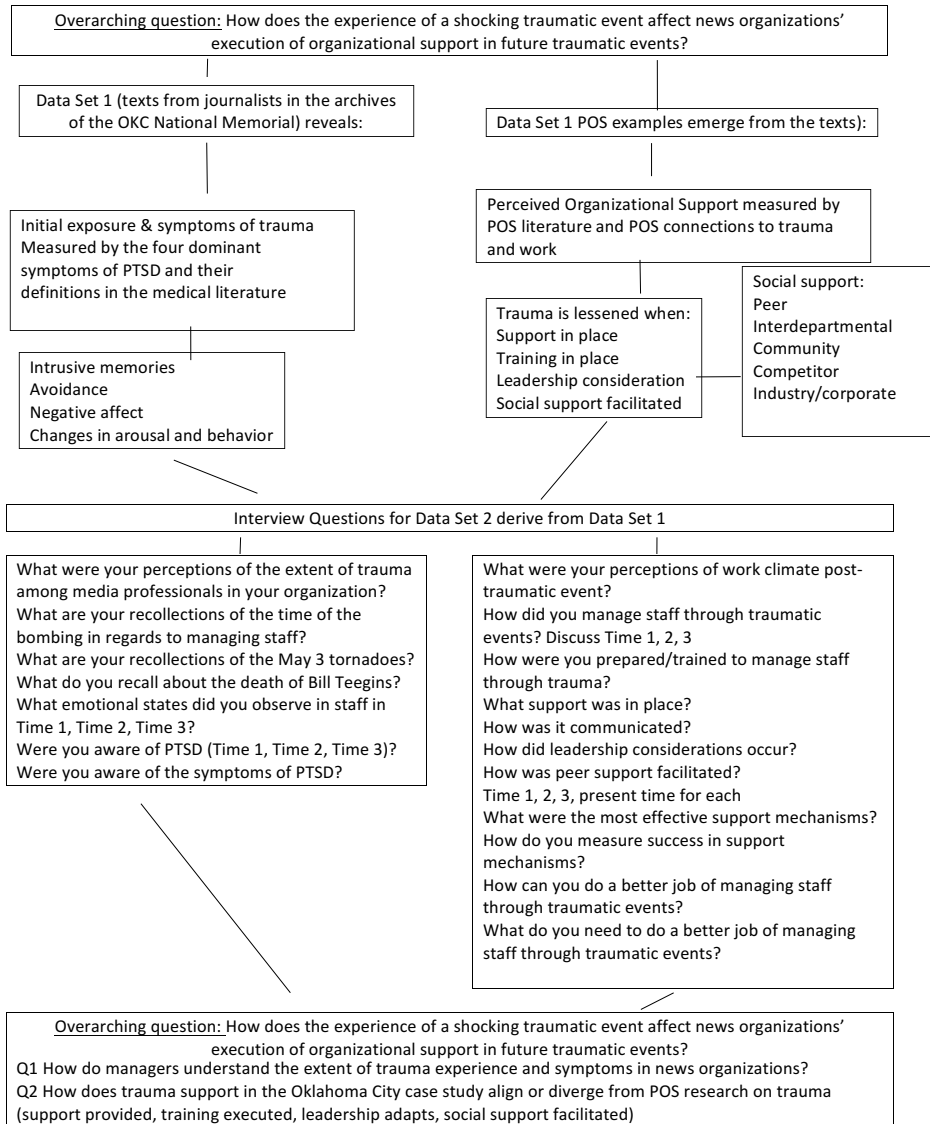
The third method used in this study is the documentation through an audit trail of the researcher's notes, analysis documents, and other materials generated during the course of the study (dependability, confirmability).

Conclusion

To summarize, this study is comprised of two data sets: the first, focused on local journalists who reported on the Oklahoma City bombing, and the second, focused on top organizational leaders, and their management responses to the bombing and other traumatic events in the years that followed. Data Set One is made up of 60 journalists interviewed by professionals at the Oklahoma City National Memorial. Data Set Two was defined after the analysis and coding of Data Set One, and is comprised of 13 top organizational leaders who worked in Oklahoma City during the bombing and throughout a number of traumatic stories, including the May 3, 1999 tornadoes which killed 40 people in Oklahoma, and the OSU basketball team plane crash, which took the life of a local sports journalist. The research question map (Figure 1) demonstrates the way Data Set One and Two connect to one another, as well as how they lead to the overarching research question and two supporting questions relevant to this study.

At the end of the text and interview analyses, the reassembling process begins. Spiggle (1994) writes that interpretation “occurs as a *gestalt* shift and represents a synthetic, holistic, and illuminating grasp of meaning, as in deciphering a code” (p. 497). The codes the journalists and news managers use to discuss their experiences are illuminated in two next chapters.

Figure 1: Research Question Map



Chapter 6: Results, Journalists' transcripts from the Oklahoma City

Bombing

It became clear that they weren't going to find many more people alive. You began to realize that whoever was left down there was going to be dead, and all those people waiting with their signs and posters were not going to get any good news. (Newspaper reporter)

One of the first shots I remember getting with my camera was of a man who had a child in each arm, they'd come from the YMCA daycare, just with glass embedded in their faces and blood. Another man lying on the sidewalk with people, not medical responders, just everyday people, trying to bandage wounds and that sort of thing. (Television photojournalist)

Eventually a reporter and an editor absorbs all of that grief for the 168 and all the families and they hit a wall. (Newspaper editor)

Thus far, this study has explored the history and definition of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Chapter Two), and other maladaptive stress reactions to traumatic work situations. Chapter Three reviewed the literature connected to PTSD and journalism work, as well as detailed the background of the 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. Chapter Four explored the theory of perceived organizational support (POS) and further investigated existing literature connecting POS to workplace trauma, as well as literature linking POS to journalism work and social support. Chapter Five explained the methodological approach to this study.

Combined, the previous chapters lay the foundation for the analysis of Data Set One comprised of interviews with journalists conducted after the Oklahoma City bombing. The interviews reside in the historical archive of the Oklahoma City National Memorial and were conducted by professionals there, rather than by the researcher for this study.

Data Set One allowed the journalists to create meaning from their experiences in covering one of the most traumatic news events of the 20th century (Pestano, 2015). The meaning that arose from Data Set One created more questions for the researcher about the organizational experience and response post-bombing. These questions connected to the establishment of Data Set Two, data compiled following in-depth interviews with a population of top organizational and department managers from television and newspaper organizations in Oklahoma City (results detailed in Chapter 7). Working in tandem, the two data sets help answer the overarching question of the study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events?

To answer that question, it is first necessary to understand the experience of journalists who worked through the shocking traumatic event, which is the purpose of Data Set One. In the written organization of the dissertation, Chapters One through Five create understanding of the purpose, questions, previous research, and background of this study, but in the overall research journey, the reading and study of Data Set One was one of the first analytical steps for the researcher, using grounded theory methodology, which calls for the theory to arise from the data (Glaser & Strass, 1967).

In this research, the data sets are circular: the analysis began with Data Set One, which led to the development of Data Set Two. But even when the researcher conducted interviews for Data Set Two, those findings led her back to the Data Set One transcripts. Data Set Two fostered more understanding of the events journalists experienced and talked about in the first data set. Further, Data Set One illuminated the experience of organizational leaders during the bombing and other traumatic events by

bringing to life the experiences of the journalists they were managing. To understand the actuality of managing traumatized workers, it is necessary to understand the experience of the workers and their trauma (Mainiero & Gibson, 2003). While distinct and separate, the data sets function as an important pairing. For this study, one would not work without the other.

Data Set One

Historians at the Oklahoma City National Memorial, located where the federal building once stood, gathered the interviews with journalists included in Data Set One. The interviews with journalists reside in an archive of more than 800 interviews with survivors, family members, elected officials, and others connected to the time of the bombing. (Chapter 5 includes more background on how the National Memorial gathered Data Set One interviews.)

Sixty-four interviews were conducted with local media professionals. Fifteen were newspaper journalists, 42 worked for local television stations, and four worked in radio (Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts, 1999-2017). Three of the television journalists were interviewed twice, first in 2000, and again in either 2008 or 2014. The results skew more toward journalists who worked at local television stations, because a significantly larger number of television media professionals were interviewed. One interview was removed from the study, because the subject was a former television journalist who became the mayor of Oklahoma City. The questions in his interview were primarily focused on his mayoral leadership, rather than on his media work during the bombing; therefore, the content did not fit the parameters of the research.

One can understand the totality of data gathered in the transcripts by seeing the interview framework used. These questions are taken directly from the archival material and are reproduced exactly as they were typed in one sample transcript.

Respondents were asked questions, such as:

- Tell us where you worked and what your job duties were in April 1995.
- Take us back to April 19. What were you doing? What was happening?
- Did you come down to the bombsite?
- What's it like? How are you getting information? It's so chaotic, how do you know what to say on the air? How do you know what not to say on the air?
- What's it like when you drive down here later that afternoon? You drive down and you come upon the Murrah Building, what are your memories of that?
- How do you put that wall up so that you can be professional, when you have 19 children killed, how do you do that? How do you steel yourself that you're going to be the professional?
- What's it like to cover this, probably the biggest story, in your own backyard?
- What are some of the bigger things that stand out in your mind?
- Did you witness the execution?
- What were the challenges, some of the difficulties and challenges, you faced, or you as a newsroom, your coworkers faced, covering this story?
- What was the community support and nationwide? This was among the first constant coverage, nonstop coverage. What was that like?
- What are some of the lessons learned? What can we teach the rest of the world?
- How did the bombing affect or change you?

- Usually there's a spirit of competitiveness in the media and the press. Did you sense that?

The interviews generated 907 pages of single- and double-spaced pages. The next section details how the researcher for this study analyzed the content. The data revealed multiple categories and concepts.

Analysis

The grounded theory methodology, along with a constant-comparative approach and open coding, called for the researcher to first read through the archival material allowing the meaning to reveal itself. The axial coding of the data resulted in categories of content, which were later refined into concepts, based on various properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Two broad categories emerged from this process, and varied in practical understanding and abstraction. Trauma experience, the first category, encompasses two subcategories, initial trauma and PTSD symptoms. It is both abstract and practical in approach, because trauma experience can be intangible, based on individual difference and unspoken or uninterpretable feelings (Davidson & Baum, 1994). However, PTSD symptoms within the category of trauma experience are more concrete, with a specific definition and diagnostic criteria from the American Psychiatric Association (Friedman, n.d.).

The second category is synthesized as perceived organizational support (POS). The POS category includes counseling experience and social support in its sub-categories. Some aspects of POS have a practical side, such as counseling, because it is a visible, tangible experience. Support is both connected and unconnected to POS, because it can be provided and facilitated by the organization, but it can also occur

outside the organization. Therefore, support is investigated as an abstract concept connected to concepts of help, compassion, empathy, comfort, and care. The support category includes five subcategories of support: peer, departmental, corporate/industry, community, and competitor.

Journalists' trauma experience

The transcripts for Data Set One reflect the various ways media professionals understood their experiences. In the earliest readings of the material, the journalists' exposure to trauma and experience of trauma was the first category that developed. Almost every journalist interviewed at the National Memorial used words denoting trauma, shock, fear, horror, chaos, war-torn, or descriptions referring to death and injuries they observed in describing their initial experiences with the story. Even journalists not originally dispatched to the scene described their experiences in terms of these elements. All the respondents detailed the early moments of the disaster and their immediate reactions, which provided a striking amount of data on a wide range of experiences from different media professionals, including reporters, photojournalists, producers, and managers working across multiple media platforms.

Further analysis delineated the trauma response into two distinct categories: the immediate trauma in the first moments following the event, as well as the PTSD symptoms in the days, weeks, months, and years that followed. The verbatim quotes throughout do not name the journalists' identities but do include the individuals' job titles. The researcher created a spreadsheet with all the journalists' descriptions and numbered the journalists in alphabetical order. In this process, all reporters, for example, are not lumped together as "reporter," they are described in their quotes as

“Television reporter 1,” “Television reporter 2,” and so on. If a journalist is the only individual in that category, the researcher did not assign them a number after the job title. In some of the quotes, the researcher removed distinguishing information (such as specific co-workers’ names) and put a generic substitution in its place to further protect the identity of the journalist in the interviews. The researcher corrected obvious typographical errors, such as repeated words or missing punctuation from the transcriptions. Ellipses are used to denote that unrelated content has been removed from the original quote.

Initial trauma. The initial trauma category is defined by the journalists’ first reactions to the disaster. This category includes journalists’ responses to their experiences at the scene of the federal building and surrounding scenes such as hospitals, triage areas, and in the newsrooms where they first learned of the disaster. The bomb was hidden in a Ryder truck parked in front of the building and exploded at 9:02 a.m. The local journalists spoke of hearing or feeling the bombing in their newsrooms.

It was so loud and it was such a strange sound that I had this vision that the radar dome on top of the building had come loose and was rolling across the building...incredibly loud, incredibly frightening noise. But when I stopped for a minute, I realized it was an explosion. (Television reporter 7)

The timing of the explosion, just after 9:00 a.m. meant that some journalists were in their cars, *en route* to work, or already headed to their first assignments of the day. “I was driving down the street, and all of a sudden I felt this vibration. And I pulled into the parking lot...and I saw this big plume of black smoke downtown” (Television photojournalist 11). Some were in their homes, still in bed or in the shower when the homemade fertilizer bomb exploded downtown.

We felt the building move. We felt the building shake...and I remember thinking -- my first thought was we're so close to Channel 4, and while we see their helicopter go by, I thought, "They've done it, finally. They've hit the building." I couldn't think of anything else because the building literally rocked, and then we looked towards downtown because you couldn't look anyplace else, because there's this huge mushroom cloud going up. (Newspaper reporter 5)

Newsrooms immediately dispatched crews to the scene which was only minutes away from almost every news organization in the city. The first to arrive at ground zero had never seen anything like it. Not only did they witness destruction, but they also witnessed death.

It was the worst day of my life. I saw people die. I saw people badly injured. (Newspaper reporter 6)

There were some things that I discovered later were not on the videotape that you know were probably for the best for it not to be. Because there were people that were in fact dying. (Television reporter 8)

I remember seeing the little girl Baylee who was brought in on the little stretcher...I didn't know what it was at the time. It's only when I went back later on, I realized what I was seeing. That we were seeing some of the children that were dying being brought in. (Television reporter 2)

One of my first sights was a gentleman maybe 25, 30, standing there looking up at the building and his sleeve was gone on his white shirt and he didn't have any shoes on and he was covered in dust and everything. And he was standing there looking up at the building going, "Daddy, Daddy, Daddy." And I was sure he had been in there, and I think I always remember him because I knew he had to live with what happened that day. (Newspaper reporter 2)

And the news director called, and when I called in, she said, "What does it look like? What's it like?" And I said, "There's just glass. It's terrible." And she said, "Are there people injured?" And I said, "Some of these people look like hamburger." I mean, that was a very crude thing to say, but I was just so overwhelmed with just how badly mangled some of the people were that I was seeing. I mean, I'd never seen anything like it in my life, obviously. (Television reporter 1)

I remember two business-type guys came out and the only thing holding their shirts on were the collars, and the rest of it was just kind of shredded and backs bleeding. (Television photojournalist 10)

I saw what I have to describe as chaos, because it's fire, it's smoke, it's glass, it's paper falling from the sky still. That went on forever, I have no idea how long paper fell from the sky but it seemed like hours. (Television reporter 8)

So many people were coming up to us. "Help me find my loved one. Help me find my loved one"...all these relatives (were) trying to find their loved ones and it was just agony. Some of them were friends. And some of their faces I can never forget. I remember saying to one of them..."I'm sure she's okay." And he said, "No, I saw where her office is and it's not there anymore." (Television reporter 2)

I thought I was doing fine until about 4 days later when my husband said you have got to get some sleep. You are waking me up in the middle of the night crying and I didn't know I was doing it. (Newspaper editor 3)

In some of these instances, journalists watched people die, one of the benchmarks for a PTSD diagnosis (PTSD: National Center for PTSD, 2017). Criterion A in the American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* lists a life-threatening event, where one's life is at risk or where one may be injured as one of the components of PTSD (Friedman, n.d.; Meadors et al., 2009-2010). Also included in Criterion A is seeing the trauma or being exposed to the trauma through one's work, elements the media professionals experienced on the day of the bombing.

Journalists arriving at the scene witnessed trauma all around them. But not long after journalists arrived, those covering the story near the federal building became primary victims of trauma in another way. They found themselves running for their lives when bomb scares occurred in the hours after the bombing (Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management, n.d.).

All of a sudden, they said, "Everybody back off. There's another bomb in the building"...I remember we were all running down the street, and everybody's running and looking at each other like, "Can you believe this is happening?" And you just had an image in your head, what's gonna happen if another explosion happens? Am I far enough away? Just thinking, I mean, you're right

in the moment thinking, man, this might not be over. I might be in the middle of a second bombing. (Television reporter 1)

And the second bomb scare when we all had to run, it was -- I really remember having a fear I'd never had before in my life, you know, a fear of mortality from that bomb scare because it did seem very real at the time. (Newspaper reporter 7)

And while we were in the middle of a live shot, everybody started yelling, "Get back," and kept thinking there was another bomb. And everybody here were all running. (Television photojournalist 11)

One newspaper editor became a victim of primary trauma, because she was across the street from the federal building at the Post Office when the bomb exploded.

I walked out -- of course you could just walk out onto the sidewalk because there were no walls. I mean, the glass was gone, and I just stood there and looked up the street, and it just was unbelievable. It looked like images you saw of a war-torn place in another country. And I just stood there, and a woman walked up the sidewalk and asked me if I was okay, and I looked at her like, "Of course I'm okay." And then she started just screaming and fussing and yelling at me, "Oh my God, you're bleeding," and I said, "Where?" And she says, "Your head." And I put my hand here, and sure enough there was blood. And I looked down, and there was blood oozing out of my leg. (Newspaper editor 1)

Her injuries turned out to be minor, and she returned to work the next day. She downplayed her personal involvement in the disaster. "I removed my experience from any coverage that I have. In fact, I seldom tell people that I was injured in the bombing."

The initial trauma of the bombing gave way to journalists' realization that the story of the Oklahoma City bombing might never end. "You start to wonder, well, am I ever going to be done, you know, with this in my career?" (Television producer 2). In a community disaster where 168 died and more than 500 were injured, many journalists also personally knew some of the victims. They experienced a range of effects as they

continued to cover the story. Their reactions are detailed in the following section, which connects the Oklahoma City journalists to PTSD symptoms.

PTSD symptoms. In many transcripts, but not all, interviewers at the Oklahoma City National Memorial consistently asked the journalists: “What were the challenges, some of the difficulties and challenges, you faced, or you as a newsroom, your coworkers faced, covering this story?” The data revealed that journalists talk about their trauma using some of the language of PTSD. It is outside the scope of this study to determine whether Oklahoma City journalists who covered the bombing suffered from PTSD. But it is an important finding that, while the journalists didn’t use medical words when discussing their feelings, they spoke of PTSD’s benchmarks when reflecting on the days, months and years following the bombing: avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and alterations in startle and reactivity (Friedman, n.d.). Understanding the journalists’ experiences is a necessary step in answering the study’s overarching research question: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations’ execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? To begin to answer the question of how organizational leaders reacted in the face of a local disaster that affected journalists in traumatic ways, it is important to understand how the journalists were emotionally responding to the tragedy.

Avoidance. Avoidance refers to strategies individuals use to refrain from thinking about a disturbing event. Avoidance behaviors can also lead to lost memories of what happened (McNally, 2003), and in some extreme cases, the desire to avoid thinking about the event can resemble agoraphobia (Friedman, n.d.). Here, the journalists describe how they experienced avoidance.

Well, you want me to be honest? In some ways, I think it taught a lot of us to suppress emotion and heartache, to be truthful with you...I remember feeling that feeling of I'm just going to put it deep inside somewhere that I don't have to deal with it. (Television anchor 4)

And sometime things may look different -- well, how we're looking at it through a little black and white viewfinder. But when you see the whole picture of the thing, it's a whole lot that we are suppressing while we're trying to get our job done. We're suppressing a whole lot of stuff. And every now and then, after a while, sometime it just hits you. And out of the blue, you know, you don't know why <laughs>, but all of a sudden all this stuff you suppress just coming to the surface, and out of the blue you may start crying for some unnecessary reason. (Television photojournalist 11)

There's a box. There's a box you put it in. There's a box you put it in every time you talk to a parent of a dead child. There's a box you put it in when you come across a murder scene that you're one of the first people to arrive on. There's a box you put it on when you deal with a cancer patient that you know won't survive the next interview in two months. There's a box. (Television reporter 8)

I don't have the emotional impact that some reporters do. I'm not affected by it. I guess maybe it's because of the -- it doesn't mean I'm hard or <laughs> lack emotion...I focus on this is my job, this is what I've been trained to do for years and years and years, and I want to be the professional, that I can't let emotions affect me even though they do. (Radio manager 1)

It didn't hit me emotionally until, I would say, about three or four weeks later, and it just came on me all of a sudden. We were in Ardmore covering a tornado, and this lady is talking about, you know, trying to find her cat, and that's when, you know, I suddenly just started crying because, I don't know why. It's just one of these weird things. You know, all that hit me a month later at another event completely. You know, the two had nothing to do with each other, but, you know, there it was, and I thought, okay. I've been sort of covering that up for a little while. (Television reporter 4)

Intrusive memories. Intrusive memories include nightmares and flashbacks of the traumatic event (PTSD: National Center for PTSD, 2017). These memories can include triggering stimuli, such as sounds and smells. When an individual re-experiences certain stimuli, he/she can be taken back to the time of the traumatic happening and can experience emotional or physical distress. These memories can last

years, or even a lifetime (Friedman, n.d.). For the journalists, triggering stimuli could be a smell, a sound, or even the time of day.

The inside of the building was not pretty...The smell never goes away. The first day was glass and the sound, that day was the smell and it would be that way. (Television reporter 8)

It took me years to really deal with it. At first it became very clear that something was wrong when a couple years after the bombing there was a -- it was not the first anniversary. It was second anniversary. There was a victims' procession downtown, and I was one of those assigned to cover it. And you see all these victims and survivors and relatives of those who died parading down the street. And I lost it. To be reminded of the magnitude of this event -- and I couldn't tell their story anymore. It was just too painful. I didn't have the capacity for it. Still don't. (Newspaper reporter 6)

That -- that's one thing that sticks out in my -- and all the dust and the -- I don't know if it was dust -- the insulation and the smoke smell. That all -- every time I'm around, I -- and if I ever get a whiff of some kind of smell like that, it takes me back to that day every time. Every time I get in a real dusty, smoky kind of area, that -- it always brings my mind back to how it was there. (Television photojournalist 11)

Anytime I see a clock that says 9:02 I stop. I mean, I hesitate a moment because it catches my eye. I can be walking anywhere and if I see a digital clock anywhere that says 9:02 it catches my eye, and I remember. It takes me back. (Newspaper editor 2)

The thing that triggers that moment inside of me is when I hear bagpipes play. For some reason, it's the bagpipes. And I can't tell you why. I don't know if it was because -- I don't know if it's because they're usually played at the anniversary or, you know, an opening. I don't know if it was because they were played at a lot of the funerals. But the bagpipes are what just really bring me back to that day. (Television producer 2)

The intrusive memories can become a dominant force that evoke “panic, terror, dread, grief, or despair” (Friedman, n.d., para. 10) in an individual. In their interviews for Data Set One, journalists expressed how the intrusive memories intertwine with grief.

I remember sitting in my car ... Just sobbing and not even really knowing why. And I think it was a combination of emotion, exhaustion. All of that just kind of

took its toll. I sat there in my car and cried for about 30 minutes, got it together, and trudged on the next day. (Television sports anchor)

To this day I have a sad cup that is filled from the Oklahoma City bombing, and it is filled to the brim. And I can't put anymore in it, but I can't dump it out either. So it is a special place where all of that emotion is kept for me. (Television reporter 2)

It affected everyone in this newsroom. I saw no one that went unaffected. You would be on the air, anchoring, you know, for the time that you were allotted to be up there. And you'd get off the air and you'd just start crying. Because it would just build up for the seven or eight hours of your shift, until you got off the air. And it was just you had to release it. And you saw that all the time. I mean, reporters would be at their desks typing. And, all of a sudden, you'd see these tears just rolling down their faces. But they'd keep typing and they'd get it done. (Television anchor 2)

I found myself in the days following when we would be interviewing someone who is searching for a loved one or something like that, and I'd be wiping tears out of my eyes so I could see through the viewfinder of the camera. So, I think I dealt with it like that. (Television photojournalist 2)

And it seemed like for the first few weeks, every night when I'd get home, that I would just go get in the shower and bawl like a baby. And that was just the way I released it. You know, because you really can't be emotional when you're in it. You really do have to be professional. And that's even hard, because it was emotional. It was emotional for everybody. (Television anchor 4)

There were times I wept in court, but you put your head down and you wiped your tears away. (Newspaper reporter 3)

For some, the grief spilled out at important milestones in the story, such as the city's observance of 168 seconds of silence a week after the bombing.

I guess it had been a week, and so we were doing the 168 moments -- seconds of silence. And I was down at our site where we had set up the (television) area, and I realized I didn't have my IFB. I'd left it in the truck, and so I was running to the truck to get my IFB, which is the ear device. I'm running and running and running, and then I realize nobody else is moving. And I was running through the 168 seconds of silence, and oh, my God. I came unglued. I sobbed. I was crying -- full out sobbing. I couldn't believe that I was doing that, and I got back to the truck and remember the truck guy came out, and he radioed into the station and said, "She's not going to be ready," because I was just a mess, and I couldn't get a hold of myself. (Television reporter 3)

Another journalist was covering the demolition of the bombed-out building four weeks after the bombing and reporting on it live when she was overcome with emotion.

And on the air I started crying, not boo-hooing, but it really upset me. And I don't know if it was the noise or the knowing that this is the beginning of the next step, that this had happened in my hometown, that people were still in there. (Television anchor 1)

The journalists who experienced uncontrollable grief were also experiencing what may have seemed to be an inescapable reality of their work. The work was necessary and had to be done: "trudging on," having to "be professional," and running to get a piece of equipment, only to realize "I was running through the 168 seconds of silence."

In some cases, the intrusive memories of the Oklahoma City bombing intersect with other disasters and loss of life, creating a flashback that blurs reality. Several of the journalists connected a disaster that occurred four years later, the May 3rd tornadoes, directly to the downtown bombing.

Then I saw -- you'd see things like -- when tornadoes hit Moore back then there were all these cars stacked up like dominoes at <inaudible> high school in the parking lot, and it looked just like the parking lot that was around the Survivor Tree. Bam. It starts hitting again. (Newspaper reporter 6)

Then, in '99, we had the May 3rd tornadoes, which was another huge catastrophic event. And that was a moment, I think, that was hard for people who had gone through the bombing to also then cover that. Same destruction, just wider area, a lot of the same emotions and feelings. I think it brought a lot of that back. You know, and then, 9/11. (Television producer 2)

You know when you look at the bombing in '95 and then the May 3, 1999, tornado, it was all there, it was all mixed in your mind. (Television meteorologist 1)

Negative affect. Experiencing a traumatic event can alter the way individuals view the world. They may blame themselves or think nothing good can happen after

the event (Friedman, n.d.). They can lose interest in social interactions (Post-traumatic stress disorder, n.d.). Individuals may express more anger or see the world as “entirely dangerous” (Friedman, n.d., para. 12). For one Oklahoma City journalist, the dangerous world effect connected to her parenting.

I watched a medical reporter at St. Anthony hospital and behind her people were rushing into the ER with little bundles. Wrapped in blankets. And I knew that it was a child. I knew the child. I knew that bundle. Because that was the same kind of bundle that I would lift out of the bathtub every night and wrap a towel around her. Except my baby was alive and those were not. And after that happened I, I was afraid for her more than I had ever been before...She might be kidnapped...because someone had done that to someone’s babies and they hadn’t done anything to deserve it. (Television anchor 3)

I know a lot of divorces and things like that that went on. And a lot of people have a hard time dealing with life after that because it doesn’t seem like life is fair. A lot of people question their faith. (Television assignment editor)

People were having relationship problems and marital problems and divorces started occurring in our newsroom. (Television manager 1)

The journalists interviewed for Data Set One were not specifically asked to talk about negative affect in their interviews, and there were fewer responses in this category. The data reveals that in some cases, the journalists were able to discuss the negative affect of others, but not their own, as in the examples cited above.

Alterations in arousal and reactivity. Individuals who experience this symptom of PTSD do not react in normal ways to everyday life experiences. They may exhibit reckless and addictive behaviors, such as increased drinking, unsafe sex, and other impulsive reactions. Sleep is disrupted and they are easily startled (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.; Breslau, 2002). For one Oklahoma City photojournalist, a specific memory of the day of the bombing had the power to drop him to his knees.

I was just going to shoot some b-roll...And all of a sudden, I see a Ryder truck pulling up to the driveway of the federal courthouse and literally, my knees went

to Jello. If I -- I grabbed the tripod, and there was this light pole, and I mean, literally, if those weren't there, I would have dropped probably on my knees to the ground, but there's this instant of <gasps> this fraction of a second of you can't breathe. (Television photojournalist 7)

Other journalists “couldn’t sleep for weeks after that.” Television reporter 2 could not sleep until “really until the building was demolished. That first night was the first night that I could sleep” (Television reporter 2).

The journalists interviewed by workers at the Oklahoma City National Memorial were not specifically asked to talk about addictive behaviors, or increased startle behaviors that occurred after the bombing. Similar to the negative affect category, there were fewer examples in this category.

Collectively, the data indicate that direct links exist between the symptoms of PTSD (avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and alterations in arousal and reactivity) and the journalists’ verbatim descriptions of their own experiences. The data also illustrate the challenges managers experience as staff members and individual journalists cover traumatic news events. Newsroom managers typically do not have specialized training to manage mental health issues in the newsroom (Simpson, 2004). Moreover, not all PTSD symptoms are visible.

As journalists carried with them emotional responses which managers could not see, both managers and journalists began to recognize that the story would be never-ending. One reporter said, “I covered it for three straight years and I feel like I covered it every day” (Television reporter 2).

Well, the bombing ended up taking up a whole lot of my career in journalism and it was almost a love, hate thing because you know, after so many months of covering the bombing, I got to where I would drive to work and say, “I am not doing a bombing story today, I'm not doing a bombing story today, anything but.” And then I would get in the office, in the newsroom and sure enough there

was some compelling story that really needed told and I really wanted to tell it and I would do it and gladly so, in spite of my desire to back off from it a little bit. (Newspaper reporter 7)

And you start to wonder, well, am I ever going to be done, you know, with this in my career? (Television producer 2)

Summary: Journalists and trauma experience

The data that emerges from the transcripts illustrates the journalists' initial experience at the scene of the disaster. All the journalists interviewed described their earliest days of the disaster in terms of death, horror, chaos, and how they would imagine a war zone. Some journalists became primary victims of trauma as they saw people die ("It was the worst day of my life. I saw people die. I saw people badly injured" [Newspaper reporter 6].) Others became primary victims of trauma as they believed their own lives were in jeopardy during bomb scares at the scene ("I really remember having a fear I'd never had before in my life, you know, a fear of mortality from that bomb scare" [Newspaper reporter 7].)

As coverage of the disaster wore on, the media professionals used terms connected to PTSD in describing themselves or their colleagues as emotion avoidant ("I can't let emotions affect me" [Radio manager 1]), affected by intrusive triggers ("You don't exactly know what's triggering it" [Television producer 2]), reacting differently to everyday aspects of their lives ("You do kind of wonder where is God?" [Meteorologist 1]), and being unable to cry ("The tears weren't coming" [Television reporter 2]). Some were unable to continue their work, because of uncontrolled crying ("I was just a mess, and I couldn't get a hold of myself" [Television reporter 3]). In the midst of these emotions, the work continued with its own difficulties ("The greatest pain of all were all the people seeking their relatives and they would come into the newsroom" [Television

reporter 2]). This was the complex and challenging emotional environment newsroom managers and their staff had to face.

Understanding the journalists' experiences contributes to the underlying question of this study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? The management literature details how managers' and organizational leaders' decisions can alleviate emotional stresses for workers (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1999). The next section reveals another category that emerged from journalists' interviews, namely elements of perceived organizational support (POS) and social support.

Journalists and perceived organizational support (POS)

Only a few studies have focused on the specifics of managing journalists when traumatic events occur, but the existing research indicates that organizations can make decisions which can mitigate stress responses among media professionals (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Dworznik, 2011). POS refers to the workers' perception of how the organization values their work and cares about their welfare (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Eisenberger et al., 2002). The benefits of POS are many. Employees suffer from fewer mental and physical health problems and find their jobs more enjoyable overall (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Employers, in turn, have more committed employees who want to do a good job, with less absenteeism and turnover (Eisenberger, n.d.; Kurtessis et al., 2015).

The review of POS reveals four main organizational responsibilities related to reducing traumatic response: communicating and providing emotional aid, such as

counseling (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leading employees with empathetic and supportive approaches (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

A number of studies discuss that employers can reduce emotional strain for journalists and other workers by providing and communicating emotional aid, such as counseling (George et al., 1993; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). More specifically, most of the research on journalists and trauma advocates mental health support, such as counseling and cognitive processing therapies (CPT) (Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003). Research demonstrates that simply knowing such resources are available can enhance coping and reduce stress (George et al., 1993).

Overall, little research exists that focuses on the relationship between POS and PTSD. But a small number of studies has found that a supportive environment can reduce PTSD symptoms (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). A supportive workplace environment indicated by POS can also reduce the stigma of revealing psychological problems (Britt, 2000).

The interviews included in Data Set One were gathered to contribute to the historical record from the time of the bombing. The interviews focused on the journalists' first moments with the disaster, the news gathering, the ethical challenges, and the arc of the story from the time of the blast until the execution of the bomber. The interviews were neither designed to focus on emotional response, nor were they

conducted to learn about management practice during the bombing. In working with archival material, the researcher does not have the opportunity to dictate the questions she wishes were asked. Yet a number of interviewees talked about the idea of POS in their own words and how such support mechanisms affected them post-trauma.

Counseling is one visible and tangible area of organizational support during times of employee trauma. Of the journalists interviewed for Data Set One, 23 of the 60 interviewees discussed the counseling opportunities offered by their employers after the bombing.

The journalists' experiences with counseling were varied. For some, it was helpful or perceived as helpful to others, but not themselves. Some of the journalists were critical of the way their employer approached counseling. The positive comments about counseling described favorable reactions to the idea that the news organization provided counseling, learning from the counseling, and relationships forged with the counselor.

To the paper's credit they figured out pretty early on they needed to get some counselors in for us. (Newspaper reporter 6)

You know, our station was good enough to bring counseling in, if you needed it. The thing that I've always found out is that sometimes it doesn't drudge up, initially. You kind of put your work mode on. "I've got a story to tell. I am responsible. This is a trust I don't take lightly. I will do this. I can go have my meltdown at home. And then, I'll be back tomorrow, boots on, ready to go." (Television anchor 4)

It was hard on the news because we had seen such horror, and a lot of the reporters and photographers were unable to sleep. They were traumatized. We finally after about 10 days brought in some mental health professionals and had large group times together that really, really helped. (Television reporter 2)

We learned a lot about how to deal with emotions in a newsroom... We had people who wanted and needed counseling and got it through our company. We

learned a lot about how to deal with the, you know, a huge crisis. (Newspaper editor 7)

(The counselor) actually became a very important part of my life as well as others in the newsroom because she really knew how to talk to journalists and journalists, you know, are different in how you need to approach 'em and talk to 'em. (Newspaper editor 4)

Some journalists had negative experiences with the counseling their employers offered. They felt as if they were forced to go, that it was offered too early, or that they were too exhausted or too consumed by work to take part. Despite the negative experience, the journalists recognized that their organizations were trying to offer support.

They brought in counselors and made us talk to somebody before we could get our paycheck, just so that everyone could have touched base with like a professional about, "Are you okay? Are you sleeping at night?" Which at the time I remember thinking, "That is ridiculous. We are in the newsroom, you know... go talk to the folks who are down there (at the bomb site). You know, we don't need professionals talking to us about whether we're sleeping at night here," but looking back it was probably a good thing. (Television producer 1)

Our station did a really good job of bringing in a team of counselors within that first week...and it almost felt too early. And I know, from their view, they could see how we were suffering and what we were experiencing...but it was hard to talk that early into it. (Television producer 2)

At that time, back in '95, it wasn't smart for reporters to go get counseling or anything, but the paper offered it to us immediately when it happened. But I was too busy to do that. (Newspaper reporter 2)

I know I've -- our company decided to have uh...counselors to come and talk to us and stuff, and we were so exhausted. (Television photojournalist 11)

One of the things they did at *The Oklahoman* is that they brought in people to discuss the mental problems that you may have. Unfortunately, for the most of us that were on the scene, we didn't get that -- that -- that kind of help. I don't know if we needed the help, but it wasn't available. I mean, you -- you know, when you're working a story as long as this one -- and -- and I guess essentially it was for 30 days and then the building was imploded, so -- we're going back a long ways. (Newspaper photojournalist)

In the hindsight afforded by the years between the bombing and the interviews, some were able to admit their fear of counseling.

I didn't do it. You know why? I didn't do it because I thought if I let all this stuff out I wouldn't be able to come back. <laughs> I mean, I think I just had to keep -- in order for me to keep going I felt like in order for me to keep going I could not bring all that up, and bring everything up. I didn't let it out. I was afraid to, to be honest with you. (Newspaper reporter 5)

Summary: Journalists and perceived organizational support

The need for counseling took many shapes and forms post-disaster. Some journalists preferred group counseling with colleagues (“Large group times together that really, really helped” [Television reporter 2]). Some forged one-on-one relationships with the counselor (“[The counselor] actually became a very important part of my life” [Newspaper editor 4]). Others believed the counseling was offered too early (“It was hard to talk that early into it” [Television producer 2]). Some felt coerced (“They brought in counselors and made us talk to somebody before we could get our paycheck” [Television producer 1]). Others ignored it altogether at the outset (“I didn't do it” [Newspaper reporter 5]). A few didn't feel like they had the opportunity to take part in the counseling (“For the most of us that were on the scene, we didn't get that -- that -- that kind of help” [Newspaper photojournalist]). While some journalists had a negative memory of the way the counseling was done, all journalists believed that overall, counseling was a good idea. Even those who rejected the help, acknowledged its place in the post-bombing workplace.

Work stressors reduce POS in the workplace; gestures such as counseling can increase it. But a number of other healing gestures exist, which start at the

organizational level. The transcripts show the journalists noted those gestures, as well as other forms of support which originated both inside and outside the news organizations.

Social support

Social exchanges at work are connected to POS, because workers identify their social networks in the workplace to the organization as a whole (Hayton et al., 2012). Various kinds of support, including social and peer support, have a positive effect on employees affected by trauma in the workplace (Newman et al., 2003; Prati & Piertrantoni, 2009; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007). A presence or void in social support can affect PTSD symptoms (Mealer et al., 2012; Brewin et al., 2000; Weidmann et al., 2007). Social support encompasses concepts such as compassion, caring, listening, and acceptance, and other comforting actions (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005; George et al., 1993). Simpson and Boggs' (1999) landmark study on journalists and trauma found peer support to be the most important resource for journalists.

Some aspects of social support discussed by the Oklahoma City journalists began in the workplace; others occurred outside the organizational realm. Interviewers at the National Memorial asked many of the journalists: "What was the community support and nationwide?" This gave respondents the opportunity to discuss an array of supportive gestures that had touched them. Not all the interviewees were asked the question about community support, and none were specifically asked about department, industry or competitor support. Yet these memories came out time and time again in the interviews. The analysis of the data reveals intra- and interdepartmental peers, the

community, and industry peers provided support gestures to media professionals. This helped them cope with and heal after the bombing.

Intradepartmental peer support. The transcripts from journalists who covered the Oklahoma City bombing provide a glimpse into how journalists understood the meaning of social and peer support at the time of their traumatic work event. The comments illustrate several kinds of social and peer support. Acceptance, listening, and sharing memories were among the forms of support that alleviated the journalists' emotional pain. A co-worker simply saying, "It's okay" provided comfort. A quiet place to talk, "just listening," people being "supportive," and the physical act of "hugging" all contributed to the co-worker care of peer support.

And I just remember weeping. And I remember apologizing to my colleague. You know, then, it feels so weird, because it's the guy I sit next to all the time. And then, I'm thinking, 'Oh my gosh, he thinks that' -- you know, and he was just so kind and compassionate. And he was, like, 'it's okay. It is okay.' Sometimes you just have to have the freedom to know it's okay to weep. (Television anchor 4)

I had a really great space in the newsroom where it was private; it was accessible. And I think that was something I recall is just people coming in and talking and that -- just listening, being an ear for people, trying to be empathetic to crews on the ground. (Television manager 1)

I remember (another reporter) and I had kinda met in the center of the newsroom and both of us just burst into tears. And all through that newsroom, people are hugging, crying, photographers and editors are sitting there, sobbing while they put video together. It was an amazing experience but we all pulled together. (Television reporter 7)

You know, there's not very many of us left at *The Oklahoman* that covered the bombing...I guess because you all spent a really tragic period, a really hard, tragic period of your lives together, and you will always have some kind of bond. You have that bond. I know that on the anniversary we sometimes send messages to each other and still, still remember. We remember in our own ways. (Newspaper reporter 2)

Interdepartmental support. Inside the media organizations, departments outside of the newsroom scrambled to help. The departments outside the newsroom are representative of the organization, therefore the interdepartmental support can contribute to the POS journalists experienced (Hayton et al., 2012).

But what I remember feeling about the entire event was that not only our newsroom but our sales department, the people in our traffic who scheduled the commercials. Everyone came, was into the newsroom answering phone calls. They were taking food down to the crews at the site, they were all working together as journalists. (Television anchor 3)

You know, there wasn't no such thing as a sales department. There wasn't no such thing as a production department. There wasn't no such thing as the people that work behind the scenes on a day-by-day basis and make sure the spots and everything are running at the right times and what have you. Everybody at Channel Four was news. Everybody went, pitched in, come downstairs...and they was there at our beck and need. If we needed something, if you needed a paper towel, whatever you needed, they would run and get it for you just to make sure that you didn't have to wait for nothing or need anything. That whole entire staff at Channel Four was one big news department, everybody. Janitor, whatever job you had, if you worked at Channel Four you became a part of news that day or that week. (Television photojournalist 8)

Community support. Social support on a broader scale occurs outside of POS. Support occurs when others outside an individual's closest social network express comfort, assistance, and other support gestures (Lehman, Ellard, & Wortman, 1986). Specifically, individuals and groups can offer social support in recognition of a traumatic experience (Maercker & Muller, 2004). In Oklahoma City, as the journalists reported on the disaster, the community supported the journalists.

We were down by the courthouse one time and waiting outside...and then some lady came by and asked if any of the reporters needed their laundry done. (Newspaper reporter 4)

We were being appreciated...we had to set up table after table because restaurants were bringing in food. Viewers were cooking food. (Television producer 2)

The week of the bombing we received hundreds of letters and then -- and afterward too. People would bake cookies to bring to our staff because they were concerned about us working such long, hard hours. (Television manager 2)

Companies would send tons of food to the station. I'm sure I gained weight during that time because every time you'd walk in the lunchroom there'd just be another. Sonic would have brought 100 hamburger meals, chicken...And then of course people would bake goods for us too and bring it. It was a beautiful thing to see that. (Television reporter 2)

For the more than a decade that I have been gone, I still get emails, letters and cards from people who just want to know how I am doing because once we had spent that very intimate time together, it was very much like a family. (Television anchor 9)

I remember one day someone came in from outside and delivered a pot of ivy, on the desk...there's this woman from Guthrie who had driven up from Guthrie at some difficulty to deliver this plant. Because she thought I needed it. She had been watching for several days and thought that I needed something that was green and alive. (Television anchor 3)

Competitor support. The data also reveals an unusual form of support during the bombing coverage -- support from competitor news organizations. Normally, news entities within a media market are tough competitors. They want to beat each other on stories. They want to come out on top in the ratings. But in the case of the Oklahoma City disaster, the normal competitiveness gave way to helpfulness. The tiny gestures of sharing a piece of equipment made the day just a little better for someone who needed it.

We saw each other and would hug and just, "Can you believe this is happening?" I mean, because we're friends. We never let the management know it back at the TV station but we shared equipment when somebody forgot something or if the batteries died, we'd help. So, we all worked together really well in the field most of the time anyway. And here was the epitome of needing to be there for each other and we did. And it wasn't the sense that "Oh I'm going to get this story and you're not." (Television reporter 2)

You can look at a reporter or photographer from Channel Four, who was madly dashing around trying to find a battery, and we'd go, "We've got an extra one." You realize the whole is bigger than the individual, that you have to work

together in order to make the community whole again, and we learned that lesson at 9:03 a.m. (Television reporter 8)

Industry support. It was normal for newsrooms with large, nationally-based owners (KFOR, The New York Times Company, and KOCO, Gannett) to receive corporate support such as additional staffing to help do the around-the-clock coverage during the bombing. But some media organizations with no connection to Oklahoma City newsrooms felt the need to help their fellow journalists. “People stepped up in unbelievable ways. I mean, there were people that -- from other newspapers that sent food to us” (Newspaper reporter 4).

Summary: Journalists and social support

The data reveals intra- and interdepartmental peers, the community, and industry peers helped, comforted, and supported journalists in multiple ways post-bombing. Peers who listened, hugged, and shared memories alleviated painful feelings. Employees in other departments contributed. “They were all working together as journalists” (Television anchor 3), which helped with the workload for those in the news department. The community provided food, letters of support, and even gifts of simple items, such as a potted plant. Local industry peers who were normally fierce competitors shared batteries. Industry peers on a national level sent food to fellow journalists they’d never met. Together, these small gestures provided memorable healing moments for journalists throughout Oklahoma City.

Conclusion

The grounded theory methodology revealed two broad categories in journalists’ discussion of their experiences during the time of the bombing varying in their levels of abstraction. The first category to emerge from Data Set One was that of trauma

experience, with two sub-categories, initial trauma and PTSD symptoms. The PTSD symptoms are measurable according to the American Psychological Association's guidelines, while some aspects of emotional trauma are more difficult to interpret and observe (Davidson & Baum, 1994).

The second category to develop from the journalists' transcripts was that of perceived organizational support (POS). POS generated two sub-categories: counseling experience and social support. Further categories derived from social support: peer, interdepartmental, social, competitor, and corporate/industry. Experiences with counseling are less abstract categorically, because they are tangible and visible in the workplace. Support, in general, is less concrete, characterized by helping, comforting gestures.

The POS literature reveals four main responsibilities for organizations in reducing traumatic response. The first is communication and provision of mental health support (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Data Set One revealed a robust agreement that interviewees perceived counseling as a positive gesture. Organizations can also mitigate trauma by facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley, Britt; Adler & Bliese, 2014), which the journalists in Data Set One noted from their experience during the bombing. Two other categories which affect POS in the workplace: planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) and managing employees with compassionate, caring leadership gestures (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009) are addressed in Chapter 7.

Understanding the journalists' experiences in their own words is an important step in grasping the reality of the work environment during the traumatic bombing event. It is also an important step in understanding the challenges organizational leaders faced during the disaster. The meaning created by Data Set One allowed the researcher to define Data Set Two, comprised of interviews with top organizational leaders who worked at the local daily newspaper and three television stations on April 19, 1995. POS is closely tied to organizational supervisors, because the leaders and managers act as agents for the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Data Set One, in concert with Data Set Two, leads to the main question of the study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect execution of organizational support in future traumatic events in news organizations? The next chapter creates understanding of the organizational experience during trauma events through the experiences and perceptions of organizational and departmental leaders. Chapter 6 communicated the experience as described by journalists; Chapter 7 communicates the experience from the organizational leaders' perspective. Two further research questions are addressed in Chapter 7: How do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations and how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma?

Chapter 7: Results, Interviews with Top Organizational Leaders

I think probably managers need a little bit more care than they're given. Maybe they're a group that we don't look at and we should take better care. (News director 2)

The previous chapter established how journalists translate their emotional experience after a traumatic work event. Three broad categories emerged from Data Set One: the journalists' trauma experience, their perceived organizational support (POS) experience, and a broader social support experience. Chapter 7 introduces results from Data Set Two, which present a conceptual mirror to the first set of data.

In the grounded theory method, when two sets of data exist, the first allows for tentative theories or theoretical propositions to emerge (Schwandt, 2015). Findings from Data Set One regarding the journalists' trauma experience, work experience relating to POS, and social support experience allowed the researcher to derive a relevant population for Data Set Two (Schwandt, 2015). In this phase of the study, the researcher conducted depth interviews with organizational leaders and department-head managers who were in these positions during the time of the bombing, or who worked at the news organization and became top organizational leaders later in their careers. Supervisors represent the organization, and therefore are relevant in POS research (Eisenberger et al., 2002).

Beyond the qualification of being a top organizational leader, the researcher set another criterion for inclusion in the study: the individual had to remain in the Oklahoma City market from the time of the bombing through January 2001. This timeline was established for two reasons. Journalists who worked in Oklahoma City after the bombing worked through another horrific local event, the May 3, 1999

tornadoes, which killed 40 people in Oklahoma (Oklahoma tornado deaths - 3 May 1999, n.d.) and was the largest tornado outbreak ever recorded in the state (The Great Plains Tornado Outbreak of May 3-4, 1999, n.d.). Then, in January 2001, another shocking event occurred, which was particularly difficult for one of the journalism organizations. A plane carrying players and staff of the Oklahoma State University basketball team crashed, killing all 10 on board, including the CBS affiliate sports director, Bill Teegins (Helsey, 2016). Using this timeline as a qualifying hurdle for the study meant that managers and future managers who worked through the devastation of the Oklahoma City bombing were potentially able to learn from that experience and manage multiple traumatic experiences differently as a result. Managers who left Oklahoma City soon after the bombing are not included in the study, because they did not experience the 1999 and 2001 events. Findings from the selected group can potentially generate deeper data, because these respondents all experienced the same traumatic events, thus allowing for a consistent baseline from which the researcher could analyze the interviews (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

Data Set One also contributed to the design of interview questions for Data Set Two, by first establishing the kinds of PTSD-related symptoms the journalists experienced, including intrusive memories and avoidance. Next, findings in the POS literature relating to management of work trauma further shaped the interview questions, specifically: (a) how the organizations made emotional aid available; (b) how they planned and trained for traumatic scenarios; (c) how the leader showed concern and support for the employee; and (d) how the leaders facilitated a supportive workplace. Together, data Sets One and Two allowed the researcher to consider the

overarching question of the study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events?

Twelve individuals fit the criteria for inclusion in Data Set Two, and all agreed to participate in the study. Three were mid-level newspaper editors at the time of the Oklahoma City bombing; all became editor-in-chief later in their careers at *The Oklahoman* and/or other newspapers outside the market. Four of the leaders in the study are the top organizational managers at three local television stations. In this group, three are general managers, and one is a station owner. (The other two stations are owned by large media corporations.) All three general managers were sales managers at the time of the bombing. The other five leaders in the study were news department heads during their careers. One was news director during the bombing and later became Vice President of News at the same station. The other four held a range of jobs at the time of the bombing, including producer, special projects producer, and assignment manager. All in this group became news directors in Oklahoma City later in their careers. A 13th manager was included in the study, even though she left the market two months before the January, 2001 incident. The individual is included in the population sample because of close ties to the station in the two months leading up to the OSU plane crash and during the time of the tragedy. She held news director jobs at three stations during the course of her career, including Oklahoma City.

Together, the 13 leaders in the study have approximately 300 years of management experience. Six are female; seven are male. The interviews were conducted August 9 through October 4, 2017. Eleven of the interviews were conducted

in person; nine occurred in the participants' office areas. One was conducted off-site from the participant's workplace at the public library in downtown Oklahoma City, and another interview was conducted in the participant's home. Two interviews were conducted via phone. The interviews ranged in length from 61 to 129 minutes, and averaged 82 minutes.

The interviews followed a semi-structured outline, which means the researcher prepared a list of questions for the interviewees, but the researcher allowed room for an open flow of information if participants presented additional topics. Adhering to the grounded theory methodology, this strategy allows for a fluid conversation, so respondents could share their experiences without following a strict script. Most of the leaders were not top station or department leaders at the time of the bombing. So, for some in Data Set Two, their memories gravitate between those of middle managers and staff members during the time of the bombing and as top organizational leaders later in their careers.

Analysis

The researcher used a constant-comparative strategy in deriving meaning from Data Set Two, consistent with the Data Set One approach. The analysis began with the first hearing of the in-person interview, then continued into the transcription process. Transcribing the data is time-consuming, but the researcher found it to be an important step in the analysis phase. Writing the verbatim interviews provided a valuable second "hearing" of the news organization leaders' stories post-interview. Next, the researcher read through the transcripts multiple times, and began to categorize the material. This

open coding process continued until categories and concepts revealed themselves (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Because the development of the interview questions evolved from Data Set One, the categories which emerged from Data Set Two parallel those of Data Set One, with some exceptions. In Data Set One the two categories that emerged from the open coding method were trauma experience and perceived organizational support (POS). The first category of trauma experience encompasses two subcategories, initial trauma and PTSD symptoms. Trauma experience is both concrete and abstract as a category. PTSD is well-defined and measurable in the psychological literature (Friedman, n.d.), but the experiences of trauma are unique among individuals and can be intangible and difficult to interpret (Neria & Litz, 2004).

The second category to arise from Data Set One also has both practical and abstract elements. The POS category includes counseling experience, training, leadership style, and support facilitation in its sub-categories. Elements such as counseling and training are instrumental, visible, and tangible, while factors that feed empathetic leadership and support are abstract, such as help, comfort, and care. Support connects to POS, because the organization can provide and facilitate it, but it can also occur outside the organization when entities such as the community provide support. Five categories were generated by the support concept: peer, departmental, community, competitor, and corporate/industry.

Managers and trauma experience

In the same vein as Data Set One, the organizational leaders are identified by job title, rather than by name alongside their quotes. The researcher created a spreadsheet

with all the managers' job descriptions and numbered them alphabetically so all leaders are not grouped together as "News director." Rather, they are identified as "News director 1, 2," and so on. Further, in the general manager/owner category, the four individuals are identified as "Station manager 1, 2" and so on. Since there is only one owner, it provides a measure of anonymity for his interview content.

In the context of the interviews, the researcher removed distinguishing information (such as a specific co-worker name) to avoid revealing the identity of the manager. In some cases, participants shared certain pieces of information that identify the news organization they represent. The individuals in Data Set Two were aware that their identities could only be partially concealed for this project. The researcher corrected obvious errors, such as a misspoken date, in the transcript. Ellipses signify that the researcher removed unrelated content from the quotes. Content in parentheses indicates that the researcher has added information.

Data Set One revealed the nature of the journalists' trauma experience in covering the Oklahoma City bombing. Reporters, photographers and other media professionals arrived downtown to a bloody, chaotic scene. "It was the worst day of my life. I saw people die. I saw people badly injured" (Newspaper reporter 6). A number of journalists confronted the prospect of death as they experienced a bomb scare not long after the bomb blast (Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management, n.d.). "I really remember having a fear I'd never had before in my life, you know, a fear of mortality from that bomb scare" (Newspaper reporter 7). In these moments, the journalists became primary victims of trauma, according to Criterion A in the American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*

(Friedman, n.d). The findings from Data Set One connect to Data Set Two, because the journalists' experience directly affect the manager's experience.

Initial trauma. The three television stations and newspaper were located approximately 70 blocks from the bombsite. All the managers heard or felt the first moments of the bombing. Some believed their own buildings had been hit. "When that explosion occurred, we felt -- I felt it was in our own building" (Station manager 4). "We were in the middle of a department head meeting and the building shook. I was sitting next to the chief engineer, and he said the tower just fell on the building" (Station manager 2). One of the managers was at home when the bomb exploded, and got to the newsroom as quickly as she could. "This is the only time in 20-something years of broadcasting of coming in with no makeup on or no bra on. And nobody noticed that day because we were all so busy" (News director 4).

The findings from Data Set One indicated the journalists experienced an immediate shock from the initial trauma they faced. While removed from the scene in comparison to the first-responder journalists, Data Set Two reveals managers in the study experienced feelings of emotional distress as a result of the bombing. Some of the reactions occurred the day of the event; others years later.

I think it was 4 or 5 o'clock the next morning when (my boss) sent me home. I didn't want to leave but she forced me to leave. I went home and my wife was waiting up for me, and I openly wept, and put my arms around her, and cried. And all I could say to her was there were kids, there were kids, there were kids, even long before I was a dad or thought about being a dad. I just remember being struck by there were children involved. (News Director 3)

I can remember going home at night, but you'd cry. It just tore you apart. You ran the gamut of emotions. (Station manager 3)

I actually in 2001 was not sleeping and had gone to the doctor for sleeping pills. He gave me a psychological exam and said I was depressed and put me on an

antidepressant that year. I know the invasive memories happened after the bombing. Absolutely it happened. It still happens. (News director 5)
I was in Australia (for speaking engagements), and I admitted in Australia that for a certain point I had no memory of the year before...It took a long time before I had memories of what happened in '94. To this day I don't have a large bank of memories because '95 stopped all of that. (Editor 2)

Data Set Two reveals that the traumatizing content deeply affected the managers. Some felt an immediate impact, and others continued to be affected years after the event. The data also indicates that despite the station managers' workplace distance from the news department and news employees, they still experienced emotional impact. The interviews with the news organizational leaders allow an understanding of their mindset during the traumatic event(s), which is an important first step in finding an answer to the research question: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events?

The bomb scare which occurred in the hours after the bombing was a pivotal moment for some individuals interviewed for Data Set One; however, it was also pivotal for some managers.

All of a sudden there was going to be a secondary explosion, and at that time we had come to the realization we had been under attack and we had been targeted specifically. All of a sudden it became very real that we could have easily have sent people into harm's way...One of the first things I remember was quickly going from we've got to beat everybody on this to let's not get anybody hurt. (News director 3)

We sent these people in -- there were two bomb scares -- we didn't even know what we were sending them into, so I think it's with each year that goes by you think - okay - not that the event gets bigger but your responsibility and how you should have been treating those people gets magnified, and you don't realize it when you are in the heat of the battle because the heat of the battle went on for years with this story. (News director 2)

You're scared to death -- I remember (R.) was our reporter down there. I can remember it like it was yesterday. I can remember watching him say they found another bomb, "We've got to get out of here." And you sit here and think "Oh my God, if that thing went off how many people are going to be killed in this deal, including some of the people that we know." (Station manager 1)

For managers, some of the traumatic experience occurred in the initial moments of the disaster, as they saw what the journalists were seeing, and as they feared for their crews in the midst of a bomb scare. Soon, during the first day and after, the managers began to observe how individuals in the newsrooms were reacting.

Some people were crying later in the day, so I think it was kind of a roller-coaster ride starting from practically no emotion up until -- yeah, there was kind of extreme emotion. (News director 2)

By the end of the evening when everyone started coming back and shifts started changing, you saw big fatigue. You saw people who were emotional. Some people were crying. Some people were visibly shaken. Some people were -- I don't know what the right term would be -- just kind of looked stunned. You observed different parts of that and different reactions to that all over the building whether it was in the news department or in the engineering department...it was varied from shock to fatigue to crying and that sort of thing. (Station manager 2)

I think the initial trauma was, "Oh shit," pardon the words, but I remember looking around seeing everybody's faces, you know, people you don't normally see -- people in the newsroom, calloused news people, holding their mouths or clutching their heads, so I remember through that, I don't think it really hit until word got around that there was a daycare involved and there were children killed. (News director 3)

One reporter I had to sit down with her. I said "Let me sit by you and I'll write with you," because she couldn't do it. She couldn't compose herself enough. (Editor 1)

I don't think (K.) filed a story that day. She did not file a story that day. She was so traumatized of what was going on that I don't think there was any way that she could. (Editor 2)

After the initial shock of the bombing, newsrooms entered into what one editor called the "75-day siege" (Editor 3) and what another manager described as a battle

“that went on for years and years with this story” (News director 2). The next section details symptoms of emotional distress related to PTSD that news managers observed among news staff.

PTSD symptoms. Symptoms of PTSD and other emotional stress outcomes, may not be visible to managers (Rudstam, Gower, & Cook, 2012). Compounding this invisibility, journalists may not feel comfortable sharing mental health concerns with supervisors, including stigma, fear of reprisal, or they may lack understanding of how to process what they are feeling (Backholm & Bjorkqvist, 2012; Greenberg, Gould, Langston & Brayne, 2009; Keats & Buchanan, 2009).

In interviews for Data Set One, the journalists expressed their feelings post-bombing, many which related to symptoms of PTSD, including avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and increased startle and reactivity.

Avoidance refers to strategies individuals use to refrain from thinking about the disturbing event (Friedman, n.d.) (“Well, you want me to be honest? In some ways, I think it taught a lot of us to suppress emotion and heartache, to be truthful with you...” [Television anchor 4]). The managers interviewed for Data Set Two acknowledged that some PTSD symptoms are visible, and others are not. “I would say there was avoidance in all of it. Some people did cut themselves off from coworkers” (News Director 5). “I think we certainly observed it (avoidance) after the bombing” (Editor 3). “You had people who didn’t want to talk about it at all, who wanted to avoid it” (Editor 1). Almost all the organizational leaders observed or were made aware of avoidance behaviors from colleagues or other managers.

Intrusive memories of PTSD include nightmares, flashbacks, and triggering stimuli (PTSD: National Center for PTSD, 2017). Triggers and memories can transport the individual back to the time of the traumatic event and can lead to them re-experiencing of the distress (“The smell never goes away” [Television reporter 8].) Managers cannot “see” intrusive memories, but some believed employees were and are experiencing them. “I think it still exists today” (Editor 2). “I remember (the news director) saying that people -- ‘I’ve got to help them. They can’t get this out of their head,’ so I think that did go on in the bombing” (Station manager 3).

Yes, a lot of that. Even like the 20th anniversary, we had people here, people who went down to Ground Zero. They saw the suffering, the gore, the smoke. They smelled it. One woman I don’t think she ever -- every year it weighed on her. It was hard on her every year around the anniversary time. I saw it take its toll on her every single year. (Editor 1)

Negative affect. Individuals who experience a traumatic event can begin to be more fearful about the world around them. They may also see their lives through a negative lens (Friedman, n.d.). In interviews for Data Set One, journalists reported being afraid for their children, colleagues noted relationship breakdowns, and “A lot of people have a hard time dealing with life after that, because it doesn’t seem like life is fair. A lot of people question their faith” (Television assignment editor). For the managers, the lines were blurred between negative affect related to the bombing experience, typical journalistic cynicism, and the current state of the industry, including budget cuts and staff reductions.

Understanding that there’s a certain amount of negativity in journalism. It’s going to happen to all of us all the time anyway <laughter>. How much did I realize it at the time? I probably -- some, but not significantly. (Editor 2)

I would honestly tell you that as 22 years and the current state of all the things that are happening, you do get a sense of the cumulative effect of negative things that may have started back then. (Station Manager 2)

Alterations in arousal and reactivity. The purpose of this study is not to determine whether the managers were experiencing PTSD. However, the grounded theory methodology allowed the managers to reveal their own traumatic experience during the course of the interviews. In Data Set One, some of the journalists post-bombing revealed they were easily startled by things which used to be commonplace, an example of the increased startle and reactivity symptom of PTSD. “I see a Ryder truck pulling up to the driveway of the federal courthouse and literally, my knees went to Jello” (Television photojournalist 7). A number of managers interviewed for Data Set Two shared similar emotional reactions.

Anytime I see a yellow box truck I flinch. I don't drop to my knees but I keep my eye on it. I'm serious. I look for fuses...(My office is) on the second floor. Whenever I see a yellow box truck drive by where I can just barely see the top of it go by under my window I stand up and I watch it to see where it's going. (News Director 3)

All of us did that. I did that. Every time you would see a yellow Ryder truck, you would think that or they were in the vicinity you would think that. I think there were few people who did not have those symptoms. (Editor 2)

I remember a Ryder truck pulling up to our lot and everybody panicked. Everybody shared that same thought, “Is this going to blow up our building?” So probably not a rational thought but it sure made you wonder. (Station manager 3)

Just speaking for myself I felt anytime a Ryder truck pulled into my house, you're just on edge. If I was feeling that way I'm sure other people in this organization were. You drove by a Ryder truck, and you just wonder what's going on. To this day, I wonder that. It's a weird -- I see a Ryder truck, and it's backing up, and my first thoughts are -- like a Ryder truck backing up here to the office, I wonder what's it doing here. It's 100% related back to that bombing. I've never thought about it; it's somewhere deep in my deal Ryder trucks are really bad. I remember like it was yesterday. A truck's pulling up to our house, and we had a small driveway, and it was turning around is what it

was doing. What the hell were they doing? To this day, a Ryder truck pulls up here -- my office has windows -- I want to know what the heck they're doing here. (Station Manager 1)

I saw a Ryder truck. I don't know if it was up the street. Suddenly it was up next to me and I just did this -- oh my God -- never had that reaction since -- but that was certainly within two weeks of the bombing. It was the first one of those that I had seen and...I can remember being startled by that myself. I really had no ill effect from all of this, but I do remember distinctly the first time I saw one of those damn things -- the feeling -- oh shit! -- yeah. (Editor 3)

The Ryder truck anecdotes connect to the increased startle reaction indicated by the arousal and reactivity symptom of PTSD (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.; Breslau, 2002). For some of the newsroom leaders, the startle reactions occurred not long after the bombing; for others, the reactions continue to this day.

Summary: Managers and trauma experience

The data which emerges from the interviews with top organizational leaders reveals that the managers were coping with the traumatic experiences alongside their employees ("I know the invasive memories happened after the bombing. Absolutely it happened. It still happens" [News director 5] and "To this day I don't have a large bank of memories (in the year before the bombing) because '95 stopped all of that" [Editor 2]).

Some managers observed symptoms of emotional distress in staff members similar to those within the framework of PTSD. They observed avoidance ("I would say there was avoidance in all of it... [News Director 5]), intrusive memories ("They can't get this out of their head...[Station manager 3]), and negative affect ("You do get a sense of the cumulative effect of negative things that may have started back then" [Station Manager 2]). But in several of the interviews, the organizational leaders acknowledged that they do not easily observe some of the symptoms of PTSD, or that

some journalists would feel uncomfortable sharing symptoms, such as those related to addictive behaviors, with their managers.

Several managers noted the same Ryder truck experience that brought about suspicion and fear (“Whenever I see a yellow box truck drive by where I can just barely see the top of it go by under my window I stand up and I watch it to see where it’s going” [News Director 3] and “I remember a Ryder truck pulling up to our lot and everybody panicked...” [Station Manager 3]). The managers noted if it was happening to them, it must have been happening to their employees as well: “If I was feeling that way I’m sure other people in this organization were” [Station manager 1].

POS relates to the way employees experience care from their organization both during routine and traumatic circumstances (George et al., 1993; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The next section connects the interviewees in Data Set One’s experience with POS to the managers’ perceptions of their own leadership support from the 1995 bombing to the 1999 May 3 tornado outbreak, to the 2001 OSU plane crash, and to the present time.

Managers and perceived organizational support (POS)

POS is rooted in the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960). When one individual gives something to another, including good treatment, the recipient feels obliged to give something in return. In the workplace when an employer provides support, the employee, for instance, provides more productivity, higher quality work, less absenteeism, and less turnover in return (Eisenberger, n.d.; Kurtessis et al., 2015). A component of POS is that the organization will make aid and support available to the employee during stressful circumstances.

A survey of the literature regarding POS and trauma found four specific responsibilities for organizations in their efforts to reduce traumatic response: providing and communicating the availability of emotional aid, such as counseling (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), executing an empathetic, supportive leadership style (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

These supportive gestures can reduce emotional reactions, including symptoms of PTSD (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). Most journalism-focused studies recommend that trauma can be alleviated with a number of organizational support mechanisms, including counseling, peer support initiatives, training, providing food, and time off (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Griffin, 2015; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003; Potter & Ricchiardi, 2009; Weidmann et al., 2007).

The journalists interviewed at the Oklahoma City National Memorial (data included in Data Set One) consistently spoke of two areas of POS which were meaningful to them during the traumatic work of covering the bombing: counseling opportunities and organizational support gestures. More than a third of journalists interviewed for Data Set One, 23 of 60, specifically noted counseling offered by their employers during the time of bombing. More than half of the journalists discussed supportive actions offered by the organizations and by others outside the organization, which aided in their coping and healing.

Counseling is a tangible supportive gesture organizations can offer during times of employee trauma. Data Set One revealed a mixed set of experiences among the

journalists interviewed. The majority of the comments regarding counseling recognized that the organization was trying to help employees deal with the trauma they had experienced (“They could see how we were suffering and what we were experiencing...” [Television producer 2].) A number of comments reflected a negative experience with counseling (“They brought in counselors and made us talk to somebody before we could get our paycheck...” [Television producer 1] and “Our company decided to have uh...counselors to come and talk to us and stuff, and we were so exhausted” [Television videographer 11]).

Some of the organizational leaders acknowledged they did whatever they could to get employees to go to counseling, including forcing them.

You could see people breaking down a little bit. We were watching for that. Anybody that did, we -- as I recall -- it’s a long time ago, I think we forced them to go over to the counseling and talk about it...who in here needs counseling raise your hand? NOBODY’s going to raise their hand. (Station manager 3)

Four news organizations are represented in this study. Their support responses varied on the day of the bombing and the days that followed. In 1995, none of the news organizations had an organized protocol for counseling in the event of a traumatizing event that would affect numbers of journalists. Two of the organizations had experienced tragic events within their own newsrooms in the years prior to the bombing, where support had been offered to staff. The first event occurred in 1990, when an employee at *The Daily Oklahoman* committed suicide by hanging himself from a large tree at a public park, “Six o’clock in the morning, he’s dangling from the tree so -- goddam -- we had counselors in to talk to the staff all week long” (Editor 3). “I think there was a group session that HR organized to talk about what occurred” (Editor 2).

Then, in the summer of 1994, Oklahoma City television reporter Kathy Jones was killed while working on a feature story about acrobatic airplanes. One of her colleagues who was also working on the story captured the crash on videotape (Sutter, 1994). In this case, the news managers recalled that a police or fire chaplain came to the station to support the employees. “The chaplains were so close to the news department. I don’t think we called him. He just showed up...I remember whoever this chaplain was, we had a moment where we held hands and said a prayer” (News director 2).

Jones was the mother of a small child and her husband also worked at the station as a reporter. The circumstances of her death created multiple traumatic ripple effects in the news department. One of the middle managers “was unbelievably affected because he assigned her to that story. For years he carried that with him. Like he was responsible...It devastated him” (News director 4).

So, by 1995, the various news organizations had experienced traumatic circumstance in different ways and supported staff either with counseling or with a visit from a chaplain after colleagues died in shocking, tragic ways. Two of the television stations had not experienced similar traumatic losses in comparison to their colleagues in other news organizations, and did not have any prior experience in calling upon counseling support. In addition, *The Daily Oklahoman* had organized a victims and trauma training workshop before the bombing, which included as a participant a former Oklahoma congressman who lost two children in a campaign-related plane crash (Hutchison, Johnson, & Aiken, 1990).

All four of the news organizations included in the study offered counseling post-bombing. At *The Daily Oklahoman*, the counselor, Charlotte Lankard, arrived the day of the bombing. She recalled that the newspaper's human resources department contacted her.

We received a call about 3:30 in the afternoon from *The Oklahoman* saying they needed some help for one of their reporters. The newspaper room was quite busy that day, as you can imagine, and late in the afternoon a reporter who'd been downtown that morning in the courthouse when the blast went off, was back and struggling with what she'd experienced and they needed someone to be there for her because they had deadlines to meet. (C. Lankard, personal communication, Nov. 20, 2017)

At the television stations, the counseling timing varied, and was either organized a few days or a few weeks after the event. All the organizations also had employee assistance programs (EAP), which included off-site mental health support. The organizations orchestrated the counseling in a variety of ways; in one case, the parent corporation organized the process.

Gannett, at the time, made available counselors. They didn't force on anyone but made available to the television station to talk to...and that may have come from experiences they'd had in different places. My recollection was that the parent company observing from 30,000 feet, if you will, said these are the things that are going to happen and started pushing down ideas to local management. (Station manager 2)

For others, news management and the human resources department (or a combination of the two entities) orchestrated the counseling. Some employees who would later become organizational leaders were among those who had a negative counseling experience.

We were forced to go, and that was not helpful at all because I don't think anybody was ready to. And you sat there with groups, broken out groups of coworkers, and we all have experienced it differently, because we were all in a different place in the event...It was too soon. We didn't know what we were processing. I know exactly who I was sitting next to -- a photographer -- and he

was mad 'cause he had -- I think -- full intentions of pushing this down deep inside himself and he was pissed and voiced that very -- he was very vocal. He didn't want to be in there talking about that... We're tired. We're still trying to cope with what is happening. And then being forced to talk. It was just a vulnerable place to be in. I just don't think anyone was mentally there. I get it. I mean, I get that when big events happen you're supposed to bring in counselors. But you don't know -- you don't know what to talk about, because you don't know what you're feeling. You don't know what's going on inside you. Everything's going on inside you, but you don't know how to express it. (News director 5)

Another journalist who became a top organizational leader after the bombing had an almost-identical experience, even though she worked at a different organization.

I remember that they did bring people in, and it was mandatory that we go talk to somebody, because I remember them saying that was when we got paychecks. You're going to get your paycheck after we go in one of these meetings, but it was a group meeting -- okay -- and the group I was in, probably 8 people -- no one wanted to talk. No one wanted to talk. This poor therapist. She was trying to get people to talk, and I remember one of the photographers -- he was always kind of grumpy, anyways -- and he said I'm just here to have them check my name off a list. (News director 4)

In the interviews, one manager didn't think the organization would have withheld paychecks for those who didn't attend counseling. But she did agree that it would be possible for employees to believe that was the case. She recalled one counseling event, although she could not remember if it was post-bombing or after the May 3 tornado event.

But I can still visualize the meeting and how uncomfortable... I just remember that it was mandatory, sitting around uncomfortable in chairs... I think that was a big learning experience, because it was awkward. It was uncomfortable. And I don't know that we got anywhere with it. (News director 2)

One manager didn't force journalists to get counseling, but in hindsight, wished he had made debriefing a requirement.

I would have made everybody that walked out of that newsroom go through a compulsory, mandatory debriefing with a counselor whether it was someone like

(our onsite counselor) or somebody else...the only thing I wish I'd done differently was the mandatory debrief with a counselor every night. (Editor 3)

The journalists needed to come to counseling at their own pace according to another editor.

You can't force somebody to participate in what you think is right or wrong. You can offer it to them. You can offer them mechanisms, which we did continuously, but you can't force them to participate. That instills anger, outrage, skepticism -- which they have naturally. (Editor 2)

The quality of counseling the staff received after the bombing was another concern a news director noted.

I don't particularly think we had the pick of the litter. I don't know what good grief counseling is, but I do remember feeling like this is someone who's just going through the motions. We were more supportive of ourselves than we were getting from the facilitators. We were propping ourselves up -- maybe that's the whole point of a counselor. Maybe that's what they do. But I remember getting as much or more benefit from the people who were in the room, than the counselor himself. (News director 3)

Another concern that emerged was the way group sessions were handled. One organization purposely made sure that managers were not present.

When we did group sessions we supervisors left so they could say anything they wanted about any supervisor or anything without any fear of retribution, but it was still debated, and I still question we probably shouldn't have done that, because what happens when people get in a group is they do group thinking. (Editor 2)

Training. A number of human resources practices are positively related to POS, and can specifically mitigate traumatic response (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). This includes training (Shore & Shore, 1995). Job training, both formal and informal, shows an investment in the employee, which can increase POS (Wayne et al., 1997). More narrowly, a small amount of research connects various educational opportunities to trauma and POS, including resilience training and "train the trainer" opportunities,

which can extend mental health expertise throughout the organization (Barnes et al., 2013). In the context of journalism work and traumatic experience, training is a recommended resource to help journalists cope with potentially harmful emotional experiences (Keats & Buchanan, 2012; Novak & Davidson, 2013). Training, which can help individuals “make sense of distressing events” (p. 320) can lessen symptoms of PTSD for journalists (Novak & Davidson, 2013).

Most of the Oklahoma City leaders admitted they had virtually no training in their careers that would have prepared them for the emotional fallout among staff after the bombing. One manager underscored that mental health training was an afterthought: “I mean when we first started in the business, we didn’t even have HR people” (News director 6). Another manager expressed the difficulty of planning for an unthinkable, unforeseen event, such as the bombing which would become the worst act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history (Pestano, 2015). “Nobody could have any training for what happened” (Editor 1). One news director admitted he lacked training in general.

I’m sorry I was still looking for the news director’s manual. I keep telling people -- you know, when they make you news director, they really need to leave you with a shop manual that’s about 600-700 pages that tells you: here’s what you need to do when a staff member dies. Here’s what you do when a major big calamity happens. There’s no book for that, unfortunately, and a lot of what you have to figure out, you have to figure out for yourself. (News director 3)

Two of the three managers from *The Daily Oklahoman* received a small amount of training in the victims and trauma training workshop they had scheduled in the years before the bombing, but that workshop primarily focused on victims. “We had done a

series of trainings on victims and stuff like that so there was some understanding on how to deal with those situations at the time” (Editor 2).

One manager recalls that the bombing prompted an effort to prepare (from a news coverage standpoint) for other potential disasters.

We came up with notebooks of disaster plans. We spent months after all that settled of putting together if we had a plane crash at Will Rogers: here’s all of the contact info. It was still fresh enough, but we had breathing room to think. We thought of every disaster we could have in our viewing area, and they were in three-ring binders, and there were a couple of times that we had to pull it out later. But we sat down because of the bombing and wanted to have a plan at least a baseline, because if you’re freaking out you wanted to know. (News director 5)

In the past two decades one of the station managers recalls that his corporation has incorporated planning and training together during regular meetings.

We’ll have a section of our agenda that is associated with disaster planning -- to use that term -- disaster planning or best practices in coverage, so I’ve presented on weather coverage before. Not only the coverage of how you do weather, but what happens on the back side of it...we’ve become pretty adept at pre-planning. So, for example, our company has a station in New Orleans, so nobody’s prepared for a hurricane that floods a city, so after that we had just conference calls and meetings with engineering and news and general management for “here are the things that we learned.” (Station manager 2)

One former editor lamented that, “Budgets have been cut so much there’s no training to teach them how to handle it” (Editor 2). However, the station managers, one news director, and one editor provide a different perspective on the possibility of funding mental health training that would focus specifically on traumatic events.

I would say absolutely...That’s an employee. If it helps the betterment of the employee, we’re going to do it...There’s no question. If (the news director) says we need \$5,000 for the year for training, and this is the subject we’re going to train on -- you got it. (Station manager 4)

I was just sitting here thinking that would probably be a good thing to do. You do sexual harassment training, you do this training. This is probably important.

I don't think our managers probably teach any of this either to be honest. I would definitely consider it. (Station manager 3)

I could see it happening...what we're finding now at least in my conversations is it's much more important for general wellness in the organization...Recognizing that all the benefits, whether it's vacation or sick or whatever the situation. Employees want to FEEL like they're supported or have the opportunity for support. (Station manager 2)

We offer a lot of training here. It's always voluntary. I wouldn't mandate it, but I think it's worthwhile...I think if I asked for something like that I could get it. (Editor 1)

I think that's a great idea. I didn't even think of it. (News director 1)

For one station manager, supporting funding for mental health focused trauma training would depend on timing.

The further you get away from it, the less important it is. The closer you are to it, meaning if it was right after (a traumatic event) it might be an easy yes. Today it might be -- I don't know, you know, maybe we don't. We've got counselors available if they want to talk. That's probably the honest answer -- timing is everything in this case. (Station manager 1)

Two station managers acknowledged they would be more likely to support such training if they believed they were having a healthy fiscal year.

Summary: Managers and POS

Counseling is an example of aid and support that can feed employee POS. None of the Oklahoma City news organizations had a routine protocol in place for employee counseling in the event of a major traumatic circumstance by the year 1995, although two organizations had some experience with providing counseling or faith-based support after two instances in which employees died in shocking ways. In the wake of the bombing, the organizations varied in their counseling response. The newspaper had a counselor on site the day of the bombing, while the three television stations made counseling available within days or the first weeks following the disaster.

The managers echo the results of Data Set One regarding counseling, only more intensely. The organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two were asked directly about counseling, and therefore some may have felt more open about sharing their memories in more detail than those in Data Set One. Overall, findings in Data Set Two acknowledge in a parallel way the findings of Data Set One: some journalists felt, and were, forced to go (“I think we forced them to go over to the counseling” [Station manager 3]); for some it was too early (“You don’t know what to talk about, because you don’t know what you’re feeling” [News director 5]); some felt resentful (“I was sitting next to -- a photographer...and he was pissed” [News director 5]); some were too exhausted to participate; for others, it was awkward (“It was uncomfortable” [News Director 2]); and some questioned the quality (“I do remember feeling like this is someone who’s just going through the motions” [News director 3]). One manager in hindsight would have required counseling (“I would have made everybody that walked out of that newsroom go through a compulsory mandatory debriefing with a counselor” [Editor 3]). For some leaders, the counseling experience became a negative one. Others acknowledged the difficulty of getting journalists to take part.

Planning and training is another way that employers can feed POS. Interviews revealed that most managers had no previous training on how a major traumatic event could affect journalists’ mental health. However, the top organizational leaders from three local television stations, one news director, and one editor from the local newspaper believed that funding for mental health related trauma training would be approved today, if requested.

Social support

Social support encompasses helping, caring gestures which occur both inside and outside the workplace (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). Social support is an extension of POS, and two areas of POS in particular demonstrate support which can mitigate employees' traumatic response. One area is leadership consideration, whereby employees see managers as extending comforting, empathetic gestures (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009). The other is the facilitation of a supportive workplace, which encompasses the organization's encouragement of care and comfort among colleagues (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). Research is limited in this area, but studies with military service members found social support protects individuals from PTSD (Dickstein, Suvak, Litz, & Adler, 2010; Polusny et al., 2011). A number of studies relating to journalism and social support have recommended peer support to mitigate trauma response, including PTSD and burnout (McDonald et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2007). Several studies advocate that newsroom managers should facilitate peer support to maximize its benefits (Keats & Buchanan, 2013; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Simpson & Coté, 2006; Smith et al., 2016).

Peer and interdepartmental support gestures also contribute to POS (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Levinson, 1965). Some social support gestures noted by the journalists interviewed for Data Set One occurred outside the organization, including community and peer/professional support.

Leadership consideration. Employees who work for a leader whom they believe to be more considerate perceive the organization to be more supportive (Hutchison, Valentino, & Kirkner, 1998). Thus, a caring, supportive leader contributes

to workplace POS. The Oklahoma City newsroom managers expressed their care in three specific ways: engaging with journalists in empathetic spaces, accepting individual differences among staff, and making an effort to know each journalist on an individualized level. Despite having no formal trauma training, many leaders understood that there would be no single or perfect way to approach journalists. Some recalled their own traumatic experience as journalists in the field and used those insights to empathize with staff. “I think having gone through it and knowing a) how it affects you, and also knowing how you try to turn it off. You know, because you try to” (News director 6).

News managers were conscious of where and how they reached out to journalists post-trauma. A quiet office could become a haven.

I know that after the bombing people would come and sit in the office and talk. They didn't talk to me as much as they did to one another. I could see they're helping one another. They are getting some of this out, but they are doing it in a safe place with people they want to do it with. (News director 6)

Managers also recognized that at certain times they needed to be pro-active in engaging with staff.

I felt in hindsight it was better to go and just talk to people. If you saw a reporter, just grab a chair, and you might even start off by saying, you know, “How's it going today? Did you talk to so and so?” -- not just “How are you doing?” I don't think that works. Kind of ease into it. See which way they perhaps take you, but get to the bottom line of, you know, how are they feeling - - even if you never come out and say, “How are you feeling?” Because, you can tell a million different ways, whether it's the body language, or what they're telling you, or if they just burst out into tears... I tried to make it a regular routine that, okay, I'm going to check in on these people, but on a one-on-one basis. (News director 2)

A lot of checking in with people. It's such a different time. You're on the floor more. You're walking up to people. “How are you doing?” A lot of checking in goes on. Afterward, I think you just watch for ones that stand out as still

struggling because they obviously aren't to that place where they can move on. You tell them about EAP. You remind them of all the services. (Editor 1)

I think I learned that there's not a finite time. I think some people will bounce back in a week, and bounce back is not the right word...Some people will appear to bounce back in a week and there are some people and you have to be supportive for the long haul. It's not something that you can say "I'm going to give this newsroom a month and everything's going to be fine and dandy, and we'll be back to our usual crazy selves. (News director 2)

The news managers emphasized that along with accepting journalists' individual differences as they went through their own coping cycles, it was important to spend time getting to know the journalists better.

I think it's about the individual. I think it's trying to decide individual needs for individual people, because no two are alike...it's accepting the fact that you can't just do a mass Band-Aid. You have to know your people. You have to be keenly aware of who might be in trouble and how you can help them. It might be pairing them with somebody else in the newsroom who's doing better. It might be saying, "Could you check in on so and so?" "Maybe you can take so and so to lunch?" It's creating that individualized attention, because I think trauma and grief -- everything is so individualized. There's never a one-size-fits-all. It's going deep enough with your people to realize they need individualized attention, and then it's finding them those resources. Someone may not be comfortable talking to a woman about it. Someone may not be comfortable talking to a man about it...I think it's being insightful enough to respect the individual (Editor 1).

In '95 -- that being our big one -- you thought after a month, things will be okay. Well, things aren't okay, and whatever the reason -- whether it's the 19th of the month or they have to go attend a hearing -- you have to be prepared that you may need to offer that person -- just cut them some slack on a day where you're thinking "I'm okay with this situation and...I'm able to cope," but this person isn't able to cope, and that's fine and you have to address it. (News director 2)

Time has shown some leaders another way of looking at what they experienced in 1995. "I'm older now and maybe more patient, but now I see that was their way of coping and there's no right or wrong way to cope (Editor 1). "I think we eventually came to the mindset that everybody had their own feelings to deal with. That some did

immediately. Some took years to deal with, and some are still dealing with it” (Editor 2).

The leaders also worked to improve the way food was provided to journalists during the bombing. Food is a universal form of support during traumatic circumstance, but in the interviews with journalism managers, the gesture of providing food went beyond nourishment. One news director remembered that it was important to her to deliver food to the crews in the field. Another believed it was important for crews in the field to have food, so those journalists didn’t think “the people in the newsroom are eating pizza right now, and we’re standing out here and haven’t had a bathroom break” (News director 2). For another manager, the food table became a gathering place for staff.

We did that during the bombing in a big way, and that set a precedent that people need support. They’re hungry. They don’t have time, and you don’t just want junk food around. It can’t just be pizza. They need meals. That’s one thing you can do. You can FEED people. One thing, it keeps them going, but around those food tables they connect with their peers, and where they share their feelings, and they talk more, so it’s really, really important. (Editor 1)

One thing too that we saw early on...if you’re going to work people like this and try to keep the fatigue and trauma to a minimum, you got to feed ’em something other than pizza and sandwiches. So, we spent a ton of money on bringing in real food. Cooked by real people. I don’t know how much money we spent -- tens of thousands of dollars -- but we did two meals a day, lunch and dinner forever. Again, the old saw: “An army marches on its stomach” and this was an army of people. (Editor 3)

Peer support. Employees connect the organization to measures that aid or hinder supportive relationships among co-workers; therefore, social support among co-workers is another factor that may be attributed to POS (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Levinson, 1965). A number of journalists interviewed for Data Set One noted the healing power of peer communication post-bombing. While peer support can occur

informally in organizations, such support can benefit from leadership facilitation.

“Managers need to encourage them to talk, to trust. Individual encouragement is different than pushing it onto them” (Editor 2). He described how the *The Daily Oklahoman* worked to facilitate peer support.

I think peer support is one of the most important things that happened -- people who won't pass judgment on you. I think we started talking about: start talking to a trusted individual. Who could you trust that you could talk about your feelings without it being relayed to anybody else? How can you relay those feelings? What are outlets that are good for you? Things like that. (Editor 2)

An empathetic leader can facilitate peer support, such as News director 6 who saw that her office became a haven for healing conversation. “They are getting some of this out, but they are doing it in a safe place with people they want to do it with” (News director 6). She observed that the traumatic experience bound the journalists together in ways that may have been difficult for a counselor to understand.

It seemed the staff really rallied around one another, when we would offer counseling hardly anyone would go, and they seemed to help one another through the emotional turmoil...The staff kind of grew together. They had a common experience, and they helped one another through it more than a professional could. (News director 6).

When you go through something horrific, you cling to those people that have gone through it with you, because you have that shared experience, and you don't necessarily have to verbalize what it is because the other person just gets it. (News director 5)

Some of the top organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two were mid-level managers or general staff members during the bombing. For them, peer support created deep bonds.

There were a handful of people who were close to me at that time -- are still, I think, are close to me now, and I have to believe it's not because I'm a super sensitive person, or a great listener, or all-around good guy. Those times they really welded us all together spiritually, mentally, emotionally, whatever you want to call it. (News director 3)

Interdepartmental support. The various departments in an organization are representative of that specific organization; therefore, interdepartmental support can affect POS (Eisenberger et al., 1986). In the moments after the Oklahoma City bombing, multiple departments at all the news organizations began to help their news colleagues. Data collected from the Data Set One interviews demonstrated the value of the interdepartmental support (“That whole entire staff at channel four was one big news department” [Television photographer 8]). Three of the station managers interviewed for Data Set Two were sales managers in 1995. They recall the day in vivid detail.

I recognized that the news department needed help so -- some of this is still emotional -- so like a duck and ducklings, I said to the sales staff -- because I have 12 or 15 people immediately available -- I said, “I need you to follow me to the news department, because right now you’re becoming news people. You’re no longer sales people, and you’re going to work for the television station.” We have cell phones. We have pagers. We have the tools to get on the street right now in this event once we understood the magnitude of it. So, like a duck and ducklings, they followed me down. I stood in one spot, and said, “What do you need done?” and (the news department) would tell me what they needed done and I would dispatch. (Station manager 4)

The social support from inside is that everybody ran to the newsroom. Sales people became assignment desk operators. Sales became delivery service. Sales people became drivers and that sort of thing. Engineering, G & A -- everybody went back to support the news department. (Station manager 2)

(Our news director) was brand new and I thought how can we help her? And I think all of us knew down in sales we were going to shut everything down, so we immediately -- I sent everyone down to the news department. “Just go see what you can do.” So, I think the one thing it did was, it united the station...I can’t go out and do things, but I can answer a phone. I can man the desk. I can do things that help and show I’m involved and right there with ’em. These people are working 24 straight. I don’t think they want to feel like they’re alone. I think it’s important to get the sales staff down answering phones, plus it gave the sales staff an outlet to think, “I’m helping,” because everyone wants to help. (Station manager 3)

Community support functions as a form of social acknowledgement, which occurs when those outside an individual's network recognize the traumatic experience (Maercker & Muller, 2004). This support is important, because those who have been recently traumatized are more sensitive about social feedback through community channels (Herbert & Dunkel-Schetter, 1992). The journalists interviewed for Data Set One noted how individuals they had never met provided support. "Some lady came by and asked if any of the reporters needed their laundry done" (Newspaper reporter 4). "I still get emails, letters and cards from people..." (Television anchor 9). "Someone came in from outside and delivered a pot of ivy..." (Television anchor 3). The organizational leaders also observed this phenomenon.

I've never seen that much food...I remember one lady showed up with four apple pies and she just pulled them out of the oven. She said "I just felt I had to do something for your people." (Station manager 3)

The other social support that always happens during these events is the community recognizes that you've been on the air for 5 straight days, and it's amazing that how maybe its unique to Oklahoma City that you'll have viewers show up with piles of hand-baked cookies, or the Pizza Hut down the street will drop off 20 pizzas, random acts of kindness...There were times when in the bombing, the tornado stuff, any of these big events you'd see the toughest photog get tears in his eyes when someone brought him some fresh-baked cookies. (Station manager 4)

Industry support. Support poured in across multiple industry tiers, including corporate owners, broadcast networks, and colleagues from other news organizations. Some of the gestures had a profound impact on staff and organizational leaders that continue more than two decades after the bombing.

About a week or so after the bombing, we got a big box from a newspaper in Rockford, Illinois, The *Rockford Register Star*. And it was sent by their staff that said, "We've been reading what's going on there. We can only imagine what you all are going through." So, they sent a big box of mostly junk food, candy, things like that...Now, we had plenty of food in the newsroom, and we

didn't need any more candy, but we were so touched by that, that for several years, no matter where it was in the world if there was a huge tragedy of some sort with lots of victims...we found out what the local media outlet was there, and we sent these care packages that we paid for, with a note, "We know what you're going through." (Editor 3)

Editor 3 is no longer at the news organization he was referencing, but the box tradition lives on. In a recent example, *The Oklahoman* sent a box to journalists affected by Hurricane Harvey. "We just sent a box to the *Houston Chronicle* of treats and snacks and stuff like that. We still do that because somebody did that for us during the bombing, and we pay it forward like that" (Editor 1).

Other newsrooms received support from their broadcast network and corporate sister stations. One station manager recalls that his parent company sent reporters, photographers, and other staff members to help. "Crews from virtually every television station we had came in to support our station as well as support their stations in other markets" (Station manager 2). One manager revealed that some networks were helpful. But others were not.

CNN was kicked out because they were not helpful. All they want is your content. But CBS was helpful. It was food. Conversation. Not disruption...They were never asking me for anything. Can I get this or get that? They didn't bug us. They didn't get in the way of our work. They were supportive. (News director 1)

News director 2 described food arriving from sister stations and the network, recognizing the "miserable situation that we're in, but we were being so loved and so supported and there's something comforting in that, that you're better able to do your job" (News director 2).

One leader wrote a motivational memo to staff that was circulated among journalists outside the news organization.

I got a really nice note from (David) Broder 'cause he had read it, and the (*Washington Post*) had a ton of people here at the time, and I thought well, if I get validated from Broder, that's pretty damn good. (Editor 3)

Summary: Social support

Gestures such as caring, comforting actions, listening, and acceptance demonstrate social support (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005; George et al., 1993). Social support encompasses both formal and informal networks, and is an umbrella concept that represents many of the supportive gestures reflected in the results of Data Set Two, including those from leadership, peers, other departments, the community, and the wider industry (Mealer et al., 2012). Some overlap exists between POS and social support, because organizations and supervisors can also be sources of social support (Kossek et al., 2011).

The results from Data Set Two both echo and expand those of Data Set One. The organizational leaders were experiencing community and industry support alongside the journalists represented in Data Set One (“One lady showed up with four apple pies...” [Station manager 3]).

The organizational leaders were also tasked with executing gestures that journalists could recognize as POS. The newsroom managers facilitated peer support by opening up office space where staff could gather. The leaders demonstrated empathetic leadership through active engagement (“You’re on the floor more. You’re walking up to people. “How are you doing?” A lot of checking in goes on” [Editor 1]). Departmental leaders jumped in to help in the early moments after the bomb blast. (“I need you to follow me to the news department, because right now you’re becoming

news people. You're no longer sales people" [Station manager 4]). All three television organizations followed this model.

Industry support made a difference to both staff and managers ("We were being so loved and so supported and there's something comforting in that" [News director 2]). The comments from the organizational leaders are a reminder that managers are not only engineers of support; they are also recipients.

Future traumatic events

The overarching question of this study focuses on how the experience of a shocking traumatic event affects news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events. Chapter 6 and the previous sections of Chapter 7 have laid the groundwork for interpreting journalists' and organizational leaders' experience of the shocking Oklahoma City bombing.

Four areas of POS are connected to mitigation of trauma response among employees: providing and communicating the availability of emotional help, such as counseling (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999), planning and training for unforeseen disturbing events (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leader support (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

Organizational responses to the next major traumatic events that affected the Oklahoma City area provide the next steps in understanding how the media organizations executed supportive gestures after having worked through the experience of the bombing.

May 3, 1999 tornadoes. Journalists who stayed in Oklahoma City after the bombing covered another difficult local event, the May 3, 1999 tornadoes, which killed 40 people in Oklahoma and injured 800 (May 3, 1999 Oklahoma/Kansas Tornado Outbreak, n.d.). It was the largest tornado outbreak ever recorded in Oklahoma (The Great Plains Tornado Outbreak of May 3-4, 1999, n.d.). Journalists interviewed for Data Set One noted how tornado coverage during the 1999 event brought back memories of the bombing (“When tornadoes hit Moore back then there were all these cars stacked up like dominoes at <inaudible> high school in the parking lot, and it looked just like the parking lot that was around the Survivor Tree. Bam. It starts hitting again [Newspaper reporter 6]).

Some of the managers recalled the emotionally trying moments for journalists as they covered the tornado. News director 1 recalled that a storm chaser came upon the scene of a woman who had died a gruesome death and another crew came upon a family who’d found their mother dead in a bathtub.

We saw those dramatic pictures of the woman with the two-by-four in her head....I remember her being in the back of a pickup truck. They were doing anything to get people to the hospital. It was shocking. (News director 1)

The organizational leaders described that the tornado, while tragic, was qualitatively different from the bombing. “I do think there is somewhat of a difference between a deliberate act of violence and mother nature” (News director 6). “I think that manmade disasters, natural disasters are still a different mindset” (Editor 2). Journalists in Oklahoma expect to cover tornadoes. “If you work for a news organization in Oklahoma City or Tulsa, one of the things you are going to cover either as a reporter,

photographer, videographer, or as an assigning editor or news director whatever behind the scenes is tornadoes” (Editor 3).

By the time of the 1999 event, counseling opportunities have become more refined for *The Daily Oklahoman*. Charlotte Lankard, the counselor who showed up on April 19, 1995, had continued working with staff post-bombing. Some of the staff resisted counseling. “We came to the realization that men weren’t participating and needed it just as much” (Editor 2). By the time the tornado struck, the organization had taken several steps to get more journalists to take part. Editor 2 described the process as “building champions,” where one high-profile male journalist on staff “became an example of someone who admitted going to Charlotte and he benefited from going to Charlotte” (Editor 2). This helped normalize the counseling relationship, and more male journalists took part, but “others did not and I had to create channels for them which basically means emails, phone calls” (Editor 2). In addition,

We started developing handouts... We did these newsletters on what people were doing right... We would send it out and try to be supportive, but we would also put in tips to take care of yourself, and we posted them on the bulletin board with the understanding that some people will be unapproachable. (Editor 2)

Therefore, by 1999, *The Daily Oklahoman* made several counseling opportunities available to employees. Journalists could choose from one-on-one or group sessions, or a combination of the two, or they could email with the counselor or have a phone conversation. While all these conversations were confidential, the counselor would share the general idea of some of the content covered.

You know the questions they would ask would be “Am I okay to think this?” “Is it okay for me to have these feelings?” “Is it okay for me to have nightmares?... She did tell me if someone asked questions and what those questions might be and if we should be addressing them, but never who the individual was.” (Editor 2).

Two of the three television stations also offered counseling after the May 3 tornadoes. In the 18 years since the May 3 event, some managers had trouble remembering specifics, and admitted that many of the tornado events run together in their memories.

As was the case during the Oklahoma City bombing, the news organizations provided food during the time of the tornado coverage, and the sales departments again provided support to the newsrooms.

I communicated with my staff that night to come prepared the next day to be news people, to wear jeans, to wear boots, be prepared to go out in the field...The culture played out again to helping out the news department.”
(Station manager 4)

Another manager believed the managers did a better job of taking care of people in the 1999 event than they did in the 1995 event, but she questioned whether it was because the management team was more seasoned or because the 1995 event had prepared them.

I feel like we took good care of our people in 1995 -- but in 1999 I felt like we took even better care. It's hard to define as you get older. Is it because you were a better manager and you have that seasoned experienced? So, I don't know if 1995 had ever happened would we have treated people the same way, but I felt like we wanted to take even more care of our people. (News director 2)

News director 2 acknowledged that while leaders could not control the traumatic impact to journalists, they could provide care in other ways.

We did it how we know how to take care of people...Anything people needed. If they needed raincoats someone -- our g-m -- went out and bought 50 rain slickers...They're miserable cause they're soaking wet...We tried to make sure they had all the creature comforts so at least they would not be further impacted.
(News director 2)

One station leader detailed how his leadership had evolved by the time of the 1999 tornado event. He also explained how the tornado event is especially traumatic for the weather staff, and why.

You know you call in the counselors. You know you have a staff meeting. You know you walk around. You know you go talk to people. You've got to be sensitive to what they're going through. The weather people are really, really tense... They know people are dying, and they're on air, and they're having to cover these things. (G.) knew people were dying. He did on May 3. He knew that, by God, this is a killer tornado, but he knew, "I've got to stay as calm as I can and communicate exactly what to do." Ultimately you feel pretty good that you save lives, but people are dying. (Station manager 1)

By 1999, some managers had been promoted to higher level positions, which brought with it the weight of more responsibility.

When the tornado came through in 1999 I had a heightened sensitivity to notice are people upset? We had producers and news people in our department that were in tears as they watched it. You were looking to see how anchors were working with it and how they were reacting on air as they were trying to tell these stories. So, a producer has been in the booth for hours. They're tired physically, but they may be emotionally tired... There were times we had people step away to grab something to eat so that you're trying to work with that in advance of it... There is a certain amount of anxiety that you are reporting something live and you may be reporting walking on to the scene of someone's death. And there's really this anxiety that is on everybody's mind. (Station manager 2)

OSU plane crash. The Oklahoma City bombing was a shocking, unimaginable occurrence, and the May 3 tornado event was devastating in terms of the death toll and number of injuries. However, a news event that occurred almost two years later was more personally tragic than the others, especially for one news organization. On January 27, 2001, two planes carrying Oklahoma State University basketball players, coaches, staff, and broadcasters took off from a small airport outside Denver following the Colorado game (Hutchison, Johnson, & Aiken, 2001). Only one plane would make it home. While the deaths of 10 OSU team and staff members were a statewide tragedy,

it was also a grievous loss for the CBS affiliate in Oklahoma City. On board was the station's sports director, Bill Teegins.

The crash occurred on a Saturday night. One manager recalled that "I don't remember calling one single person in. Everybody just came in" (New director 5). For another leader "It was like a family member had died. Everybody was here" (Station manager 3). In the wake of the tragedy, as the organizational leaders grieved with the staff "It was pretty much an unwritten rule that we wouldn't go to pieces. You wouldn't fall apart for fear of taking everyone down with you" (News director 3).

For the owner of the television station, "It was the worst day of my career, no question about it. It's like losing a family member. When Bill died it was like losing a family member." As the top organizational leader of the television station, he faced what he described as one of the more difficult tasks of his career.

The thing I remember the most is I had to call Bill Teegins' dad...I said, "Mr. Teegins, the plane has not arrived in Stillwater. We don't know where it is..." He said, "You know what's going on." And the truth of the matter is we did, and so I felt I owed him the answer. I said none of this has been confirmed, but we know the plane went down.

The community support was almost immediate.

Flowers started arriving. That night. Flowers just started coming in. 'Cause we were here till like 3 in the morning. Someone said you've got to open up the switchboard, because people are calling, so we opened the switchboard up. And all of a sudden people just started arriving with flowers it made people feel like people do care. (Station manager 1)

Within the next couple of days, "You could not physically walk through the entrance of the television station because of the amount of plants that had come in Monday morning. We physically could not." (News director 5)

Internally, managers disagreed about coverage, which compounded the grief and trauma.

We had already gotten official word from Oklahoma state basketball. You know we had already done all of that, and our main anchors are on the set and they are crashing. They are doing everything they can to hold it together. At the time, we had a newsroom and studio with the glass wall, and they would turn around and just gesture. Every time they would pitch to a live shot or something they'd turn around and they would be like "Just get us off the air." Begging. Begging. I would go out in the studio, and they would say, "We can't do this." And our station manager at the time said at the time, "This is our event," and I remember there were a couple of us that were begging station management to let us off the air. We can't do this. We're done and they wouldn't let us. Till 3 o'clock in the morning. (News director 5)

The manager recalled that the station had a "first-on, last-off" strategy, which meant for breaking news, the station should be the first on the air, and the last off the air. In order to be last off, "One of our other managers called the other stations and asked them to get off the air, so we could get off the air, and they did (News director 5).

Afterward,

I specifically remember one of our main anchors telling me she was done. This was it. Just pure raw "I just can't sit on this desk for another one of these." Those were her words. It was: we'd gone through the bombing; we'd gone through tornadoes. I can't sit on this desk and do this again. (News director 5)

Every other news manager in the city was watching the coverage that night, or handling the breaking news inside their own organizations. Many were watching the CBS affiliate, Bill Teegins' station.

They were such professionals, but their heart was breaking right in front of you and you just -- I remember tearing up because I've known (one of the anchors) a long time. I just thought, "Hang in there." I was trying to send strength to both of them, because this is beyond hard. This is too much. It's almost too much to ask them to still sit there but they were such professionals. (Editor 1)

The station offered counseling to staff, and they took advantage. "I remember that one the most...People used (counseling) a lot. That one was so big that I think

people felt comfortable saying ‘I need help’” (Station manager 1). The station organized group sessions, as well and a faith-based gathering on-site. “Later on in the week we had a ceremony out front where we planted a big tree in Bill’s honor” (Station manager 3).

Data Set Two also revealed that Teegins’ death reverberated through the other news organizations in Oklahoma City, and had a particular impact on sports journalists.

Even people who were the most grizzled reporters -- you know they’re the first ones to question you on any decision you make or anything like that. They loved Bill Teegins, and that’s where I got the question, “Why would God do something like this?” And so, I mean in a management sense, it’s about being out there and listening to them and making sure they have resources in order to talk to people. I think it’s more effective with emails and all that (referring to emails with counselor), but one sports reporter told me that’s what he did, and that’s when he asked the question, “Am I okay thinking like this?” (Editor 2)

I remember (our sportscaster) in the days following -- him being -- I won’t say traumatized, but he was always a bundle of energy. I remember him being exhausted. That’s how it showed itself. Beyond tired. Just like a walking zombie. (News director 4)

Another organizational leader echoed that getting help for employees affected by Teegins’ death would have been a priority. “Management would roll out the red carpet. Let’s get you in right now. We will get somebody in. We’ll set up an appointment right now. We’ll pay for the whole thing -- whatever it takes (Editor 3). Station manager 2 (from another television station) recalled a heightened level of sensitivity in his organization. He remembered “going back and having conversations with the guys in sports -- people that interacted with Bill” (Station manager 2).

At Teegins’ station, a new form of support emerged in the context of this study. The owner of the station, who had experienced the worst day of his career, decided to host a gathering for the news managers at his home. One of the leaders described that

he “had the news managers to his house for dinner in the weeks after that, just so he could thank us for the way things were handled and be supportive” (News director 5). The station owner said he wanted to do something for some of the leaders who had suffered through the course of the story. “Those are the people -- the middle managers- - the ones on the front lines who always fill in for the operational people. The expectation is you just work through it.”

Journalists interviewed for Data Set One revealed a category of support, which, to them, was a healing gesture -- support from competitors. The death of Bill Teegins brought that kind of support out again. “We had staff members from other newsrooms that came and produced shows for us and were photographers for us -- shared everything” (News director 5). Managers from a competitor station recalled,

What I remember for our newsroom is we would do anything that they needed... We put ourselves in those people’s shoes, and we said here’s how we would want to be treated. We will go cover news for them... We’ll staff their phones... I feel like there was this huge sense of community of how do we help them? How do we make their lives better? How do we make it a little bit easier for them? (News director 2)

(We) supplied staff so staff could attend funerals, pick up where the loose ends needed to be. We’d man the assignment desk. We certainly wouldn’t go on the air, but we’d supply the work force behind the scenes, so their workforce could go to the funeral.” (Station manager 4)

The local competitors specifically offered news content and personnel support so Bill Teegins’ co-workers could attend his funeral. This allowed the station to continue with its regularly scheduled news broadcasts, while, at the same time, giving staff members time to remember their colleague.

Present time. The grounded theory method allows the content of the interviews to breathe. In other words, the semi-structured nature of the interviews allows for other

data to be generated, because the respondents have some control over the direction of the conversation with the researcher. In this vein, it was difficult for the organizational leaders in Data Set Two to avoid discussing memorable news stories which occurred before and after the 2001 timeline. One notable example that some of the top organizational leaders experienced was the 1986 postal shooting in Edmond, Oklahoma. The gunman killed fourteen of his colleagues in one of the worst mass shootings in the U.S. up to that time (Applebome, 1986). Three other events which occurred after 2001 generated additional data: Hurricane Katrina, covered by Oklahoma City journalists in 2005, the May 2013 Moore tornado, and the 2015 death of sportscaster Bob Barry, Jr., known throughout the community by his initials, BBJ.

Hurricane Katrina. One organizational leader was still a middle manager when she was dispatched to cover Katrina alongside other station employees. She described a hellish scene.

Bodies floating. Standing in hip-deep water and there are bodies floating next to you. We had somebody trying to carjack our vehicle with me sitting in the back seat <Laugh>. Stealing our gas...As a producer I felt like I was standing on top of the news vehicle more than getting stories. And there was no power, so we had no concept of the massiveness of it...We had nowhere to sleep. All you were doing was sleeping in the floor of the journalism building at LSU... Having a woman in a shelter with a newborn baby and asking us to take it home with us freaked me out. (News director 5)

Despite all of the horrific experiences witnessed by News director 5 and the crew she travelled with, her organization offered an important healing gesture when they returned.

When we got back, they had an entire station meeting and they let us debrief the entire station on what we saw and what we learned. Everybody. Marketing. Sales. The whole shebang. Everybody. I remember that. That was very therapeutic for us. Cause there were two sets of crews. We were the first crew, then once we got back we swapped out with the second crew. (News director 5)

May, 2013 tornadoes. In 2013, another devastating tornado hit Moore, Oklahoma, one of the sites of the May 3 outbreak. The story was particularly difficult for journalists to cover, because a number of children died in their school as they took their tornado safety precautions. One local reporter broke down and cried as he delivered the information on television. One of his managers cried private tears as well when she learned a school had been hit.

I said I need three minutes and I got up and I walked to...(an) office and I closed the door and I just took three minutes. I just cried and I prayed and I literally said, "God, please give me the strength to get through this and to have everybody help everybody else," and then I went back out and I was back on but I needed that three minutes of just alone time. I bawled alone in there for three minutes -- hard. (News director 4)

The news manager acknowledged that the representation of trauma takes many forms, some of them physical.

I see those huge tornadoes and what we still carry from them, I still see it in the people who are still here. People, who during severe weather season, their nails are chewed down to the quick to the point where they are bloody because of the stress of severe weather season. They're okay outside of severe weather season to a point where to that particular person I have said, "You should go see somebody." (News director 4)

Further, the manager explained how managers work together to recognize traumatic responses among staff.

After the Moore and El Reno tornadoes of 2013, I can remember having a conversation with my managers. About we're going to have to -- you know how you say -- we're going to love them through this. You talk about loving your staff through it in that in the coming weeks people are going to be snipping and sniping and complaining about every single thing, because we've seen it before, so if we see it lets recognize it. (News director 4)

One of the organizational leaders in the study returned to manage one of the Oklahoma City television station newsrooms post-tornado.³ What greeted her was bittersweet and painful.

Guess what I saw when I walked into that newsroom? I saw sales people answering the phones and packing up lunches that people could pick up and take out in the field. They participated, they supported and they knew what to do, because they've done it so often. They knew what calls were important and how to get people information. They had that experience, and what better way to see a station come together as one. (News director 1)

The experience was painful, because at her own station in another large market, the sales department did not participate during big breaking news events.

I even talked to my boss about it. Or even tried to suggest, "Could the sales department come down and answer phones during breaking news?" We're one big force who can do this well and execute it. But there wasn't the understanding which was hugely disappointing in your building that to me should be the most meaningful, that's peer support. Very upsetting. Really upsetting. To not get people to understand that. The response I got to that is they do have work to do. (News director 1)

Death of Bob Barry, Jr. In 2015, another tragedy struck with the death of a well-known sportscaster. Bob Barry, Jr., who worked at the NBC affiliate, died in an accident while riding his motor scooter. In many ways, the situation was parallel to Bill Teegins' death. Barry was the station's sports director. His death was unexpected, the result of an accident in which the motorist faced immigration and drug charges after the crash (KFOR-TV, Querry & Shanahan, 2015).

In talking about these events, the organizational leaders provide an opportunity in the context of this study to understand where the organizations are today in

³ The television station was without a top department leader during the May, 2013 tornado, and the manager worked as the news director of a corporate sister station at the time.

understanding and executing emotionally focused leadership during traumatic events.

All the organizations recognized the trauma of the sudden loss for Barry's colleagues. A few examples are noteworthy. Counseling support was immediate: "In fact, that night counselors were already at the station" (Station manager 4).

When I say counseling for BBJ, they were in the building. But by then there's a counselor in the conference room, and she'll be here from this time to this time, and you can go up to see her if you'd like. But then also during the BBJ thing we had these group meetings where just somebody came in to our morning meeting and everybody would be here and they would say, "We're here."
(News director 4)

In one group meeting after Barry's death, a top organizational leader showed his emotion when he spoke

(He) was crying in front of people and it's okay to cry. We've lost a member of the family you know. I thought that was really good I really did... He started crying. Everybody started crying, you know. It was a release then. (News director 4)

The station manager at Barry's station "called Channel 5 and Channel 9 to hold off on any announcement, until we had a chance to let our staff know, and until we had the honor and privilege to announce it first, and they did" (Station manager 4). Then, echoing the Teegins tragedy, the competitor stations offered to help.

When tragedies happen, those silos come down, and you offer to help as much as you can. We were there for them. BBJ, they were here for us... In both cases, (the Teegins and Barry deaths) we offered and supplied that both ways so -- it's not a 4 and 9 deal, but 4, 5, 9 would do that for any one of us. (Station manager 4)

When BBJ passed away I called (the station manager) and said "Whatever you need. I just want to let you know, if you need stories, if you need people to go over there to cover it -- what happens is the department head level, or the middle manager level you don't get involved in it, but there is a direct gesture to the leader of the organization. You know that we compete every day, but not in this case." (Station manager 1)

In the time since the May 2013 tornadoes and death of Barry, one news manager described how aggressive she is about counseling opportunities for journalists. She tells staff members, “Here’s an EAP pamphlet. I keep a huge stack of those in my office, because I hand them out like candy” (News director 4). One of the station managers agreed that for his organization, counseling has become a normal routine for certain events, such as the death of a colleague.

We do it all the time -- one of our employees died last week -- (at our sister station) in Tulsa, a master control op well-liked by the whole organization. We had a meeting and people shared stories about (him) and we said, “Counselor will be here tomorrow.” Standard. What you do. From noon to 4. “If you’ve got anything, they’re just going to be hanging out.” Standard operating procedure. We’ve learned that you have to do this. (Station manager 1)

Managers and journalists are also painfully aware of traumatic events that touch other newsrooms in other parts of the country. In 2015, three people were shot during a live report on a morning newscast at WDBJ-TV in Roanoke, Virginia. A reporter and photographer were killed, the perpetrator was a former colleague (Worland, 2015).

The day after that reporter and photog were shot while doing the live shots we had long conversations in our morning content meeting and in our afternoon content meeting because everyone was so freaked out. Even here just last year we had a reporter and a photog up in Logan County and they were shot at -- THEY WERE SHOT AT. We didn’t have counselors come in to talk about this crew in another state that was killed, but we did have the police department come in and do a seminar on safety. Safety in general. Safety within your social media accounts. Safety walking to your car at night. Safety at an event like a state fair where a lot of people are around, so I think just giving people those tools and that one was station wide. We said anyone can come to that, even the sales department showed up. Everybody showed up for that. (News director 4)

The news manager who moved out of town to a different market explained how her organization implemented crew safety procedures.

The first experience was Ferguson, which was 4 hours away... The first thing I did was I wanted to have a manager there. I assigned my assistant news director

to be the eyes and ears...because I didn't want to put them in danger and I also wanted them to have somebody to have their back...then we added security...we spent the money. It wasn't cheap to have security with our crews at all times. (News director 1)

One organizational leader defines preparedness as an element of support. She had an eerie flashback to the 1995 bombing during a 2017 news event in downtown Oklahoma City. "It wasn't a real bomb but it was across the street from us and it was a bomb SCARE and so that triggered something in me." She explained that event was a frightening reminder of the 1995 bombing, partly because it was just a few blocks away from ground zero. It created a need for her to survey the news organization's backup facility.

That fired me up and I went out there and I discovered that they didn't have good wifi there, and I was like, we have to have good wifi. We could end up there on any given day, and I have to have extension cords out there, and I have to have duct tape, and you do those little things, because you know when you're metaphorically picking people up off the floor, a little thing like an extension cord or a roll of duct tape could be the trigger that makes them maybe not be able to do the job. It's that little thing that might be the key that holds someone together and helps them get the job done. (Editor 1)

Summary: Future traumatic events

The data that emerged from the interviews with top organizational leaders reveals that with each of the most traumatic news stories that occurred in the 22 years since the bombing, organizational leaders innovated and added new ways of supporting staff through counseling ("I had to create channels for them which basically means emails, phone calls" [Editor 2]), managers ([He] "had the news managers to his house for dinner in the weeks after that, just so he could thank us" [News director 5]), and competitors ("We had staff members from other newsrooms that came and produced shows for us) [News director 5]).

In some cases, journalists and leaders were more apt to use counseling and show emotion. Regarding Bill Teegins' death in the OSU plane crash, "People used (counseling) a lot. That one was so big that I think people felt comfortable saying 'I need help'" (Station manager 1). In other cases, "champion" individuals stepped up as in the case of a high-profile male journalist who "became an example of someone who admitted going to Charlotte and he benefited from going to Charlotte" (Editor 2). A high-profile organizational leader cried during a group meeting that dealt with Barry's death ("That was really good... He started crying. Everybody started crying, you know. It was a release then" [News director 4]).

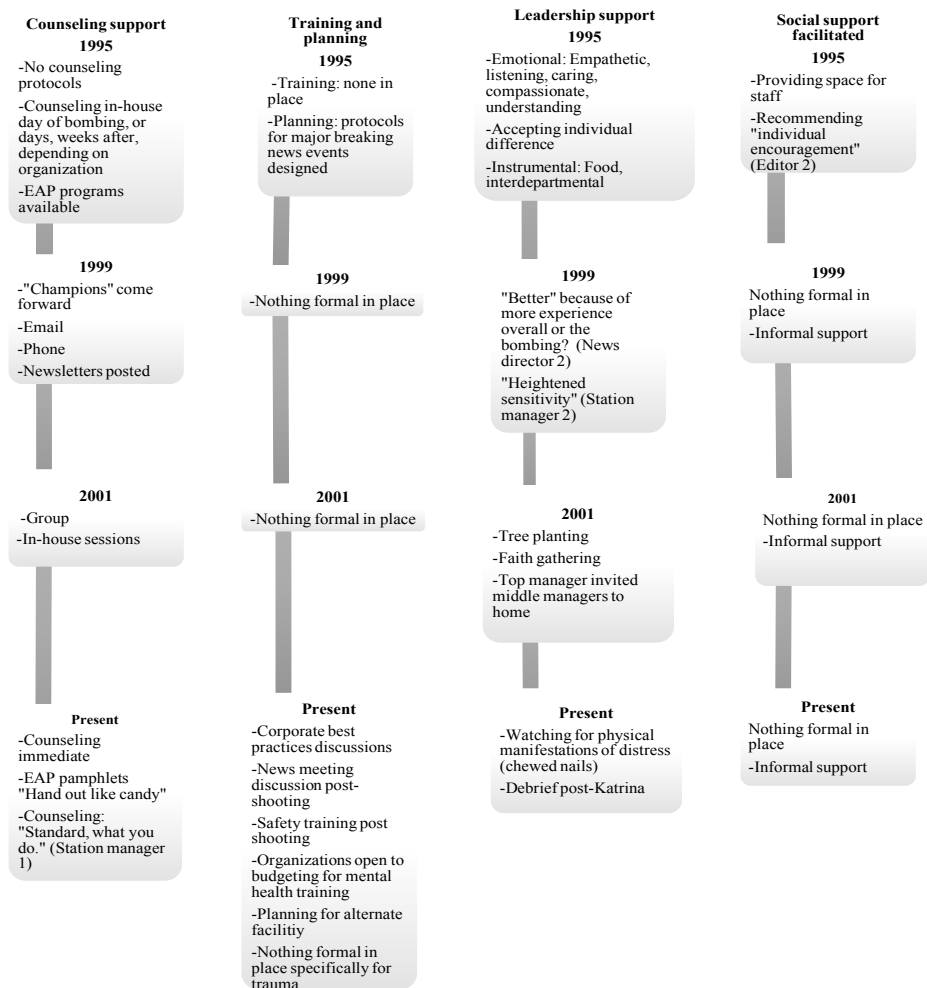
Other supportive gestures continued as they had beginning with the bombing in 1995. The community reacted by filling the station's lobby with flowers when Teegins died. The routine of interdepartmental support continued in particular with sales department helping in the news department during the major tornado outbreaks.

The semi-structured interviews allowed the organizational leaders room to raise topics the researcher did not initially cover. Those still working in the industry wanted to talk about more recent traumatic events, including the May 2013 tornadoes that struck Moore, Oklahoma, the unexpected death of local sports journalist, Bob Barry, Jr, and other occurrences that have influenced organizational trauma response. These conversations revealed that some managers aggressively discuss counseling opportunities "Here's an EAP pamphlet. I keep a huge stack of those in my office, because I hand them out like candy" (News director 4) and that for traumatic incidents, such as the death of an employee counseling is "Standard operating procedure. We've learned that you have to do this" (Station manager 1).

The data also raised an area of journalism trauma response not covered in the 1995, 1999, and 2001 timelines: employee safety. One organization had a heightened interest after journalists were shot at in rural Oklahoma and scheduled a safety seminar with the Oklahoma City Police Department. Another news manager described how she implemented more robust safety procedures for crews in the field, including a larger management presence and security support.

Figure 2 shows the timeline from 1995 to the present time for each of the POS dimensions that mitigate trauma, and how the news organizations have evolved each support mechanism.

Figure 2: Timeline of Response Connecting to POS Literature



Conclusion

This chapter outlined the findings from the analysis of data collected through Data Set Two. Data Set Two was comprised of data from interviews with news organizational leaders who worked in Oklahoma City through three traumatic events in the state: the 1995 bombing, the May 3, 1999 tornado outbreak, and the OSU plane crash. Chapter 6 established that journalists translate their traumatic work experience into three categories: trauma experience, their perceived organizational support (POS)

experience, and a broader social support experience. The content of Data Set One influenced the design of the second data set. Therefore, Data Set One and Two work in tandem, as a conceptual pair

Because the development of the interview questions evolved from Data Set One, the categories that emerged from Data Set Two parallel those of Data Set One, with some exceptions. Manager trauma was added to the trauma experience category, because the results of Data Set Two reveal that the managers also experience emotional trauma from their work. In particular, in this sample, the leaders expressed mental turmoil regarding the community disasters and the employee trauma they were managing. Further, the leaders acknowledged that they perceived some symptoms of PTSD among news employees, but that some symptoms are invisible and not easily observed.

Another category generated by Data Set Two is that of leadership support. This category reflects the abstract components of support, in that leaders focused, in their interviews, on the concepts of engagement and acceptance of employees, especially during traumatic times. Under POS, the counseling category paralleled that of Data Set One, but it was more specific in some ways, since the researcher controlled the questions in Data Set Two in comparison to Data Set One, where the researcher could only read previously generated transcripts from the Oklahoma City National Memorial. Some organizational leaders were middle managers or in non-management positions during the time of the bombing. Some perceived negative counseling experiences, including feeling forced to attend counseling. The support category generated by Data Set One was amplified by the population in Data Set Two. The managers added their

first-hand experiences of departmental support, as well as observations and understanding of peer, community, and industry support that occurred during the 1995 bombing event.

Another aspect that emerged from Data Set Two was that of competitor support. This came up in Data Set One, but was discussed from a different perspective in Data Set Two. In particular, the managers shared how they offer support at the top levels of leadership when tragedy strikes one of their competitors.

Chapter 8, the final chapter of this study, discusses the implications of these findings, and explains how this research contributes to the organizational trauma literature, as well as the understanding of journalism and trauma. Chapter 8 also discusses ideas for future research, as well as the limitations of this study.

Chapter 8: Discussion

We were being so loved and so supported and there's something comforting in that, that you're better able to do your job. (News director 2)

This final chapter synthesizes results of Data Set One, Data Set Two, and existing literature on journalism, trauma, and management. The main research question of the study guided the process: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? The grounded theory methodology brought the subject to life by providing a framework through which the journalists and organizational leaders could communicate their lived experiences and by which the researcher could then reassemble into a coherent structure.

The researcher's task was to code and analyze the interview data and to create meaning from the information so she could more fully understand and assess it. Analysis of Data Set One produced an understanding of the journalists' experience of the Oklahoma City bombing. Reporters, photographers, producers, and other media professionals expressed their initial and aftermath trauma reactions, with the finding that respondents were expressing symptoms of PTSD: avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and increased startle and reactivity. The respondents also spoke consistently of supportive gestures which promoted coping and healing post-trauma. The media professionals interviewed for Data Set One had positive reactions to counseling efforts their organizations made, even if they believed the counseling wasn't for them or if they had a negative experience with it. Respondents also detailed further, wide-ranging support that included multiple facets: from peers, supervisors, other

departments, the broader organization, and even the corporation itself. Support also emerged from a number of outside individuals and groups including the community, competitors, and other journalism organizations.

Analysis of Data Set Two mirrored that of Data Set One. The organizational leaders revealed their own traumatic reactions to the bombing along with their observations of journalists' emotional responses post-event. They detailed their counseling response to the disaster, support response from the organization, and how the support connected to coping and healing overall. This portion of the study also focused on a timeline after the bombing to learn how trauma response may have changed from 1995 to the deadly May 3, 1999 tornadoes, and the OSU plane crash in 2001.

This discussion in this chapter begins with a review of the study's key findings and their connections to existing research on journalism, trauma, and management. The researcher revisits and discusses the overall research question and the two additional guiding questions: 1) how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations, and 2) how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma?

Next, the discussion details the study's limitations and provides suggestions for further research. The study's implications of these findings to journalism and a conclusion bring this chapter to a close.

Key research findings

The purpose of this dissertation is to extend the understanding of journalism, trauma, and management of trauma response in newsrooms. The goal is to look deeper

into organizational leadership related to trauma management in the field of journalism. This study is the first of its kind to focus on a number of top organizational leaders across several journalism-related companies and analyze the management of trauma their newsroom staff experienced. Together, Data Set One and Data Set Two create a richly-detailed picture of the work of organizational leadership during some of the most difficult events managers and journalists will experience in their careers.

The study of journalism, trauma, and management is a relatively new area of investigation. The first research to connect journalism work to PTSD did not occur until 1994 when psychologists studied a generalized psychological response to a traumatic event (Freinkel et al., 1994). The first academic study on journalism and trauma conducted by journalism scholars was not published until 1999 (Simpson & Boggs, 1999). In the years since, a range of studies has looked at journalism work and PTSD to explain its connection to war reporters (Feinstein & Nicholson, 2005; Feinstein et al., 2002), disasters (Coté & Simpson, 2000; Weidmann et al., 2007); general news coverage (Pyeovich et al., 2003; Simpson & Boggs, 1999), photojournalists (Newman et al., 2003), and management issues (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Griffin, 2015). Many studies connect to leadership, because they often provide prescriptive recommendations on how journalism organizations should manage trauma.

Trauma experience: journalists and managers

One of the guiding questions of the study is: how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations? Data Set One lays the groundwork for the journalists' actual experience of trauma; Data Set Two reveals the top organizational leaders' understanding thereof. The trauma experiences revealed

by interviews for both Data Set One and Data Set Two expand our knowledge of journalism, trauma, and management in two ways. First, the study extends our understanding of journalists as primary victims of trauma. Results from both data sets expressed that many reporters, photographers and others who were first on the scene of the bombing were primary victims of trauma themselves. Second, previous research on journalism and trauma has established that journalists experience trauma in their work. This study also establishes the trauma top organizational leaders experience and explains how it affects them using their own words.

Primary traumatization. Journalists who arrived early at the scene of the Oklahoma City bombing witnessed the dead, the dying, and the injured all around them. But the journalists were also faced with their own mortality as safety officials announced bomb threats in the hours after the disaster (Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management, n.d.). The journalists ran for their lives, some still broadcasting live, and contemplating that they could become victims, too. In the Data Set One transcripts they discussed the bomb scare in terms of fear, including a fear of dying. Criterion A in the American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* lists a life-threatening event where one's life is at risk or where one may be injured as one of the components of PTSD (Friedman, n.d.; Meadors et al., 2009-2010).

The journalists' experiences reveal that in the case of some shocking traumatic events, especially those where the perpetrator is still at large, or where a terror event or natural disaster, such as a tornado, may be on-going, the media professionals experience the stressor first-hand, and in this way experience primary traumatization. In the

Oklahoma City area, for example, journalists who cover tornado events also become primary trauma victims when they arrive in damaged areas to find dead and injured individuals; they are at risk of injury themselves during tornado events. Much of the research involving journalists and trauma focuses on the idea of journalists at risk of secondary trauma, because in routine, day-to-day journalism work, reporters and photographers often interview subjects who have experienced traumatic events (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Keats & Buchanan, 2009). However, in the case of the bombing, the journalists who experienced the bomb threat at the scene were running for their lives, and therefore experienced primary traumatization.

The pairing of Data Sets One and Two creates mirror images of how the journalists and managers experienced the same traumatic event in different, nevertheless traumatic, ways. While the bomb scares had the potential to be deeply traumatizing to the journalists at the scene, they also had the capacity to leave emotional scars on managers, who were afraid for reporters and photographers as they watched the journalists trying to escape. As the reporters and photographers became primary victims of trauma, their managers experienced secondary traumatic stress (STS), indirect exposure via a first-hand experience from a trauma survivor (Zimering & Gulliver, 2003). Events, such as the bomb scare, where journalists' lives seemed to be at risk, created searing memories which live with both journalists and managers. This finding is important, because it reveals that the media professional's trauma can be directly connected to that of the leader tasked with managing coverage and, in the case of the bombing, sending crews into harm's way.

This finding does not intend to equate the primary trauma for journalists at the scene to trauma for managers back in the newsroom. But it does intend to explain how trauma's effects ripple from the primary event to others in the organization, including peers and top organizational leaders. The trauma experience can live with media professionals and their managers for years after the event.

Journalists and manager trauma experience. The media professionals in Data Set One experienced immediate trauma effects as soon as they arrived on the scene at the Murrah Building. Almost all interviewees in Data Set One communicated initial traumatic responses to the bombing event using words such as trauma, shock, fear, horror, chaos, war-torn, or descriptions of people dying or bloody victims at the scene. Journalists who were not initially sent to the scene or who did their jobs primarily from the newsroom also described the experience in terms of fear, shock, chaos, or that they thought it looked like a war scene.

All the managers in Data Set Two expressed traumatic reaction to the bombing event. For many of the organizational leaders who weren't at the scene, the content and images led to overwhelming feelings of grief. Twenty-two years after the bombing, managers also expressed how the trauma affects them today, including depression, memory loss, and compartmentalization.

This study concurs with a number of other studies on journalists and trauma finding that the Oklahoma City journalists experienced a number of traumatic reactions connected to their work during and after the bombing (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Newman et al., 2003). However, this study extends the literature by finding that after a shocking

event such as the Oklahoma City bombing, organizational leaders experience trauma alongside their staff. Much of the literature regarding journalists and trauma includes recommendations for organizational leaders on how to implement of planning and policies to mitigate trauma for journalists (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012; Beam & Spratt, 2009; Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Keats & Buchanan, 2011). This creates a sense that “managers” are a monolithic group and an entity removed from staff members. A small number of studies relating to the traumatic experience of journalism work has included journalism managers, such as editors, but in each of these studies managers are only a sub-group of the study, and not the focus thereof (Griffin, 2015; MacDonald et al., 2016).

This study suggests that future research on journalists and trauma should include the consideration that managers have the potential to experience trauma just as their staff who are directly exposed to the trauma. Acknowledgement of the complete trauma experience for newsrooms can allow for a more thorough understanding of how to mitigate the painful repercussions of emotional distress for journalists and leaders throughout the entire news organization.

PTSD symptoms. The focus of this study is not to determine whether Oklahoma City journalists and their organizational leaders suffered from PTSD as a result of the 1995 bombing. However, the data revealed that journalists talk about their trauma using some of the language of PTSD. Studies show a number of journalists, 4 to 29%, will experience PTSD as a result of their work (Buchanan & Keats, 2011). In Data Set One, the journalists described some of the traumatic responses in terms of the four main PTSD symptoms: avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and

alterations in startle and reactivity (Friedman, n.d.). It is important to note that although the journalists in Data Set One were not asked to talk about specific PTSD symptoms, reporters, photographers, and others referenced them time and time again, particularly the first two symptoms, avoidance and intrusive memories.

Avoidance has been compared to “emotional anesthesia” (Ochberg, 1996).

Individuals will go to great lengths to keep from thinking about the disturbing event and may lose memories of what happened (McNally, 2003; Ochberg, 1996). In some extreme cases, the desire to avoid thinking about the event can resemble agoraphobia (Friedman, n.d.). The Oklahoma City journalists represented in Data Set One communicated a variety of avoidance behaviors. They describe their avoidance in terms of a container where they place the emotion. Some use the physical equipment, such as a photographic viewfinder, as a barrier to block out the disturbing reality.

In the context of the interviews, some journalists believe that having the ability to put their emotions in a box distinguishes them from other professions, but from a mental health standpoint, they are mistaken (Freinkel et al., 1994). Initial avoidance mechanisms can serve to allow journalists to continue their job (Simpson & Boggs, 1999), but continued avoidance is an unhealthy coping mechanism (Ochberg, 1996).

Intrusive memories include nightmares, flashbacks, and vivid memories of the disturbing event (Ochberg, 1996; PTSD: National Center for PTSD, 2017). When an individual hears or sees certain stimuli, she can re-experience the trauma (Friedman, n.d.). For the journalists, triggering stimuli could be a smell, a sound, or even the time of the bombing, 9:02 a.m.

Some managers in Data Set Two, though not all, were aware that journalists were experiencing intrusive memories post-bombing. In some cases, they observed that anniversaries were touchstones. Department level managers communicated to top organizational leaders that they were observing journalists struggling with unpleasant memories.

Intrusive memories can also bring about an overwhelming grief (Friedman, n.d.). Crying may be a healthy response in some situations (Hendriks et al., 2008), but when it is associated with intrusive memories of the traumatic event, it can be part of the PTSD reaction (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2017b). The journalists interviewed for Data Set One recalled that sometimes they were able to control their emotions until the work was done, but other times the emotions spilled out while they were still on the job. Two of the journalists interviewed for Data Set One lost control of their emotions during pivotal moments. One was unable to complete her job during a community event, “168 Seconds of Silence.” She had been busy getting in position for live coverage and realized she had not properly stopped to observe the moment. Another cried while reporting live during the implosion of the Murrah Building. She was thinking about the three bodies still entombed in the building.

These journalists were demonstrating that while doing the work, at times the sadness for what had happened would bubble up and consume them, whether in the private space of a car, shower, live on the air, or in front of colleagues. The emotional labor (EL) of journalism work means the journalists must regulate their emotions while also fulfilling the requirements of their jobs (Hochschild, 1979). For some of the traumatized journalists, the EL meant communicating news and information in a

composed and professional way, despite their felt emotions in the moment. Previous studies have found that displaying one's work publicly and trying to appear professional can create negative mental effects, such as burnout, emotional exhaustion, job-related depression, and anxiety (Demerouti et al., 2001; Melamed et al., 2006; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Thus, the trauma some journalists experience can be further magnified by the continued work, a factor which can complicate the organizational trauma response.

Negative affect. The journalists interviewed for Data Set One were not specifically asked about the negative cognitive effects from their work with the bombing disaster. Negative affect associated with PTSD can manifest itself as an irrational fear of the world, that only bad things will happen, or a lost interest in social interactions (Friedman, n.d.; Post-traumatic stress disorder, n.d.). Fewer responses occurred in this category in comparison to the other PTSD symptoms. But one journalist acknowledged the irrational fear that her child might be kidnapped, and others referenced relationship problems and questioned their faith.

Griffin (2015) posited that it may be difficult for journalists to admit negative affect, because it is counter to their professional identity. News director 6 described the feeling as

thinking about people who died, their families...So some of it is not wanting to feel like you're selfish when so many other people have been hurt so much more. So I think some of that is almost guilt of having your own little pity party when other people have been affected so tremendously.

Journalists who do not acknowledge their feelings and may not get professional help, which could prolong their emotional difficulties. The data reveals that in some cases, journalists were able to discuss the negative affect of others, but not their own.

Alterations in arousal and reactivity. Individuals who have this symptom may be easily startled and jump at the sounds or sights of unexpected stimuli (Ochberg, 1996). Reactions to alcohol, drugs and sex may be addictive or impulsive (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, n.d.; Breslau, 2002). Individuals with this symptom of PTSD react abnormally to everyday life experiences.

The journalists interviewed for Data Set One were not specifically asked to talk about alterations in arousal and reactivity after the bombing. Similar to the negative affect category, there were fewer examples in this category, compared to the avoidance and intrusive symptoms. But in one example, the sight of a Ryder truck post-bombing was so disturbing, it sent a photojournalist to his knees.

Notably, the Ryder truck startle experience was also a common thread among half of the top organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two. For some of them, the startle reactions occurred not long after the bombing; for others, the reactions continue to this day. The managers recount stories of watching Ryder trucks or yellow box trucks carefully when they drive by their workplaces, pull into home driveways, or pass them on the highway.

The Ryder truck stories connect to two important findings in the context of this study. First, it was an experience connected to a symptom of PTSD shared by journalists and a number of managers. These memories suggest that the organizational leaders experienced certain symptoms of PTSD alongside the journalists they managed. Second, some managers connected their own feelings to those of the journalists in their newsrooms, understanding if they were experiencing an irrational fear of a yellow box truck, then their staffs would potentially have a similar experience. The similar trauma

response between manager and journalist is an empathetic bridge between both groups in the news organization.

Summary of trauma experience: journalists and managers

The data from the interviews with journalists and top organizational leaders reveals the trauma experience for both groups. Understanding how journalists and organizational leaders experience trauma together provides an important foundation from which to consider the organizational leaders' frame of mind and execution of support mechanisms in their newsrooms post-disaster. Both sets of data help explain the first guiding question of the study: how do managers understand the extent of trauma experience and symptoms in news organizations?

Results from Data Set One showed how journalists became primary victims of trauma when bomb scares at the Murrah Building caused them to fear for their lives. Their managers became victims of secondary traumatic stress (STS) as they watched journalists run for safety during live television coverage, via in-house television monitors, and as they heard them describe what was happening over hand-held radios. STS occurs when one individual witnesses the trauma of others, and can become more pronounced over time and multiple traumatic situations (Adams et al., 2004; Baird & Jenkins, 2003; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Strupp & Cosper, 2001). In the journalism trauma literature, STS has been discussed most frequently in relation to journalists rather than their managers, because reporters, photographers, and other media professionals are frequently exposed to victims of trauma through their work, and are therefore exposed to trauma in a second-hand way (Keats & Buchanan, 2012; McMahon, 2001; Simpson & Boggs, 1999). In the context of this study, STS becomes

a consideration for managers and other news employees who witness primary trauma among journalists during a large-scale disaster such as the bombing.

Further, the results of both Data Sets One and Two reveal that the journalists and managers together experienced various traumatic reactions to the bombing. The goal of the study was not to determine whether managers experience traumatic effects, but the grounded theory method and semi-structured interview format allowed the organizational leaders in Data Set Two to raise topics not originally included in the list of interview questions. In the first few interviews, it became apparent that the organizational leaders wanted to discuss some of their own traumatic experience in addition to that of the journalists they managed. Thus, Data Set Two reveals that managers were deeply affected by the traumatizing content. Some felt an immediate impact, and others continued to be affected years after the event. The data also indicate that despite the station managers' workplace distance from the news department leaders and news employees, they also experience emotional impact. This finding provides context to the overarching goal of the study in determining how the experience of a shocking traumatic event affects news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events. It paints a picture of the emotional climate in the news organizations post-trauma: that journalists, managers, and top organizational leaders were experiencing trauma together with a number of symptoms that fit the PTSD definitional benchmarks.

Results from Data Set One, in particular, revealed that the journalists experienced multiple symptoms of emotional distress, including symptoms which relate to those included in the American Psychiatric Association definition of PTSD:

avoidance, intrusive memories, negative affect, and increased startle and reactivity (American Psychiatric Association Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics, 2013). The goal of this study is not to provide a PTSD diagnosis for journalists who covered the Oklahoma City bombing, or their managers. However, Data Set One revealed many connections to PTSD, particularly avoidance and intrusive memories, but also negative affect, and increased startle and reactivity. Interviewers at the Oklahoma City National Memorial did not ask the journalists about PTSD symptoms post-bombing. Had they been specifically asked, it is likely that more instances of PTSD symptoms would have been recorded.

The managers interviewed for Data Set Two were aware of some PTSD symptoms among the journalists. However, in several interviews, the organizational leaders acknowledged that some of the symptoms are not easily observed. A manager may not be aware of avoidance, intrusive memories, or increased startle and reactivity, because many of these symptoms are not visible. A manager would only be aware of a journalist with the Ryder truck reaction, for example, if that journalist verbalized the experience. This finding was corroborated by Keats & Buchanan's (2012) qualitative study of Canadian journalists in which respondents admitted the difficulty of sharing trauma-reporting experiences with managers and colleagues.

Other PTSD symptoms such as those related to addictive behaviors, are not easily shared with organizational leaders, due to stigma and embarrassment (Newman et al., 2006). Negative affect is potentially the most visible of the PTSD symptoms, but it overlaps with the cynicism newsrooms historically have been noted for (Fedler, 2013), and therefore is difficult to differentiate.

Notably, several of the managers experienced a Ryder-truck experience similar to the photojournalist in Data Set One. The managers believed if it was happening to them, it must have been happening to their employees as well. Shared trauma experiences between organizational leader and journalist can enrich the understanding for the manager, and that connection can lead to a deeper organizational response after a significant traumatic news event.

Taken together, the trauma experience of journalists and managers in the Oklahoma City case study reveals that emotional responses post-event are not solely occurring among journalists in the field. In a major breaking news story with a large loss of life and where potentially every member of the staff is working to cover the event, this study finds that trauma effects are rippling through news departments to the highest levels of the organization. In some cases, as journalists experience primary trauma, their managers are faced with secondary traumatic stress (STS), because of the proximity to the journalist's distressing experience. In other cases, the symbol of the Ryder truck becomes a unifying emblem of trauma for employees from all organizational levels. This study also finds that organizational leaders recognize some symptoms of PTSD in journalists, but that some symptoms are not visible. Together, these findings illustrate an environment where journalists and managers are experiencing deeply distressing events, but organizational leaders are unable to perceive some of the effects of trauma among staff, because they are internal rather than external. This knowledge feeds the primary research question for this study: how does the experience of a shocking traumatic event affect news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? The next sections continue the

research process by looking deeply at the concept of employee support in the context of a traumatic work event.

Perceived organizational support (POS): Journalists and managers

The second guiding question of the study is: how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma? Overall, little research exists which focuses on the relationship of POS to PTSD, and other emotional reactions during traumatic work events. The small number of studies has found that a supportive environment can reduce PTSD symptoms (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). Further, four main organizational responsibilities derived from the POS literature can reduce traumatic response in the workplace: communicating and providing emotional aid, such as counseling (George et al., 1993; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), planning and training for traumatic scenarios (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), leading employees with empathetic and supportive approaches (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009), and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). POS is important to management practice, because higher POS equates to lower turnover, absenteeism, and higher commitment to the organization and performance (Eisenberger et al., 2002; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002)

The interviews conducted for Data Set One focused on the broad range of journalists' work during the bombing: their first moments with the disaster, the news gathering, working with victims' families, and the timeline which extended past the day of the explosion to the trials of the accused, an execution, and beyond. The interviews for Data Set One were not conducted to learn about management practice during the

bombing. Yet segments of the archival material constructed a partial view of the journalists' POS.

The journalists interviewed for Data Set One identified two areas of POS which were meaningful to them as they did their work during the bombing: counseling opportunities and organizational support gestures. First, more than a third of journalists interviewed for Data Set One spoke about the counseling their organizations offered during the time of the bombing. Second, half of the journalists discussed a variety of support mechanisms the organizations and others outside the organization offered and how these helped them to cope and heal.

Counseling is a visible, supportive gesture which an organization can offer to journalists when traumatic events affect them. The counseling support responses from the four news organizations represented in this study varied post-bombing. In 1995 none of the news organizations had a plan for counseling in the event of a large-scale traumatizing event that would affect the entire newsroom. But all the news organizations recognized the enormity of the bombing disaster, and all brought in counselors.

A counselor arrived at *The Daily Oklahoman* the day of the bombing. She recalled that the newspaper's human resources department contacted her, because one reporter who had been near the Murrah Building when the bomb exploded was experiencing a traumatic reaction (C. Lankard, personal communication, Oct. 16, 2017). At the television stations, the counseling was organized days and in the first weeks after the event. All the organizations also had employee assistance programs (EAP), which

included off-site mental health support. The counseling was orchestrated by the human resources departments, news management, or the parent company.

Journalists and organizational leaders interviewed for both Data Sets One and Two revealed a mixed reaction to the counseling experience after the bombing. In Data Set One most of the interviewees saw counseling as a helpful gesture, and they recognized that the organization offered it. However, a number of comments focused on negative aspects of the counseling. It was too soon. Journalists were exhausted. They felt forced to go and speak. They didn't yet know what they were feeling. Co-workers were angry to be there. Some journalists believe they were excluded because of the extreme work schedule. They questioned the quality of the counseling. Some comments were both negative and positive. For example, one journalist interviewed for Data Set One felt as if she was forced to attend the counseling session, but at the same time, she also recognized the organization was doing whatever it could to help.

One of the organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two regretted that he did not require employees to undergo a nightly debrief before going home. But another leader came to understand that counseling could not be forced on the journalists. This study advocates that counseling and debriefings should be offered; but not mandatory.

The execution of counseling post-bombing adds to the understanding of the main research question of the study. The data illustrate that journalists interviewed for Data Set One experienced a positive reaction to the counseling, but some individuals experienced a negative reaction to the way they executed counseling. Figure 4 demonstrates how counseling relates to the overall research question.

Training. Planning and training for traumatic scenarios is another way

organizations can improve POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Shore & Shore, 1995). In terms of traumatic work experience, a small amount of research exists connecting various educational opportunities to trauma and POS, including resilience training and “train the trainer” opportunities, which can extend mental health expertise throughout the organization (Barnes et al., 2013). Training can help journalists cope with potentially harmful emotional experiences (Keats & Buchanan, 2012) and can lessen PTSD symptoms for journalists (Novak & Davidson, 2013). In one study, peer support teams were established where individuals receive counseling-related training (Bance et al., 2014). The BBC prepared journalists before the 2003 invasion of Iraq by urging teammates at home to listen for signs of stress among their colleagues at war (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Simpson, 2004).

The Oklahoma City newsroom leaders had almost no training pre-bombing that would have prepared them for the trauma their employees were about to experience. Two of the three managers from *The Daily Oklahoman* experienced a small amount of training in the victims and trauma training workshop they had scheduled in the years before the bombing, but that workshop primarily focused on victims. Mental health training was an afterthought. When some of the organizational leaders began their careers, many companies did not yet have human resources departments. The newsroom leaders interviewed for Data Set Two observed that EAP programs did not exist until the 1990s. Another manager expressed the difficulty of planning for an unthinkable, unforeseen event, such as the bombing, which would become the worst act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history (Pestano, 2015). Some of the newsroom leaders

interviewed for Data Set Two acknowledged an overall lack of training in their jobs and that the most training they received was on-the-job.

Training can lessen PTSD effects through cognitive preparation, facilitation of teamwork, debriefing, and resilience training (Mealer et al., 2012). Training is recommended for peer support through trauma, because not everyone sees support through the same lens. Individual differences mean that not all will seek or desire emotional support in the same way (Agabi & Wilson, 2005; Smith, 2009). For example, some individuals prefer listening to talking when they seek support (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005).

A disconnect still exists in the industry regarding proactive efforts to prepare managers and journalists for the inevitable difficult moments of their work. Griffin (2015) found that, while journalists perceived support from their supervisors regarding trauma exposure, they were not trained on how to cope with trauma.

Journalists in this study seemed to be left without organizational support or basic training to figure out what to do if they suffered as a result of job-related trauma exposure, despite findings that journalists trained on how to cope with trauma exposure were less likely to report symptoms than those who were not. (p. 163)

One station manager interviewed for Data Set Two described corporate training that top organizational leaders in his company attend every two years. Aspects of employee trauma come up in the broader conversations about major breaking news events. These training opportunities are a positive step for television station leaders, but the data from this study and others show that training efforts which push into all levels of news organizations will improve POS (Griffin, 2015).

One newsroom leader no longer working at a news organization lamented that budget cuts have affected training opportunities, but representatives from all the news

organizations voiced optimism about adding funding for trauma-related training to their budgets. Two of the station managers were more cautious, acknowledging they would be more likely to support such training if they believed they were having a healthy fiscal year.

Social support

In addition to counseling support and training support, two other organizational responsibilities that can reduce traumatic response in the workplace derived from the POS literature: leading employees with empathetic and caring approaches (George et al., 1993; Riggle et al., 2009) and facilitating a supportive workplace (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014). The broader definition of social support is the presence, availability, quality, and reliability of individuals who exhibit care when others need it (Leavy, 1983; Sarason et al., 1983). Emotionally-related forms of social support at work include approval, intimacy, and closeness (Ibarra & Smith-Lovin, 1997). These workplace support measures also inform the question of how trauma support in the Oklahoma City study aligns or diverges from POS research on trauma.

Leadership and facilitation of a supportive workplace are connected to the broader concept of social support. Some overlap exists among POS, perceived supervisor support (PSS), and social support (Kossek et al., 2011), because organizations, supervisors, and work peers can also be sources of social support. In this study, several social support gestures relating to the organization reflected on the journalists' POS: peer (intradepartmental), supervisor, interdepartmental, organizational, and corporate (two of the organizations were part of a larger corporate network; two were locally owned). Some social support gestures occurred outside the

organization, including community support and professional support from peers outside the workplace.

Peer (intradepartmental) support. Peer support begins at the most grass-roots level of the journalists' social network in the newsroom. Peers show support to one another through caring and friendly behaviors (Cook et al., 1993). The peer support relationship in the workplace differs from that of supervisor or organizational support, in part because the peer relationship denotes a bond among equals, rather than one of supervisor and subordinate. Co-worker support is related to POS, because social networks in the workplace are associated with the organization (Hayton et al., 2012). More specifically, co-workers form an informal support network in the workplace. POS relating to social support is enhanced when individuals have a high-quality network, comprised of top performers who can share expertise and aid (Hayton et al., 2012).

Research on trauma and the workplace corroborates the value of social and peer support during traumatic circumstances, including that of journalism work in the case of journalism trauma (Newman et al., 2003; Prati & Piertrantoni, 2009; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Viswesvaran et al., 1999; Weidmann et al., 2007). Simpson and Boggs (1999) asserted that for journalists experiencing distressing events "mutual support among co-workers was the most helpful resource" (p. 19). Peer support is important, because those without it suffer negative consequences. Journalists who covered the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami disaster without co-worker and supervisor support had a higher risk of PTSD than those who did have this type of support (Weidmann et al., 2007). A gap in peer support has also been connected to other emotional stressors. McDonald et al.

(2016) found that low levels of peer cohesion indicated higher levels of burnout among journalists.

Data Sets One and Two work in tandem to provide insights about peer support among Oklahoma City journalists post-bombing. The journalists interviewed for Data Set One spoke of listening behaviors, acceptance, and physical gestures, such as hugs. Journalists and organizational leaders interviewed for both Data Sets One and Two believe peer support occurs when they share memories of the distressing event, and that the most healing conversations occur with colleagues who experienced the same traumatic event, conversations which are more about the understanding of the trauma, than the words spoken. In some cases, the organizational leaders believed that peer support was more important than the counseling.

While peer support is informal in the workplace, Simpson and Boggs (1999) advocated that “clear employer encouragement would complement the benefits of co-worker support” (p. 19). Editor 2 observed that peers-helping-peers was one of the most important healing actions that occurred after the bombing. He encouraged organizations to facilitate support by suggesting that journalists talk to trusted individuals, a recommendation that concurred with Potter and Ricchiardi’s (2009) advice that managers “remind (journalists) to share feelings and talk to those they trust” (p. 53). Managers can enhance POS by facilitating peer support mechanisms to ensure that all employees have the opportunity to benefit from top performers (Hayton et al., 2012). This can occur by assigning mentors and trauma response teams throughout the newsroom. These steps can bolster support for newer employees, who are especially vulnerable to emotional stress (MacDonald et al., 2016).

Supervisor support. Leadership support connects to POS, because workers consider supervisors to be an extension of the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Wayne et al., 1997). Further, employees who consider their leader to be caring and empathetic also perceive the organization to be supportive (Hutchison et al., 1998). The interviewers at the Oklahoma City National Memorial did not specifically ask journalists about supervisor support; therefore, very little content on this topic area emerged from Data Set One.

However, the organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two were able to explain how they carried out support during the time of the bombing. Two themes emerged from this line of questioning and mirror the peer support identified in Data Set One: pro-active communication (related to listening) and acceptance of individual difference (related to acceptance).

Pro-active communication. In this category, managers described themselves as going to the journalist, rather than waiting for the journalist to come to them. They described themselves as being visible in the newsroom, actively generating conversations, and checking in with journalists. It was important that managers had previously established a culture of being visible to staff in the newsroom, because if the visibility did not already exist, the sudden presence of a leader would be disconcerting. Where “listening” behaviors among peers may happen more naturally because of the co-equal relationship, the leaders interviewed for Data Set Two indicated that they needed to be more pro-active to create listening opportunities.

Acceptance of individual difference. The organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two also talked about accepting the needs of each individual, rather than

having a one-size-fits-all philosophy on how people should recover after covering a traumatic news event. This acceptance included understanding that some individuals would heal quickly, others would take years, and some might never be the same. The organizational leaders described being watchful to identify journalists who might still be struggling, then creating individualized attention for that person. The leaders interviewed for Data Set Two emphasized there is no right or wrong way to cope. One example in Editor 1's newsroom is that some employees prefer talking to a male news manager rather than a female one regarding sensitive issues and vice versa. Cultivating an awareness of these sorts of preferences can enrich the trauma response.

The understanding of individual difference relates to the "acceptance" in discussing peer support felt by journalists interviewed for Data Set One. The organizational leaders in Data Set Two understand that they cannot impose strict rules related to trauma response on individuals in the newsroom, and that flexibility is necessary to promote coping and healing.

Interdepartmental support. Departments are representative of the organization, and are therefore a component of POS. Co-workers across various departments in an organization contribute to its values and culture, which "represent a significant influence on POS" (Hayton et al., 2012, p. 236). Burt (2005) suggests that interdepartmental support has become more important as organizations flatten traditional hierarchies. The journalists and managers interviewed for both Data Sets One and Two painted a rich picture of the interdepartmental support which occurred during the Oklahoma City bombing coverage. Sales departments, in particular, reported to the newsrooms, answered phones, delivered food, and helped gather supplies. Some

of the media professionals in Data Set One described colleagues from these departments as fellow journalists during the bombing event. The organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two also hold vivid memories of the interdepartmental support. Three of the leaders were sales department managers in 1995, and they played an instrumental role in the support. One described standing in the newsroom with sales staff all around, dispatching them as needed. All the leaders who are now station managers have similar recollections.

Organizational support. Direct support from the organization contributes to POS (e.g. Eisenberger et al., 1986). Organizational leaders ensured that journalists were well-fed during the bombing coverage. In Data Set One, the journalists didn't recognize the organizations provided this support, but that is because interviewers at the National Memorial phrased the question, "What was the *community* support?" (author's emphasis) which meant the Data Set One answers focused more on how the community supported them, rather than how the organizations supported them. However, the Data Set Two interviews clearly identified that the organizations generated the bulk of food support. Several organizational leaders described the gesture of providing meals as nourishing on multiple levels. They recalled that it was important to them that crews in the field were well-fed, as well as those based in the newsroom. One recalled personally delivering food to reporters and photographers on the scene. One manager remembered that his organization spent tens of thousands of dollars on two meals a day for weeks after the bombing with quality food, rather than sandwiches and pizza. Another manager believed the food table served another important purpose by providing a place for peers to connect and share feelings.

Corporate support. Two of the organizations were part of large media companies in 1995 (KFOR, The New York Times Company, and KOCO, Gannett). That connection provided one additional layer of support for those news departments. The New York Times Company and Gannett organized crews from other parts of the country to support the KFOR and KOCO newsrooms with staff during the around-the-clock coverage of the bombing. The corporate partners also supplied food, and in the case of one television station, began the conversation to organize counseling for journalists.

Together, the peer (intradepartmental), supervisor, interdepartmental, organizational, and corporate support provided comfort to journalists struggling with one of the most difficult stories of their careers, and fed into their experiences with POS during that time. Another form of support also occurred outside the organizational realm.

Community support. Individuals and groups can also offer social support outside of POS in recognition of a traumatic experience (Maercker & Muller, 2004). Broader social support occurs when those outside an individual's closest social network express caring gestures (Lehman et al., 1986), and is important because those who have been recently traumatized are more sensitive about social feedback through community channels (Herbert & Dunkel-Schetter, 1992). The journalists in Data Set One noted a variety of community support gestures, including food, cards and letters, and gifts. In one case, a citizen asked a reporter if he needed help with his laundry. The organizational leaders in Data Set Two were also overwhelmed by the community

kindness, particularly home-baked pies and cookies, as well as food donated by local restaurants.

Another form of social support was connected to media organizations both inside and outside of Oklahoma City.

Industry support. Caring gestures also poured in across multiple industry tiers, including broadcast networks, and colleagues from other news organizations. Some support came from fellow journalists in newsrooms hundreds of miles away. Fellow journalists from the *Rockford Register Star*, for instance, sent journalists at *The Daily Oklahoman* a box of candy and other food items after the bombing. It became a gesture that *The Oklahoman* has paid forward many times. Organizational leaders at the newspaper say the *Rockford Register Star* gesture had such a profound impact that it is now part of their newsroom culture to send a “comfort box” when a traumatic event happens in another part of the country or the world.

Another form of industry support came from a surprising place -- competitor news organizations. The journalists in Data Set One recalled how competitors helped each other in the wake of the bombing disaster. Media professionals in the field shared equipment such as batteries if they saw a colleague in need. The normal competitive desire to get the story first gave way to providing support to fellow media professionals.

Summary: POS and social support, journalists and managers

Data Sets One and Two corroborated most of the findings in the POS literature about alleviating trauma response in the workplace, particularly related to counseling, training, leadership, and facilitation of a supportive workplace (e.g. Viswesvaran et al., 1999).

Counseling. The journalists and managers interviewed for Data Sets One and Two experienced both positive and negative reactions to the counseling gestures. Journalism research on trauma and work recognizes the value of counseling. A number of studies recommend mental health support for journalists exposed to work trauma (Beam & Spratt, 2009; Keats & Buchanan, 2012; Newman et al, 2003; Pyevich et al., 2003). However, most of the studies provide little direction beyond “arranging for counselors to be available at the office” (Newman et al., 2003, p. 10), “offering programs that help them cope” (Beam & Spratt, 2009, p. 433), “cognitive therapy interventions to assist journalists with work-related PTSD” (Pyevich et al., 2003, p. 328), and organizing “journalists and professional counselors or psychologists work(ing) together” (Keats & Buchanan, 2012, p. 220).

Combined, Data Sets One and Two call for a more detailed understanding and orchestration of counseling efforts in journalism workplaces. The negative experiences named by the journalists and organizational leader group were varied: some felt forced; it was too soon, awkward or uncomfortable; journalists were fatigued and still busy doing the work. Two of the future organizational leaders had the added negative experience of sitting next to “grumpy” or “pissed-off” co-workers. One future organizational leader was critical of the counseling he received, because he believed the counselor to be sub-standard.

Despite the negative experiences, the journalists in Data Set One recognized the POS gesture of counseling support. Some provided specific positive details on the counseling, including appreciating the group interactions, valuing the counselor’s

interactions with journalists, and learning about dealing with their emotions from the counseling.

Together, these findings point to the complexity of the counseling experience. Much of the literature relating to POS, journalists, trauma, and PTSD recommends counseling as an instrumental support mechanism (e.g. Beam & Spratt, 2009; Mealer et al., 2012; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). But, according to the data collected for this study, the execution of the counseling experience must go much deeper than the counseling gesture itself. These findings call for a wider spectrum of counseling support than an organization would typically consider, particularly for an organization facing a large-scale traumatic work experience, such as the Oklahoma City bombing, for the first time.

This study must also acknowledge the “black box” that counseling presents to news and other organizations. An organization can offer counseling, but stigma and other factors prevent journalists from taking part. Several of the journalists interviewed for Data Set One addressed some of the stigma they perceived at the time. According to Data Set One, two of the Oklahoma City organizations attempted to work around the stigma and other factors by mandating that all news employees attend counseling sessions after the bombing. However, the consequences of that requirement were far-reaching, not only because some have vivid memories of the negative experience, but also because some of those individuals later became top organizational leaders themselves. It is unknown how the negative experience may have influenced counseling implementation in the future events those individuals managed.

Ricciardi and Gerczynski (1999) found “a strong belief of reporters that outsiders couldn’t understand the rigors of being a witness on behalf of society” (p. 36). To address questions about the quality of the counseling, this study concurs with Keats and Buchanan’s (2012) recommendation that “therapists have training and understanding of the culture of journalism and the types of assignment stress injuries with which journalists may be struggling” (p. 220). This is a daunting task, one which resides within the mental health profession, where it is recommended that counselors develop specialties, such as those that would address some of the unique aspects of journalism work.

Training. Planning and training for traumatic scenarios is another way organizations can improve POS (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Shore & Shore, 1995). Training, such as resilience preparation, can help journalists cope with potentially harmful emotional experiences (Keats & Buchanan, 2012) and can lessen PTSD symptoms for journalists (Novak & Davidson, 2013). Training connected to mental health for journalists is something the industry is slow to implement for many reasons. Griffin (2015) found that, while journalists perceived support from their supervisors regarding trauma exposure, they were not trained to cope with trauma.

The Oklahoma City leaders had almost no training pre-bombing that would have prepared them for employee trauma. Mental health issues in the workplace were an afterthought, given that EAP programs did not become commonplace until the 1990s, and that some of the top organizational leaders remembered a time when human resource departments did not exist.

News organizations are slow to adopt training practices that could alleviate trauma response among staff in part because training in general, particularly in regard to mental health issues, is not part of the news culture. New managers in the industry often lack training, and are promoted because they have achieved proficiency in a skill set (Kelleghan, 2001; Killebrew, 2004). This cultural disconnect often begins at the earliest levels of journalism training. Discussions of trauma as a part of journalism work have not been traditionally included in textbooks, nor discussed in the classroom (Simpson & Coté, 2006). The notion that journalists were able to cover difficult assignments with emotional immunity (Simpson & Coté, 2006), as well as the stigmas that exist around mental health issues in newsrooms have slowed efforts to make cognitive preparation and resilience training part of the normal news training process (Keats & Buchanan, 2012).

However, the top organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two are not opposed to training, even if it costs thousands of dollars. The findings extend Simpson's (2004) views: "With the overt industry resistance fading, the way is open to encourage better training efforts by news corporations" (p.78). News culture has been slow to adopt vigorous training methods across multiple levels, including trauma preparation and leadership training (Kelleghan, 2001; Killebrew, 2004; Griffin, 2015). The findings of this study concur with Gade & Perry (2003) in the suggestion that cultural change begins in journalism organizations at the micro level, in actionable areas such as those relating to procedures. The data in this study suggests that the small step of simply budgeting for trauma response training would be accepted by some news organizations. The DART Center for Journalism and Trauma provides a variety of

instructional materials that can be communicated to staff at no expense. The micro steps that lead to new routines can ultimately affect change in organizational culture.

Social support. Supportive gestures relate to both the organization and entities outside the organization. Interviewers at the National Memorial frequently asked the journalists interviewed for Data Set One about their recollections of community support. While many of their answers focused on support from the community, they also spoke of peer, interdepartmental, organizational, and corporate support mechanisms, which represent a holistic picture of POS in the workplace post-bombing. The journalists also noted support from individuals in the community, as well as caring gestures from competitors and journalists they didn't know from across the country. The organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two detailed how they carried out support for staff during the traumatic event. All the supportive actions fed the coping and healing for the traumatized journalists. News director 2 summed up the meaning of the combined support. "We were being so loved and so supported and there's something comforting in that, that you're better able to do your job."

The demonstrated social support adds to the understanding of the main research question of the study. The data illustrate that journalists, managers, and those who would become managers experienced all levels of support together. Respondents in Data Set Two who were not yet organizational leaders felt the same support as the journalists they would one day manage. The findings of the support category add another layer to the main research question of the study (see Figure 6). The second guiding research question for the study asks: how does trauma support in the Oklahoma City case study align or diverge from POS research on trauma? The data from the

Oklahoma City case study show that in the categories of counseling, leadership, and facilitation of social support the news organizations aligned with the POS research on trauma. The exception is the area of training, which was mostly absent before the bombing, and remains mostly absent, thereafter.

Future traumatic events

The overarching question of this study asks how the experience of a shocking traumatic event affects news organizations' execution of organizational support in future traumatic events? Thus far, the journalists and their organizational leaders have remembered and described their trauma experiences with the finding that both journalists and managers experience trauma, that some of the trauma reactions are similar, and that some of the journalists' PTSD symptoms may not be visible to managers. Further, the journalists interviewed for Data Set One experienced a positive reaction to their organizations' gestures of counseling support, even if their own experiences were negative, or if they did not want to attend counseling sessions. Together, the journalists and managers benefitted from multiple layers of social support inside their organizations and from the local community and broader journalism communities. Those interviewed for Data Set Two who were not yet at the top organizational manager level during the 1995 bombing experienced support from all levels of their organizations, and experienced felt support in connection with their own trauma responses.

These findings lead to a final section, where the organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two discuss other shocking traumatic events which occurred after the bombing, and how those events shaped their organizations' execution of

trauma response. The first large-scale traumatic event to occur after the bombing was a tornado outbreak that killed 40 people in Oklahoma (May 3, 1999 Oklahoma/Kansas Tornado Outbreak, n.d.). Journalists and storm chasers who had been following the storms arrived upon scenes of death and gory injuries (Brown, Archer, Kruger, & Mallonee, 2002). The second shocking event encompassed by this study occurred in January 2001, when a plane carrying members of the OSU basketball team, staff, and broadcasters crashed (Hutchison et al., 2001). The crash was a tragedy for people throughout the state of Oklahoma, many with ties to OSU, but it hit local journalists doubly hard, because one of the broadcasters killed worked at the CBS affiliate and was well known by others in the local journalism community.

Both these events are important to this study, because a number of journalists interviewed for Data Set One connected the tornado and plane crash to their emotional distress from the time of the bombing.

May 3 tornadoes. Some of the organizational leaders believed they improved their trauma response for employees during the May 3 tornado event. All the leaders interviewed for Data Set Two had gained four extra years of experience by the time of the 1999 tornadoes. They acknowledged that some of the trauma response measures had become routinized in their organizations. One station manager described the new routines in the 1999 event as knowing to call in counselors, to have special staff gatherings to debrief, to be more present and sensitive as a leader. News director 2 believed her organization took better care of employees after the 1999 tornado event compared to how they did it at the time of the bombing, but she questioned whether she was more experienced overall or whether the 1995 event had prepared her. News

director 2 described some of her leadership support as providing “creature comforts” such as raincoats, so journalists “would not be further impacted.”

By 1999, some of the managers had been promoted to higher-level positions. Along with promotions came the weight of more responsibility. Station manager 2 described himself as more watchful and sensitive to journalists executing the tornado coverage.

The interdepartmental support routine continued through the tornado event. Station manager 4 described it as a cultural gesture to help the news department. The news organizations continued the food tradition for journalists in the newsroom and in the field.

By the 1999 tornado outbreak, *The Daily Oklahoman* had evolved its counseling support. Organizational leaders made an effort to provide counseling to more journalists. Newspaper staff had many ways they could access mental health support: group counseling, one-on-one sessions, email, and phone conversations with the counselor. A breakthrough occurred when a high-profile male journalist made it public in the newsroom that he was seeing the counselor. Editor 2 described this process as “building champions,” because the action encouraged more male staff members to try counseling. *The Daily Oklahoman* also provided mental health tips in newsletters that were posted on the bulletin board to reach journalists considered to be unapproachable. While these conversations with the counselor were confidential, the counselor would share the general idea of some of the content with managers if the content was deemed beneficial to the entire staff.

OSU plane crash. The plane crash that took the lives of 10 OSU team and staff members on a snowy night was a different kind of traumatic event than that of the bombing or the 1999 tornado outbreak (Hutchison et al., 2001). The loss of the CBS affiliate's sports director was similar to the loss of a family member according to data collected for both Data Sets One and Two. Teegins' death was so traumatic that even journalists who were interviewed about the bombing (for Data Set One) connected his death to the emotional turmoil they experienced in 1995. The top organizational leader of the television station faced what he described as worst day of his career, when he had to call Teegins' father to let him know the plane was missing.

For the journalists and managers at the television station, covering the death of their colleague was excruciating. One of the top managers said it was important to keep his own emotions in check as the staff came together to cover the story. The public work at a time normally reserved for the most private of emotions took a toll on the journalists and leaders. The emotional labor (EL) of the work required that the journalists remain professional throughout the course of coverage.

Internally, managers disagreed about how long to stay on the air the night of the crash, which compounded the grief and trauma. Top station management wanted to be "last-off" among all the stations in Oklahoma City, in accordance with the "first-on, last-off" strategy, whereby for breaking news, the station should be the first on the air, and the last among competitors to finish with coverage. One top organizational leader who was a middle manager at the time recognized that some of Teegins' closest colleagues, his co-anchors, were grieving, even as they covered the plane crash live for the entire Oklahoma City viewing area. News director 5 described how journalists were

“begging” to get off the air, but how other top organizational leaders wanted to stay with the coverage until the rest of Oklahoma City news outlets were off the air.

Ultimately, another manager contacted the other television stations asking them to finish their own breaking coverage of the crash, which they did. That night one of the journalists revealed to a colleague interviewed for Data Set Two that “she was done” with her career.

These difficult moments reveal the intense struggles that can occur between organizational leaders and journalists during times of profound traumatic impact. At the height of employee grief, the media professionals were expected to cover the story just as they would any other, and do so in the most competitive way possible. In these moments, employees require the support of their organizations, fulfilling the concept of POS.

POS has the norm of reciprocity in its roots (Gouldner, 1960), that employees who believe they are cared for by the organization will return productivity in kind (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Eisenberger et al., 2002). When employees feel that support is not reciprocated, negative effects can occur, such as higher absenteeism and turnover (Eisenberger, n.d.; Kurtessis et al., 2015). In the case of Teegins’ death, some individuals believed they were unsupported during that phase of the coverage. This led one journalist to believe her organizational leaders had crossed a boundary with her, and she “was done.” The example also serves to demonstrate that the management team was grieving as well, and that decision-making in these moments can suffer.

After Teegins’ death, the news organization offered counseling to staff, as well as group sessions, a faith-based gathering on-site, and a tree-planting in Teegins’

memory. A new form of support also emerged in the context of this study. The owner of the station hosted a dinner at his home for middle managers and other top organizational leaders to show his appreciation and support after the tragic plane crash.

The community support was almost immediate. The plane crash was on a Saturday night and the station lobby quickly filled with flowers. The local journalism community also supported Teegins' station, resonant of the competitor support during the bombing. The local competitors specifically offered news content and personnel support. This allowed the station to continue with its regularly-scheduled news broadcasts, while at the same time, giving staff a break to go to Teegins' memorial service.

Present time. The grounded theory method and semi-structured interview format implemented in this study allowed for the top organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two to talk about other traumatic circumstances that occurred in their newsrooms after the 2001 OSU plane crash. Three events had strong leadership and emotional impacts on the managers: Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the May 2013 Moore tornado, and the 2015 death of sportscaster Bob (BBJ) Barry, Jr.

Hurricane Katrina. One of the organizational leaders covered Hurricane Katrina along with a crew from her television station. The work was nightmarish. She found herself in hip-deep water with dead bodies floating nearby. A woman tried to give her a newborn baby, and someone tried to carjack their news vehicle while the journalist was in the backseat. Despite the hellish experience, her organization provided an important form of support: listening. When the crew returned from Louisiana, they

were asked to debrief the entire station on what they had witnessed. News director 5 described the process as “very therapeutic.”

May 2013 tornadoes. In 2013, local journalists found themselves once again covering a deadly tornado. The first crews on the scene learned an elementary school was hit, and multiple children were among the fatalities (Willert, 2017). One journalist could not hold back his tears as he reported live on the air (9 Children Killed in Moore's Plaza Towers Elementary, 2013). His managers cried privately. News director 4 used her private time to pray and think motivationally, before wiping the tears away and facing her staff. She acknowledged that she would not have cried publically in the newsroom, “so I totally had to remove myself from the situation and I know that.” Station manager 4 wept as he communicated the event to his corporate offices.

These examples demonstrate that the organizational leaders believe their emotion should generally occur in private, while at the same time encouraging journalists to be more comfortable revealing their own feelings in public. The stigmas that rank-and-file journalists have experienced about emotional display are intensified for leaders. Gender can play a role. A number of women interviewed for Data Set Two revealed they believed crying in front of staff would make them appear weak as a leader.

Death of Bob Barry, Jr. In 2015, Bob (BBJ) Barry, Jr., was killed in a vehicle accident. The tragedy had similarities to Bill Teegins’ death in 2001. Barry was the NBC affiliate’s sports director. The death was unexpected, the result of an accident where the motorist faced criminal charges after the crash (KFOR-TV, Querry & Shanahan, 2015).

In talking about these events, the organizational leaders provide an opportunity in the context of this study to understand where the organizations are today in understanding and executing emotionally focused leadership during traumatic events. A middle manager contacted the police department to request mental health and faith support the night of Barry's death (Name withheld, personal communication, Nov. 29, 2017). The station also offered both individual and group counseling.

After experiencing a number of traumatic episodes along a timeline from the bombing in 1995 to the death of Barry 20 years later, News director 4 is aggressive about sharing counseling opportunities for journalists. She keeps a stack of EAP pamphlets in her office and "hands them out like candy."

Another "champion" came forward after the 2015 event, similar to the male reporter at *The Daily Oklahoman* who was open about seeking counseling. This time it was a top organizational leader. He cried in a group meeting about the loss of their colleague, which allowed others to weep openly in front of the group. Leaders who show authentic emotion provide a pathway to the normalization of emotion in the workplace (Mainiero & Gibson, 2003).

The culture of competitor support continued, as it had for the Teegins experience. Top organizational leaders at competing news organizations offered to staff Barry's station, so his co-workers could attend his memorial service, just as competitors had done after the OSU plane crash.

Journalist safety. The organizational leaders are also conscious of another form of support that is becoming increasingly necessary for journalists, safety and security. The newsroom leaders interviewed for Data Set Two who are still in the industry today

are aware of traumatic events that touch newsrooms in other parts of the country. In 2015, three people were shot during a live report on a morning newscast at WDBJ-TV in Roanoke, Virginia. A reporter and photographer were killed; the perpetrator was a former colleague (Worland, 2015). After this event, News director 4 had long conversations with staff during regular meeting times to talk about best practices and safety. One year later, someone shot at a reporter and photographer at News director 4's station. The leader called in a police officer to conduct a safety seminar. Everyone in the building was invited to attend.

The news manager who moved to a different market explained how her organization implemented crew safety procedures when journalists were exposed to riots after the police shooting in the St. Louis suburb of Ferguson. News director 1 assigned a manager to travel with the crew to support the crew in the field, particularly in terms of safety. Later on, the news director added a professional security guard to be with crews on stories similar to the Ferguson riots, as well as political rallies where attendees could potentially threaten journalists.

Editor 1 added preparedness as an element of support. She had a flashback to the 1995 bombing during a 2017 news event in downtown Oklahoma City. A bomb scare across the street from the newspaper offices "triggered something in me." The event was not only a frightening reminder of the 1995 disaster, but it also occurred just a few blocks away from the site of the Oklahoma City bombing. Afterward, Editor 1 felt a need to survey the news organization's backup facility. She was upset to find that the wifi did not work well. The situation created a series of tense conversations with the publisher who was not involved with the newspaper at the time of the bombing, and

did not understand her sense of urgency. Editor 1 remembered during coverage of a traumatic event, it can be the “little thing that might be the key that holds someone together and (help) them get the job done.”

Summary: Future traumatic events

Combined, the execution of trauma response for the disasters and tragedies to come in 1999, 2001, 2005, 2013, and 2015 improved along this timeline. By 1999, some of the managers interviewed for Data Set Two had been promoted to higher level positions. They were able to translate their experience at the time of the bombing into action during the large-scale tornado event.

All the organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two experienced the initial traumatic event relevant to this study: the Oklahoma City bombing. All the organizational leaders experienced emotional turmoil as a result of that large-scale disaster. Many of them recognized that counseling measures were not adequate in 1995; some had a negative reaction to their counseling experience, particularly those who believed they were forced to undergo counseling. All of them acknowledged that counseling is now a normal procedure in the wake of a large traumatic event, as well as events that affect a smaller number of staff members. Organizations in the Oklahoma City case study routinely offer counseling to employees using a number of delivery methods, including counselor on-site (group and one-on-one), email, phone, EAP. Station manager 1 described the efforts in his organization where an employee had died the week earlier as “‘Counselor will be here tomorrow.’ Standard. What you do.”

One organization, *The Daily Oklahoman*, took greater steps to normalize counseling in the years after the bombing. Several factors combined to make this

possible. First, the newspaper had a bit of good luck in hiring a counselor the first day of the bombing. The luck was not in the hiring, but in the person the newspaper brought in, Charlotte Lankard. She was open to trying new techniques, such as email and phone counseling. In 1999, after the Moore tornadoes, she even joined *The Daily Oklahoman* as a mental health columnist, while continuing her counseling career (Lankard, C., personal communication, Oct. 16, 2017). She remains connected to the newspaper in 2017. Another factor that improved *The Daily Oklahoman's* trauma response was managing editor Joe Hight's affiliation with the DART Center for Journalism and Trauma, which exposed him to innovative ideas that he brought back to *The Daily Oklahoman*. The group counseling, one-on-one counseling, email, phone, tip sheets on bulletin boards all served to expose as many journalists as possible to coping techniques as they were covering the most difficult stories. This environment may have made it possible for the "champion" to step forward, a male journalist well-regarded among the staff who discussed his counseling publicly and encouraged other males to feel comfortable to seek mental health support. The current editor of the newspaper was on staff from the time of the bombing through the counseling experience up until the time of this research study. Editor 1's process for trauma response in the newsroom is "I would have Charlotte here in a heartbeat...I am probably aware of every little thing now just because we've covered mental health so much. I would be all over: let's get as much help in any way, shape, or form we can."

This study finds evidence that some of the emotional stigma associated with the journalism profession is slowly fading away in the Oklahoma City newsrooms included in this study. The examples of the male newsroom leader at *The Daily Oklahoman* who

fostered a counseling breakthrough for other male employees, and the organizational leader who cried openly in front of staff after the death of Bob Barry, Jr. show that the small steps of organizational change can ultimately lead to bigger ones. The standardization of counseling practice makes it more visible and normal for the journalists as they see it happening more often in their news organizations. Even though the journalists interviewed for Data Set One were not asked specifically about their counseling experiences, almost half of them noted that counseling was made available, and almost all in that group responded positively to their organizations' gesture, even if they did not take part or had a negative perception about the counseling.

For news organizations in other cities without the large-scale and long-term trauma experience, it is likely that these de-stigmatizing effects will be slower to come. Levitt and March (1988) suggest that organizational learning is slowed by smaller numbers of learning examples. Organizational leaders who have not experienced the counseling support, both the mistakes and successes, may be slower to adopt positive gestures, such as handing out EAP pamphlets on a regular basis and encouraging non-traditional ways to reach counselors, such as email and phone. In the Oklahoma City case study, organizational leaders also executed multiple other support experiences for journalists over the period of time included in this study, including faith-based support, symbolizing experiences, such as the tree planting, and debrief sessions, such as the post-Katrina station-wide meeting and the informal dinner at the station owner's home for top organizational leaders and middle managers.

An organizational conundrum still exists in regard to journalists and counseling support. To optimize POS, organizations should offer counseling after traumatic

circumstances, but this study found a negative reaction from employees who felt forced to attend counseling sessions. Based on the Oklahoma City case study, a certain percentage of journalists will not take part in counseling, even if it is offered. The journalists interviewed for Data Set One had a variety of reasons for avoiding mental health support, including fatigue, not being available due to the extra workload, not believing they needed it, or fear of what might happen to them emotionally if they availed themselves to counseling. This study finds that time, effort, and experience can improve counseling opportunities for journalists. Managers at *The Daily Oklahoman* worked to reach these individuals in any way possible, including posting mental health tip sheets on a visible bulletin board.

The excruciating nature of the trauma experience is often messy and chaotic for organizations, leaders, and staff. Behind the scenes on the night the CBS affiliate sports director died in the plane crash, top organization leaders, middle managers, and journalists disagreed on the length of the coverage. The journalists on the front line of the coverage were grieving and felt they could not go on, but top organizational leaders wanted extended coverage. One journalist in the midst of the coverage and the management tug-of-war told one of her managers she “was done.” This example represents the worst-case scenario for organizations when the trauma response and support is inadequate. The best of POS means that employees feel cared for by the organization and reciprocate with loyalty and productivity (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Eisenberger et al., 2002). If the trauma response makes employees feel unsupported, they could respond by leaving the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

This study has established that the top organizational leaders can experience trauma as profoundly as the journalists in the field. This shows that all members of the organization involved in traumatic events, including managers, can be experiencing trauma effects. In the case of Teegins' employees at all levels of the organization felt as a member of their family had died. These extreme emotions can affect decision-making in the most chaotic, difficult events. These lapses in turn can have dramatic results for the organization.

More than half the journalists interviewed for Data Set One talked about how support across the organization, the community, and the industry assisted in their coping post-bombing. What started as small gestures of sharing batteries and equipment during the 1995 bombing grew to larger support across competitor lines in the years after. News organizational leaders in Oklahoma City have created a standard that "when tragedies happen those silos come down, and you offer to help as much as you can" (Station manager 4). During difficult times, such as the deaths of Bill Teegins or Bob Barry, Jr., one form of competitor support is to provide content and people, so journalists may feel free to attend their colleague's memorial service.

The organizational leaders also include safety and preparedness as part of the support they want to provide journalists. After shots were fired at two journalists, one leader believed it was important to facilitate a seminar on safety conducted by local police. News director 1 assigned a middle manager and hired a security guard to assist crews covering the Ferguson riots and other potentially dangerous stories. The top organizational leaders at *The Oklahoman* are prepared with a backup facility in the event that the current building is damaged or destroyed. Editor 1 is passionate about

having the technology media professionals need to get the job done in case of a traumatic event. She also underlined the need for everyday items “because you know when you’re metaphorically picking people up off the floor, a little thing like an extension cord or a roll of duct tape could be the trigger that makes them maybe not be able to do the job.”

Limitations and directions for future research

As a qualitative study with a limited number of participants, the results are limited to the small data set of the 13 leaders from four Oklahoma City news organizations. Despite the small sample size the researcher endeavored to provide “thick description,” a wide range of traumatic situations faced by journalists, and intimate details of those experiences.

Further research in this area should broaden the numbers of respondents to provide more generalizable data, as well as be inclusive of managers in other geographic areas to seek similarities and differences from the Oklahoma City case. Continued research in this area should include more middle-level managers. This study population focused on top station and top news department leaders, but these interviewees frequently mentioned middle managers, which demonstrates a potentially fertile area of research among this often-overlooked group.

Most of the interviews for Data Set One were gathered after 2008. It is unknown how the journalists might have described their experiences differently had they been interviewed closer to the time frame of the 1995 bombing event. Further, the researcher was working with archival material gathered by other interviewees for Data Set One. Given the researcher’s interest in organizational leadership surrounding

journalists and trauma, under ideal circumstances she would have been able to conduct the interviews for the first data set to ask specific questions targeted to this study.

For Data Set Two, one limitation is the passage of time. The interviews for Data Set Two were conducted in 2017, 22 years after the bombing, almost 20 years since the May 1999 tornadoes, and 16 years since the OSU plane crash. In some cases, subjects had difficulty remembering details for specific questions in the years since the events occurred. Certain events, such as tornado coverage, blurred together for some of the leaders.

Finally, the researcher wanted to provide a consistent baseline of experience for all the subjects in Data Set Two (1995 bombing, 1999 tornadoes, 2001 plane crash). This created a rich amount of data from the three event time periods amongst the top leadership group. However, additional research would benefit our understanding of managers in current leadership roles who do not have experience of the large-scale traumatic events. How does the trauma response differ in those newsrooms versus newsrooms with long-term managers who have experienced the most difficult community disasters?

Implications for journalism

Despite these limitations, the study extends our understanding of journalism, trauma, and management. These findings are significant, because no other study regarding trauma and journalism has focused on organizational leaders to the extent this study has. The few studies which have addressed the subject have not systematically probed the topic for the impact on the newsroom leaders across a number of organizations.

Importantly, the research establishes that organizational leaders experience trauma alongside the journalists they manage. The literature and research recognize that reporters, photojournalists, and others in the field need many levels of support to mitigate their trauma reactions, but this study reveals it is also crucial for managers and middle managers to receive emotional support. One event referenced in Chapter 7 illustrates the urgent need for this recognition.

One of the news organizations experienced a traumatic event one year before the bombing. A young reporter, Kathy Jones, died in the crash of an aerobatic plane. Some of her co-workers witnessed the crash.

Cameraman Paul Beesley was on the bridge filming the planes from that angle. An hour after the crash he was leaning against one of the station's vans, still visibly shaken, tears streaming down his cheeks. Other reporters milled around, talked quietly with each other, remembering all the times their assignments took them up in airplanes, to hostage situations or to shootings. (Sutter, 1994, para. 13)

The devastating consequences of the plane crash rippled throughout the newsroom. The photographer who captured video from the ground that day ultimately died of a drug overdose (Name withheld, personal communication, Nov. 29, 2017). One of the middle managers who assigned the story “was unbelievably affected because he assigned her to that story. For years he carried that with him. Like he was responsible...It devastated him” (News director 4).

For the middle manager, after the plane crash, “I thought it was my fault.” The pilot did not have a valid pilot’s license (Reporter’s Widower Files Lawsuit, 1994), and the middle manager believed, in some way, he could have prevented the reporter’s death. The middle manager shouldered the responsibility of organizing Jones’ funeral, because her husband, who also worked at the station as a reporter, “couldn’t do it.”

I was the guy that was supposed to be the tough guy that kept everyone else in line that kept everyone from breaking down and whatnot. I'm the guy who's not supposed to do that. It was rough. It was really, really rough.

The plane crash happened less than a year before the bombing. The middle manager began to see a counselor, but he didn't feel as if he was improving. He was able to ignore his emotions during the weeks of the non-stop bombing coverage, because "I'm just throwing myself into work a lot more." But then grieving families

came to us with their pictures. "Do you know this kid? Where is he?" He was dead. They were all dead. Everybody who came in here -- nobody found a living relative that came here looking for them. Not one of them.

Then a few weeks later,

For some reason that morning I just lost it. I don't remember a whole lot about it. I remember I tried to hang myself in my closet with a belt. And, um, apparently it didn't work. Obviously, it didn't work. Then I dove out a second story window. I don't remember diving out the window. I remember waking up in the hospital.

The middle manager began his career as a photojournalist. Through a long career in journalism, the traumatic stories piled one atop of the other, including the Edmond, Oklahoma postal shootings referenced in Chapter 7, where he was assigned to shoot video of the bodies as they were brought out of the building. He recalled there was "so much stress building up. It was the little things."

All the tragedy you see -- the grieving people. I'm guessing all this affected me a tiny little bit at a time. It all builds. Sometimes you're standing out there and you're at the scene and don't feel anything. But you're out there doing your job and you've got to do it.

In his case, his colleagues tried to comfort him after the plane crash. During the months before his suicide attempt, coworkers "thought I was better. I didn't know I was holding (the guilt). I was trying to get rid of it." He believes traumatic experience for managers is especially concerning, because "no one's watching out for you."

His experience reflects the guilt, regret, and traumatic response that can accumulate for news managers over time. Reporters, photographers, and others in harm's way are tethered emotionally to managers who bear responsibility for their experience in the field. Many managers are still processing the complicated emotions they experienced earlier in their careers as reporters and photographers. This example serves to communicate that managers, especially middle managers, are often forgotten in the conversation about journalism and trauma. In a widespread community disaster such as the bombing, the newsroom becomes a place of more trauma as victims seek help to find their missing loved ones.

This study establishes another way that journalists and managers experience trauma together. In the bombing, many of the journalists became early witnesses as they arrived at the bomb site. They saw lifeless bodies pulled from the rubble, some of them young children. In other cases, victims died as journalists watched. The bomb scare sent everyone at the scene running, including reporters, photographers, and other media professionals. As the journalists became primary victims of trauma, as defined by the APA manual (Friedman, n.d), their co-workers and managers suffered a secondary traumatic stress (STS) experience. This study contributes to the understanding that trauma reaction is not limited to the individual. In news organizations when a journalist becomes a primary trauma victim, colleagues and managers can suffer secondary reactions.

The ripple effects of trauma affect the power structure of news organizations. For leaders, their power is both accentuated and reduced. Power is reduced, as managers experience and cope with traumatic events alongside their staff, but power is

also strengthened, as staffs rely on leaders for support mechanisms, such as counseling, communication, and needed resources. These moments create equalizing events which can unify managers and journalists and lead to less formal, less hierarchal supportive interactions.

A number of POS gestures occurred post-bombing and after other traumatic events, including counseling, leadership, and social support actions. Both journalists and the organizations can benefit from such gestures. For the journalists, the actions can alleviate traumatic response (Barnes et al., 2013; Kelley et al., 2014).

Organizations benefit from POS, because it indicates lower turnover, lower absenteeism, and higher commitment to the organization and performance (Eisenberger et al, 2002; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002)

The journalists interviewed for Data Set One acknowledged that counseling during the time of the bombing was a positive gesture, even though some were critical of how the counseling took place. In the years since 1995, all the Oklahoma City organizations have refined counseling opportunities after traumatic events. This study finds that multiple ways of receiving counseling for journalists seems to be the best approach.

The top organizational leaders in the study who are still working in newsrooms and media organizations in 2017 have deepened their approaches to management when traumatic events occur, including being proactive with EAP recommendations and getting counselors on-site almost immediately post-trauma. *The Oklahoman's* example of establishing a deep relationship with one counselor over time is recommended to all news organizations.

Further, deep culturally-established gestures in the Oklahoma City case, such as “real food” and interdepartmental support are recommended for other news organizations. The journalists interviewed for Data Set One recognized these actions as healing gestures. However, the example of the returning news manager who shared that her news organization did not have the culture of sales department support during difficult circumstances demonstrates that this kind of support is not part of news culture everywhere. Organizations without interdepartmental support mechanisms miss opportunities to increase POS.

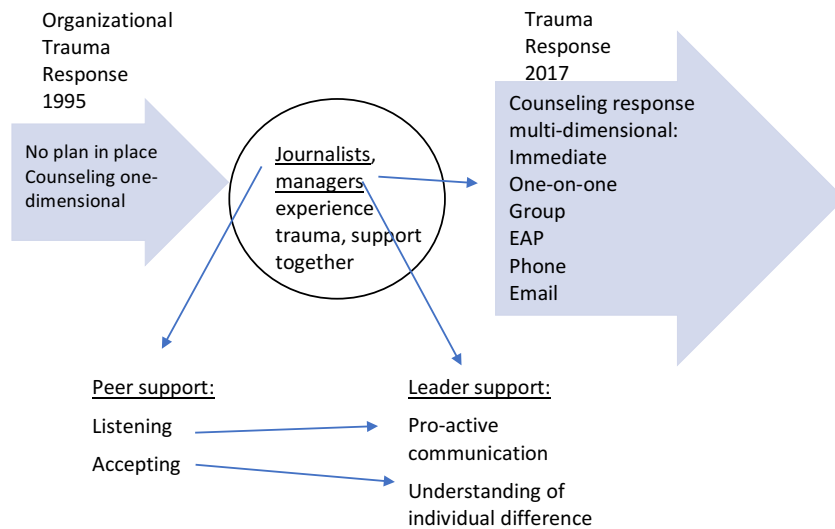
Community support was widely recognized as healing for the journalists interviewed for Data Set One. From an organizational leadership aspect, social support from the community cannot be planned or forced. It occurs organically and spontaneously from local individuals. Yet, the organization can ensure that every gesture from the community is communicated to the journalists. Letters of support, notes with food, supportive phone calls can be visibly shared to all in the news department, keeping in mind that some crews are out in the field, and may not be aware of the community support gestures.

Some of the social support mechanisms can be driven by the organization. Peer support can be enhanced by leadership and training to ensure that all in the news department have the opportunity to benefit. Managers can identify informal newsroom leaders, seek “champions” to communicate healthy post-trauma responses, and informally encourage staff to assume peer-support roles. Leaders can also transmit cultural norms that “pay forward” support practices, such as sending food to newsrooms in other parts of the country or world when devastating events occur.

Finally, this study offers a model (Figure 8) to explain how the timeline of traumatic events affected the execution of support in the Oklahoma City case study. The 1995 arrow represents the counseling support that occurred after the Oklahoma City bombing. Counseling, at the time, was one-dimensional, and for most of the organizations, with the exception of *The Daily Oklahoman*, occurred days or weeks after the event. By 2017, organizations have a number of ways to reach employees through immediate counseling support.

The managers have translated their own trauma experience into actions which foster empathetic management practice. The listening behaviors that the peers of Data Set One found to be healing have become part of a pro-active communication process practiced by the organizational leaders interviewed for Data Set Two, as well as an understanding of individual difference, which mirrored the acceptance that peers felt after the time of the bombing in Data Set One. The work experience of the bombing in 1995 for the top organizational leaders in the study allowed them a deeper understanding of what trauma feels like and how to respond (see Figure 8).

Figure 3: Model of Trauma Response Timeline



Training in regards to trauma is one area that has been slow for leaders to incorporate into the Oklahoma City newsrooms. One reason is that the leaders have experienced little, if any, training in this area themselves. Therefore, they have no understanding of the effects that training could have in the workplace, as they do for support mechanisms, such as counseling, leadership considerations, and social support facilitation. Data Set Two indicates small steps toward more training directed at staff members, such as the example of a safety seminar after shots were fired at local journalists. The data also indicate that top organizational leaders are willing to budget for trauma-related training for journalists.

This study recommends that news organizations begin trauma training as an aspect of new employee orientation, by providing materials for newly hired journalists that include resources and information on trauma, including EAP contacts, DART Center information, tip sheets, and any other resources. Further, news organizations should have regular workplace sessions that include cognitive preparation and resilience

training for traumatic work situations. Peer leaders should be trained, mentors assigned, and trauma teams established so that employees can look out for one another. New employees should be assigned to a trauma team and mentor on their first day of work.

However, the managers themselves will benefit from trauma response training. Journalist POS will improve when managers learn how to recognize trauma symptoms and how to avoid some of the negative experiences referenced in this study. This recommendation goes beyond the boundaries of the individual journalism organizations. Industry groups such as the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), the Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA), the Broadcast Education Association (BEA), among others, can join the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma in providing workshops and sessions where managers have the opportunity to learn more about coping with large-scale traumatic situations in the workplace.

This study expands the theoretical knowledge base of journalism and trauma by creating a new understanding of the trauma experience for top organizational leaders in media organizations. The grounded theory method allowed for a broader understanding of ways the most tragic news stories affect newsroom and organizational leaders. The method allowed for the lived events of the subjects to reveal themselves through the interviews and analysis, along with the areas of focus determined by the researcher. The study further extends knowledge of POS and trauma in the workplace regarding the counseling, training, leadership, and support experiences communicated by Data Set One and Two.

The study further contributes practical guidelines for journalism organizations. Newsroom leaders are urged to review trauma management practice to ensure that

counseling procedures are well-communicated and available through a variety of methods, including in-person, and via phone and email. Tips should be displayed in visible areas for journalists who may not seek counseling. Trauma training will potentially improve emotional health outcomes for both media professionals and their leaders. This research recommends that HR departments in news organizations improve trauma awareness for new journalists by providing trauma information packets, workplace mentors, and assignment to trauma awareness teams when they are first hired. Empathetic leadership methods, such as proactive communication, can improve POS in the workplace. Various organizational support gestures, including food and interdepartmental assistance during difficult breaking news events can help journalists cope post-trauma. Top organizational leaders and news department heads can take proactive steps to execute trauma response initiatives meaningful for journalists and for themselves.

Conclusion

The analysis of Data Set One and Data Set Two contributed to three main areas of understanding relating to journalism and trauma. First, the study established that news organizational leaders experience trauma alongside journalists. Second, a number of support mechanisms, including peer, supervisor, interdepartmental, organizational, and corporate, are healing, in addition to community and industry support. Third, the organizational leaders improve some aspects of trauma response when exposed to multiple large-scale disasters over time.

Further, the analysis of Data Set one revealed that a number of journalists from the time of the Oklahoma City bombing experienced symptoms connected to PTSD, but

to their managers their symptoms were not always visible. Some of the Data Set Two group also experienced symptoms of PTSD, in particular, the startle and reactivity effect related to the top organizational leaders' Ryder truck fears. Managers also revealed other emotional reactions post-bombing, including depression and compartmentalization. Journalists who arrived at the blast site soon after the bombing experienced primary trauma as a bomb scare made them fear for their lives. Their managers and colleagues then experienced secondary trauma as they watched the journalists, some of them still reporting live, run to safety.

Some of the findings from the Oklahoma City case study could be described as cautiously optimistic in terms of news organizations' trauma responses for journalists in the first half of the 21st century. Data Sets One and Two demonstrate that some of the traditional stigma of journalism organizations may slowly fade when newsrooms routinize mental health support such as counseling and when top leaders reveal their own human emotions after difficult events. The middle manager who attempted suicide after his colleague died in the plane crash is open about his experience today. He returned to work two weeks after he tried to kill himself. Today, he believes "it's a lot different. It's okay to get help now. It's open now and that's a good thing."

However, the optimism is tempered by caveats. This study has focused on a population of organizational leaders that worked in a geographic media market through multiple traumatic events. This study has established that, as a whole, the market advanced some of its trauma response execution from the criterion of the 1995 bombing. All the news organizations in the study had some consistency of leadership, providing a thread from the time of the bombing to the present. One concern is that

when that thread breaks, if the trauma response gestures have not been fully routinized and part of the news organization culture, the progress will fall away over time.

Another concern is the finding that managers experience trauma. The grounded theory method allowed this finding to surface, despite the study's initial focus on journalists and organizational leadership post-trauma. The extent of the manager trauma is troubling, because it remains unacknowledged for the most part in journalism research on trauma. As News director 2 put it, "In a normal newsroom the managers would receive the least attention...I think probably managers need a little bit more care than they're given. Maybe they're a group that we don't look at and we should take better care." The findings of this study encourage the understanding and acknowledgement that news managers experience trauma alongside the journalists they manage. Emotionally-healthy managers can better facilitate emotionally-resilient journalists and newsrooms.

More optimistically, news organizations do not have to undergo the multiple traumas of the Oklahoma City case study to more successfully manage traumatic events in their newsrooms. Any news organization can learn from the timeline demonstrated here. Counseling support, training and planning, and facilitation of social support can all be organized and prepared well before a traumatic event occurs. Leadership expertise comes with time, experience, and training. This study concurs with others in this subject area that training is a priority for trauma response management.

Terrible events mark the calendar of trauma: April 19, May 3, September 11. Journalists and their managers cannot predict when the next tragedy will strike, nor can they control the random and cruel nature of the news cycle. News employees will

experience trauma when they report on acts of terror, a devastating tornado, or the death of a colleague. Traumatic news events cannot be foreseen, but support, training and knowledge can empower journalists and their managers to face the timeline of trauma with fortitude, resilience, and endurance.

References

- Abdul-Hamid, W.K. & Hughes, J.H. (2014). Nothing new under the sun: Post-traumatic stress disorders in the ancient world. *Early Science and Medicine*, 19, 549-557.
- Adams, R.E., Boscarino, J.A. & Figley, C.R. (2006). Compassion fatigue and psychological distress among social workers: A validation study. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 76(1), 103-108.
- Adams, K.B., Matto, H.C., Harrington D. (2001). The Traumatic Stress Institute Belief Scale as a measure of vicarious trauma in a national sample of clinical social workers. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 82(4), 363-371.
- Agaibi, C. & Wilson, J. (2005). Trauma, PTSD, and resilience: A review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 6(3), 195-216.
- Aiken, C. (1996). Reporters are victims, too. *Nieman Reports*, 50(3). 30-32.
- Albarran, A. (2017). *Management of electronic and digital media*, 6th ed. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning.
- American Psychiatric Association Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics. (2000). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- American Psychiatric Association Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics. (2013). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 5th ed. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- Andreasen, N.C. (2010). Post-traumatic stress disorder: A history and a critique. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1208, 67-71.
- Applebome, P. (1986). Mail carrier kills 14 in post office, Then himself. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/21/us/mail-carrier-kills-14-in-post-office-then-himself.html?pagewanted=all>
- Argyris, C. (1995). Action science and organizational learning. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 10(6), 20-26.
- Argyris, C. & Schön, D.A. (1978). *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

- Austin, J.R. (2003). Transactive memory in organizational groups: the effects of content, consensus, specialization, and accuracy on group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88*, 866-78.
- Backholm, K. & Bjorkqvist, K. (2012). Journalists' emotional reactions after working with the Jokela school shooting incident. *Media, War & Conflict, 5*(2), 175-190.
- Baird, S. & Jenkins, S.R. (2003). Vicarious traumatization, secondary traumatic stress, and burnout in sexual assault and domestic violence agency staff. *Violence and Victims, 18*(1), 71-86.
- Bance, S., Links, P., Strike, C., Bender, A., Eynan, R., Bergmans, Y., ... Antony, J. (2014). Help-seeking in transit workers exposed to acute psychological trauma: A qualitative analysis. *Work, 48*, 3-10.
- Baran, S.J. & Davis, D.K. (2012). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Bardoel, J. & Deuze, M. (2001). Network journalism: Converging competencies of media professionals and professionalism. *Australian Journalism Review, 23*(2), 91-103.
- Barnard, C. I. (1938). *The functions of the executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barnes, J.B., Nickerson, A., Adler, A.B., & Litz, B.T. (2013). Perceived military organizational support and peacekeeper distress: A longitudinal investigation. *Psychological Services, 10*(2), 177-185.
- Barzun, J. & Graff, H.F. (1992). *The modern researcher* (5th ed.). Orlando, FL: Harcourt College Publishers.
- Bass, B.M. (1990). From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share the vision. *Organizational Dynamics, 18*, 19-31.
- Bass, J.K., Annan, J., McIvor Murray, S., Kaysen, D., Griffiths, S., Cetinoglu, T., ... Bolton, P. A. (2013). Controlled trial of psychotherapy for Congolese survivors of sexual violence. *New England Journal of Medicine, 368*(23), 2182-2191.
- Beam, R.A. & Di Cicco, D.T. (2010). When women run the newsroom: Management change, gender and the news. *Journalism & Mass Communications Quarterly, 87*(2), 393-411.
- Beam, R.A., & Spratt, M. (2009). Managing vulnerability. *Journalism Practice, 3*(4), 421-438.

- Becvar, D. (2003). The impact on the family therapist of a focus on death, dying, and bereavement. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 29, 469-477.
- Bierce, A. (1891). *Tales of soldiers and civilians*. New York City, NY: United States Book Company.
- Blau, P. & Scott, W. (1962). *Formal organizations: A comparative approach*. San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing, Co.
- Bootzin, R.R. (1997). Examining the theory and clinical utility of writing about emotional experiences. *Psychological Science*, 8(3), 167-169.
- Boscarino, J.A. (1995). Post-traumatic stress and associated disorders among Vietnam Veterans: The significance of combat exposure and social support. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 8(2), 317-336.
- Bowen, D. & Schneider, B. (2014). A service climate synthesis and future research agenda. *Journal of Service Research*, 17(1), 5-22.
- Boyd, R. & Richerson, P.J. (2009). Culture and the evolution of human cooperation. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B.: Biological Sciences*, 364, 3281-3288.
- Bragg, R. (1995, May 3). Terror in Oklahoma: The children; Tender memories of day-care center are all that remain after the bomb. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/05/03/us/terror-oklahoma-children-tender-memories-day-care-center-are-all-that-remain.html>
- Breslau, N. (2002). Epidemiological studies of trauma, posttraumatic stress disorder, and other psychiatric disorders. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 47(10), 923-930.
- Brewin, C.R., Andrews, B., & Valentine, J.D. (2000). Meta-analysis of risk factors for posttraumatic stress disorder in trauma-exposed adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 68(5), 748-766.
- Bride, B. (2007). Prevalence of secondary traumatic stress among social workers. *Social Work*, 52(1), 63-70.
- Bride, B. & Figley, C.R. (2007). The fatigue of compassionate social workers: An introduction to the special issue on compassion fatigue. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 35, 151-153.
- Britt, T.W. (2000). The stigma of psychological problems in a work environment: Evidence from the screening of service members returning from Bosnia. *Journal*

of Applied Social Psychology, 30, 1599-1618.

- Brown, S., Archer, P., Kruger, E. & Mallonee, S. (2002). Tornado-related deaths and injuries in Oklahoma due to the 3 May 1999 tornadoes. Retrieved from [https://doi.org/10.1175/1520-0434\(2002\)017<0343:TRDAII>2.0.CO;2](https://doi.org/10.1175/1520-0434(2002)017<0343:TRDAII>2.0.CO;2)
- Browne, T., Evangelini, M., & Greenberg, N. (2012). Trauma-related guilt and posttraumatic stress among journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(2), 125-235.
- Bryant, R.A., Mastrodomenico, J., Felmingham, K.L., Hopwood, S., Kenny, L., Kandris, E., ...Creamer, M. (2008). Treatment of acute stress disorder: A randomized controlled trial. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 65, 659-667.
- Buchanan, M. & Keats, P. (2011). Coping with traumatic stress in journalism: A critical ethnographic study. *International Journal of Psychology*, 2, 127-135.
- Burroughs, P. (1999, February 20). At local papers, News touches nerves. *Editor & Publisher*, 78.
- Burt, R. S. (2005). *Brokerage and closure: An introduction to social capital*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, T.A., Pickett, T.C., & Yoash-Gantz, R.E. (2010). Psychological rehabilitation for U.S. veterans. In E. Martz (Ed.), *Trauma rehabilitation after war and conflict: Community and individual perspectives* (pp. 159-176). New York City: Springer.
- Carlier, I.V., Lamberts, R.D., & Gersons, B.P. (1997). Risk factors for posttraumatic stress symptomatology in police officers: A prospective analysis. *Journal of Nervous Mental Disorders*, 185(8), 498-506.
- Carpentier, N. (2005). Identity, contingency, and rigidity. *Journalism*, 6(2), 199-219.
- Carter, C. & Kodrich, K. (2013). Challenges and dangers of reporting in a tumultuous border region: How journalists at the *El Paso Times* deal with the violence in neighboring Ciudad Juarez. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(2), 331-346.
- Carver, C.S., Scheier, M.F., & Weintraub, J.K. (1989). Assessing coping strategies: A theoretical approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(2), 267-283.
- Casey, G. (2003). From a professional. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 24(1), 110.

- Chan, C.W.H., Molassiotis, A., Yam, B.M.C., Chan, S.J., & Lam, C.S.W. (2001). Traveling through the cancer trajectory: Social support perceived by women with gynecological cancer in Hong Kong. *Cancer, Nursing, 24*, 387-394.
- Chittum, R. (2014). Management isn't journalism's strong suit. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from http://archives.cjr.org/the_audit/management_journalism_training_leadership.php
- Coetzee, S.K., & Klopper, H.C. (2010). Compassion fatigue within nursing practice: A concept analysis. *Nursing & Health Sciences, 12*, 235-243.
- Coffman, S. & Ray, M.A. (1999). Mutual intentionality: A theory of support processes in pregnant African women. *Qualitative Health Research, 9*, 479-492.
- Coffman, S. & Ray, M.A. (2002). African American women describe support processes during high-risk pregnancy and postpartum. *Journal of Obstetrics Gynecology and Neonatal Nursing 31*(5), 536-544.
- Cook, B. & Banks, S. (1993) Predictors of job burnout in reporters and copy editors. *Journalism Quarterly, 70*(1), 108-17.
- Cook, B., Banks, S., & Turner, R. (1993). The effects of work environment on burnout in the newsroom. *Newspaper Research Journal, 14*, 123-136.
- Cooper, A. (1999). Dealing with the trauma of covering war. *Nieman Reports, 53*(2), 24-26.
- Coté, W. & Simpson, R. (2000). *Covering Violence: A guide to ethical reporting about victims & trauma*. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Couture, S. M., & Penn, D. L. (2003). Interpersonal contact and the stigma of mental illness: A review of the literature. *Journal of Mental Health, 12*, 291-305.
- Crocq, M.A., & Crocq, L. (2000). From shell shock and war neurosis to posttraumatic stress disorder: A history of psychotraumatology. *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience, 2*(1), 47-55.
- Cyert, R.M. & March, J.G. (1964). *A behavioral theory of the firm*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Daniels, G., & Hollifield, C.A. (2002). Times of turmoil: Short- and long-term effects of organizational change on newsroom employees. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 79*, 661-680.

- DaSent, G.W. (1866). *The saga of Gisli the outlaw*. Retrieved from http://sagadb.org/gisla_saga_surssonar.en
- Davidson & Baum (1994). Psychophysiological aspects of chronic stress following trauma. In R.J. Ursano, B.G. McCaughey, & C.S. Fullerton (Eds.), *The structure of human chaos* (pp. 360-377). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Definition of trauma. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/trauma>
- Demerouti, E., Bakker, A.B., Nachreiner, F., & Schaufeli, W.B. (2001). The job demands-resources model of burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 499-512.
- Denzin, N.K. (1978). *Sociological Methods*. New York City, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1998). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Dexter, L.A. (1970). *Elite and specialized interviewing*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Dickstein, B.D., McLean, C.P., Mintz, J., Conoscenti, L.M., Steenkamp, M.M., Benson, T.A., & Litz, B.T. (2010). Unit cohesion and PTSD symptom severity in Air Force medical personnel. *Military Medicine, 175*, 482-486.
- Drabek, T.E. (2000). Disaster evacuations. *Cornell Hotel & Restaurant Administration Quarterly, 41*(4), 48-57.
- Drummond, W.J. (2004). Equipping journalists with tools for emotional balance. *Nieman Reports, 58*(2), 79-81.
- Dubberly, S., Griffin, E., & Bal, H.B. (2015). Making secondary trauma a primary issue: A study of eyewitness media and vicarious trauma on the digital frontline. *Eyewitness Media Hub*. Retrieved from <http://eyewitnessmediahub.com/research/vicarious-trauma>
- Dutton, M.A., & Rubinstein, F.L. (1995). Working with people with PTSD: Research implications. In C.R. Figley (Ed.), *Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat the traumatized* (pp. 82-100). New York City, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Dworznik, G. (2011). Factors contributing to PTSD and compassion fatigue in television news workers. *International Journal of Business, Humanities & Technology, 1*(1), 22-32.

- Eisenberger, R. (n.d.). Perceived organizational support. Retrieved from <http://classweb.uh.edu/eisenberger/perceived-organizational-support/>
- Eisenberger, R., Huntington, R., Hutchison, S., & Sowa, D. (1986). Perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 71*, 500-507.
- Eisenberger, R., Stinglhamber, F., Vandenberg, C., Sucharski, I., Rhoades, L. (2002). Perceived supervisor support: Contributions to perceived organizational support and employee retention. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(3), 565-573.
- Everbach, T. (2006). The culture of a women-led newspaper: An ethnographic study of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 83*(3), 477-493.
- Farhi, P. (2011). Speak no evil. *American Journalism Review, 33*(3), 22-27.
- Fedler, F. (2004). Insiders' stories: Coping with newsroom stress: An historical perspective. *American Journalism, 21*(3), 77-106.
- Feinstein, A. (2004) The psychological hazards of war journalism. *Nieman Reports, 58*(2), 75-76.
- Feinstein, A. (2006). *Journalists under fire: The psychological hazards of covering war*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Feinstein, A., Owen, J., & Blair, N. (2002). A hazardous profession: War, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 159*, 1570-1575.
- Fields, T. (1999). Facing the feelings: In the rush to move ahead, journalists often fail to deal with the personal effects of traumatic coverage. *Quill, 87*(9), 16.
- Figley, C.R. (1978). Psychosocial adjustment among Vietnam veterans: An overview of the research, in C.R. Figley (Ed.), *Stress disorders among Vietnam veterans: Theory, research, and treatment* (pp. 57-70). New York City, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Figley, C.R. (1983). Catastrophes: An overview of family reactions. In C.R. Figley, & H.I. McCubbin (Eds.), *Stress and the family, Volume II* (pp. 3-20). New York City, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Figley, C.R. (2002a). Compassion fatigue: Psychotherapists' chronic lack of self care. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 58*, 1433-1441.
- Figley, C.R. (2002b). *Treating compassion fatigue*. New York City, NY: Brunner-Routledge.

- Finlay, L. & Gough, B. (2008). *Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Flannery, R.B. (1990). Social support and psychological trauma: A methodological review. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 3(4), 593-611.
- Flyvberg, B. (2011). Case study. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 301-316). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Fortner, R. S., & Christians, C. G. (1981). Separating wheat from chaff in qualitative studies. In G. H. Stempel & B. H. Westley (Eds.), *Research methods in mass communication* (pp. 363-374). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Freinkel, A., Koopman, C., & Spiegel, D. (1994). Dissociative symptoms in media eyewitnesses of an execution. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 151(9), 1335-1339.
- Friedman, M.J. (n.d.). PTSD history and overview. Retrieved from <https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/ptsd-overview/ptsd-overview.asp>
- Friedman, M.J. (2000). Post-traumatic stress disorder: The latest assessment and treatment strategies. Kansas City, MO: Compact Clinicals.
- Gade, P.J. (2004). Newspapers and organizational development: Management and journalist perceptions of newsroom cultural change. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*. 6(1), 3-55.
- Gade, P.J. & Perry, E.L. (2003). Changing the newsroom culture: A four-year case study of organizational development at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. 80(2), 327-347.
- Gassaway, B. (1989). Making sense of war: An autobiographical account of a Vietnam War correspondent. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. 25(4), 327-349.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The Interpretation of cultures* (pp 3-30). New York City, NY: Basic Books.
- Geisler, J. (2005). Out of Balance: Poynter survey reveals journalists' pressure points. Retrieved from <https://www.poynter.org/news/out-balance-poynter-survey-reveals-journalists-pressure-points>
- Germer, F. (1995). How do you feel? *American Journalism Review*, 17(5), 36-43.
- Glaser, B. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- George, J. M., Reed, T. F., Ballard, K. A., Colin, J., & Fielding, J. (1993). Contact with AIDS patients as a source of work-related distress: Effects of organizational and social support. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36(1), 157-171.
- Goldstone, R. L. & Kersten, A. (2003). *Concepts and categorization*. *Handbook of psychology*. 8(22), 597-621.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review*, 25, 161-178.
- Gravetter, F. J., & Forzano, L. B. (2003). *Research methods for the behavioral sciences*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- The Great Plains Tornado Outbreak of May 3-4, 1999. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.weather.gov/oun/events-19990503>
- Greenberg, N., Gould, M., Langston, V., & Brayne, M. (2009). Journalists' and media professionals' attitudes to PTSD and help-seeking: A descriptive study. *Journal of Mental Health*, 18, 543-548.
- Griffin, K. (2015). Conflict in journalism: Understanding emotional trauma in the newsroom (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://shareok.org/handle/11244/23327>
- Hall, S. (1975). *Paper voices: The popular press and social change, 1935-1965* (introduction) by Smith, A.C.H., Immirzi, E. & Blackwell, T. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Halpern, E.S. (1983). *Auditing naturalistic inquiries: The development and application of a model*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Indiana University.
- Hayton, J., Carnabuci, G., & Eisenberger, R. (2012). With a little help from my colleagues: A social embeddedness approach to perceived organizational support. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 33, 235–249.
- Hegyvary, S. (2004). Clarifying social support. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 36(4), 287.
- Helsley, R. (2016, Jan. 26). OSU basketball: Current Cowboys remember the 10. Retrieved from <http://newsok.com/article/5474950>
- Hemingway, E. (1926). *A farewell to arms*. New York City, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.

- Hendriks, M., Nelson, J. K., Cornelius, R. R., & Vingerhoets, A. (2008). Why crying improves our well-being: An attachment-theory perspective on the functions of adult crying. In A. J. J. M. Vingerhoets, I. Nyklicek, and J. Denollet (Eds.), *Emotion regulation: Conceptual and clinical issues* (pp. 87-96). New York City, NY: Springer.
- Herbert, T.B. & Dunkel-Schetter, C. (1992). Negative social reactions to victims: An overview of responses and their determinants. In L. Montada, S.H. Fillipp, & M.J. Lerner (Eds.), *Life crisis and experiences of loss in adulthood* (pp. 497-518). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hight, J. & Smyth, F. (2003). Tragedies and journalists. Retrieved from <http://dartcenter.org/content/tragedies-journalists-6#.VUg1ZtNViko>
- Hill, D.N. (2015). Oklahoma City bombing: Journalistic trauma and regret. Paper presented at Broadcast Education Association conference, Las Vegas, NV.
- Hill, D.N. (2016, September 29). *Long-term implications of a traumatic event on newsroom leadership*. Speech presented at Pulitzer Centennial, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Ok.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, 551-575.
- Hollifield, C.A. (2011). Changing perceptions of organizations. In Lowrey, W. & Gade, P.J. (Eds.), *Changing the news: The forces shaping journalism in uncertain times* (pp. 193-212). New York City, NY: Routledge.
- Hollifield, C.A. & Coffey, A.J. (2006). Qualitative research in media management and economics. In A.B. Albarran, S.M. Chan-Olmsted, & M.O. Wirth (Eds.), *Handbook of media management and economics* (pp. 573-600). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hooker, C., King, C., & Leask, J. (2011). Journalists' views about reporting avian influenza and a potential pandemic: A qualitative study. *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses*, 6(3), 224-229.
- Hutchison, M., Johnson, S. & Aiken, C. (1990, Feb. 5). Missing plane found: No survivors. *The Daily Oklahoman*. Retrieved from <http://newsok.com/article/2306075>
- Hutchison, S., Valentino, K., & Kirkner, S. (1998). What works for the gander does not work as well for the goose: The effects of leader behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28(2), 171-182.

- Jenkins, S.R., & Baird, S. (2002). Secondary traumatic stress and vicarious trauma: A validation study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 15*(5), 423-432.
- Jex, S.M., Beehr, T.A., & Roberts, C.K. (1992). The meaning of occupational stress items to survey respondents. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*, 623-628.
- Joinson, C. (1992). Coping with compassion fatigue. *Nursing, 22*(4), 116, 118-119, 120.
- Keane, T.M., Wolfe, J., & Taylor, K.I. (1987). Post-traumatic Stress Disorder: Evidence for diagnostic validity and methods of psychological assessment. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 43*, 32-43.
- Keats, P.A., & Buchanan, M.J. (2009). Addressing the effects of assignment stress injury: Canadian journalists' and photojournalists' recommendations. *Journalism Practice, 3*(2), 162-177.
- Keats, P.A. & Buchanan, M.J. (2012). Covering trauma in Canadian journalism: Exploring the challenges. *Traumatology, 19*(3). 210-222.
- Kelleghan, K.M. (2001). *Supervisory skills for editors, news directors, and producers*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Kelley, C., Britt, T., Adler, A., & Bliese, P. (2013). Perceived organizational support, Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms, and stigma in soldiers returning from combat. *Psychological Services, 11*(2), 229-234.
- KFOR-TV, Querry, K., & Shanahan, K. (2015, June 24). Man charged in death of KFOR sports director Bob Barry, Jr. has previously been returned to Mexico. Retrieved from <http://kfor.com/2015/06/24/man-charged-in-death-of-kfor-sports-director-bob-barry-jr-has-previously-been-deported/>
- Killebrew, K. (2004). *Managing media convergence: Pathways to journalistic cooperation*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Kinnick, K.N., Krugman, D.M., & Cameron, G.T. (1996). Compassion fatigue: Communication and burnout toward social problems. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 73*, 687-706.
- Kossek, E.E., Pichler, S., Bodner, T., & Hammer L.B. (2011). Workplace social support and work-family conflict: A meta-analysis clarifying the influence of general and work-family specific supervisor and organizational support. *Personnel Psychology, 64*(2), 289-313.
- Lackmeyer, S. & Zizzo, D. (1995, Apr. 20). City struggles with shock of deadly bombing. *The Daily Oklahoman*. Retrieved from <http://bombing.newsok.com/bombing/article/1175507/?template=bombing/main>

- Leavy, R.L. (1983). Social support and psychological disorder: A review. *Journal of Community Psychology, 11*, 3-21.
- Lee, R.T., & Ashforth, B.E. (1996). A meta-analytic examination of the correlates of the three dimensions of job burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 81*, 123-133.
- Lehman, D., Ellard, J. & Wortman, C. (1986). Social support for the bereaved: Recipients and providers perspective on what is helpful. *Journal of Consulting Clinician Psychology, 54*, 438-446.
- Levinson, H. (1965). Reciprocation: The relationship between man and organization. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 9*, 370-390.
- Levitt, B. & March, J. (1988). Organizational learning. *Annual Reviews of Sociology, 14*, 319-340.
- Lewes, G.H. (1864). *The life of Goethe, Volume 2*. London, UK: Smith, Elder and Company.
- Liden, R.C., Sparrowe, R., & Wayne, S.J. (1997). Leader–member exchange theory: The past and potential for the future. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, 15*, 47-119.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lindlof, T.R. & Taylor, B.C. (1995). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Littleton, H., Horsley, S., John, S., & Nelson, D. (2007). Trauma coping strategies and psychological distress: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 20*(6), 977-988.
- Maercker, A. & Mueller, J. (2004). Social acknowledgment as a victim or survivor: A scale to measure a recovery factor of PTSD. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 17*, 345-351.
- MacDonald, J.B., Saliba, A., Hodgins, G., Ovington, L. (2016). Burnout in journalists: A systematic literature review. *Burnout Research, 3*(2), 34-44.
- Mainiero, L.A. & Gibson, D.E. (2003). Managing employee trauma: Dealing with the emotional fallout from 9-11. *Academy of Management Executive, 17*, 130-43.
- Maple, M. & Edwards, H. (2009). Locating and understanding voices in narrative inquiry: A journey of discovery. In Minicheillo, V. & Kottler, J.A. (Eds.),

Qualitative journeys: Student and mentor experiences with research (pp. 33-48). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

- Marais, A. and Stuart, A.D. (2005). The role of temperament in the development of post-traumatic stress disorder amongst journalists. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 35(1), 89-105.
- Maslach, C. (1982). Understanding burnout: Definitional issues in analyzing a complex phenomenon. In W. S. Paine (Ed.), *Job stress and burnout* (pp. 29-40). Beverly Hills. CA: Sage.
- Maslach, C., & Leiter, M. (1999). Take this job and love it! *Psychology Today*. Retrieved from <https://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/199909/take-job-and-love-it>
- Maslach C, Schaufeli, W.B. and Leiter, M.P. (2001) Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 397–422.
- Matloff, J. (2004). Scathing Memory: Journalism finally faces up to the psychic costs of war reporting. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 43(4), 19-21.
- Mayo Clinic Staff. (2017a). Cognitive behavioral therapy. Retrieved from <https://www.mayoclinic.org/tests-procedures/cognitive-behavioral-therapy/home/ovc-20186868>
- Mayo Clinic Staff. (2017b). Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Retrieved from <https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/post-traumatic-stress-disorder/symptoms-causes/syc-20355967>
- McCann, I.L., & Pearlman, L.A. (1990). Vicarious traumatization: A framework for understanding the psychological effects of working with victims. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 3(1), 131-149.
- McMahon, C. (2001). Covering disaster: A pilot study into secondary trauma for print media journalists reporting on disaster, *Australian Journal of Emergency Management*, 16(2), 52-56.
- McNally, R.J. (2003). Remembering trauma. *The Trauma Society*, 228(19), 420.
- Meadors, P., Lamson, A., Swanson, M., White, M. & Sira, N. (2009-2010). Secondary traumatization in pediatric healthcare providers: Compassion fatigue, burnout, and secondary traumatic stress. *Omega*, 60(2), 103-128.
- Mealer, M., Jones, J. & Moss, M. (2012). A qualitative study of resilience and posttraumatic stress disorder in United States ICU nurses. *Intensive Care Medicine*, 3, 1445-1451.

- Merriam, S.B. (1988). *Case study research in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mierzewska, B.I., & Hollifield, C.A. (2006). Theoretical approaches in media management research. In A.B. Albarran, S.M. Chan-Olmsted, & M.O. Wirth (Eds.), *Handbook of media management and economics* (pp. 37–66). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Miller, K. (2005). *Communication theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts*. New York City, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Mission & History (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://dartcenter.org/about/mission-history>
- Morgan, T.B, (1984, July). Reporters of the lost war. *Esquire*. 49-60.
- Munroe, J.F., Shay, J. Fisher, L., Makary, C., Rapperport, K., & Zimering, R. (1995). Preventing compassion fatigue: A team treatment model. In C.R. Figley (Ed.), *Compassion fatigue: Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat the traumatized* (pp. 209-231). New York City, NY: Brunner/Mazel Publishers.
- Neria, Y. & Litz, B. (2003). Bereavement by traumatic means: The complex synergy of trauma and grief. *Journal of Loss & Trauma*, 9(1), 73-87.
- Newman, E. (2002). The bridge between sorrow and knowledge: journalists and traumatic stress. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *Sharing the front line and the back hills: Peacekeepers, humanitarian aid workers and the media in the midst of crisis* (pp. 316-322). Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc.
- Newman, E., Risch, E, & Kassam-Adams, N. (2006). Ethical issues in trauma-related research: A review. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics: An International Journal*, 1(3), 29-46.
- Newman, E., Simpson, R., & Handschuh, D. (2003). Trauma exposure and post-traumatic stress disorder among photojournalists. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 10(1), 4-13.
- 9 Children Killed in Moore's Plaza Towers Elementary. (2013). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ss-YNyVO81A>

- Norbeck, J.S., Chafetz, L., Skodol-Wilson, H. & Weiss, S.J. (1991). Social support needs of family caregivers of psychiatric patients from three age groups. *Nursing Research, 40*, 208-213.
- Norwood, A., Walsh, M., & Owen, P. (2003). Afterward: Journalists and traumatic stress. In J. Willis (Ed.), *The human journalists: Reporters, perspectives and emotions* (pp. 133-152). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Novak, R. J., & Davidson, S. (2013). Journalists reporting on hazardous events: Constructing protective factors within the professional role. *Traumatology: An International Journal, 19*(4), 313-322.
- Ochberg, F. (1996). A primer on covering victims. *Nieman Reports, 50*(3), 21-26.
- Oklahoma City Bombing. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/oklahoma-city-bombing>
- Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management. (n.d.). After action report: Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building bombing. Retrieved from <https://www.ok.gov/OEM/documents/Bombing%20After%20Action%20Report.pdf>
- Oklahoma National Memorial Transcripts. (1999-2017). Oklahoma National Memorial Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
- Oklahoma tornado deaths - 3 May 1999. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.nssl.noaa.gov/users/brooks/public_html/okcdeath.html
- Örnebring, H. (2010). Technology and journalism-as-labour: Historical perspectives. *Journalism, 11*(1), 57-74.
- Ouchi, W. (1980). Markets, Bureaucracies, and Clans. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 25*(1), 129-141.
- Papper, B. (2014) News directors by the numbers. Retrieved from https://www.rtdna.org/article/news_directors_by_the_numbers
- Patterson, M., West, M., Shackleton, V., Dawson, J., Lawthom, R., Maitlis, S., ...Wallace, A. (2005). Validating the organizational climate measure: Links to managerial practices, productivity and innovation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 26*(4), 379-408.
- Patton, M.Q. (1981). *Practical evaluation*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Peate, I. (2014). Compassion fatigue: The toll of emotional labour. *British Journal Of Nursing, 23*(5), 251.

- Pestano, A. (2015, April 19). 20 years since Oklahoma City bombing; Worst act of domestic terrorism. Retrieved from https://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2015/04/19/20-years-since-Oklahoma-City-bombing-worst-act-of-domestic-terrorism/4771429452092/
- Polkinghorne, D.E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J.A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative*. London, UK: Falmer Press.
- Polusny, M.A., Erbes, C.R., Murdoch, M.M., Arbisi, P.A., Thuras, P.P., & Rath, M.B. (2011). Prospective risk factors for new-onset post-traumatic stress disorder in National Guard soldiers deployed to Iraq. *Psychological Medicine: A Journal of Research in Psychiatry and the Allied Sciences*, 41, 687-698.
- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/topics/post-traumatic-stress-disorder-ptsd/index.shtml>
- Potter, J.W. (1996). *An analysis of thinking and research about qualitative methods*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Potter, D. & Ricchiardi, S. (2009). *Disaster & Crisis Coverage*. Retrieved from https://www.icfj.org/sites/default/files/Disaster_Crisis.pdf
- Prati, G., & Pietrantonio, L. (2009). Optimism, social support, and coping strategies as factors contributing to posttraumatic growth: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, 14(5), 364–388.
- Pratte, A. (1992). Suicide and journalism, *Editor & Publisher*, 44, 36.
- PTSD History, (n.d.) Retrieved from <http://psychiatric-disorders.com/post-traumatic-stress-disorder/ptsd-history/>
- PTSD: National Center for PTSD. (2017). Retrieved from https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/PTSD-overview/dsm5_criteria_ptsd.asp
- Pyeovich, C., Newman, E. & Daleiden, E. (2003) The relationship among cognitive schemas, job-related traumatic exposure, and posttraumatic stress disorder in journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(2), 207-210.
- Putnam, T. (2006). Hemingway on war and its aftermath. *Prologue Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/spring/hemingway.html>
- Reinardy, S. (2011). Journalism's layoff survivors tap resources to remain satisfied. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 19(5), 285-298.

- Reporters of the Associated Press. (2007). *Breaking News: How the Associated Press has covered war, peace, and everything else*. New York City, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Reporter's widower files lawsuit. (1994, July 28). Retrieved from <http://newsok.com/article/2472950>
- Revers, M. (2017). *Contemporary journalism in the US and Germany: Agents of accountability*. New York City, NY: Macmillan.
- Rhoades, L. & Eisenberger, R. (2002). Perceived organizational support: A review of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(4), 698-714.
- Ricchiardi, S. (2001). After the adrenaline. *American Journalism Review, 23*(9). 35-39.
- Ricchiardi, S. & Gerczynski, T. (1999). Confronting the horror. *American Journalism Review, 21*(1), 34-40.
- Richards, L. (1998). Closeness to data: The changing goals of qualitative data handling. *Qualitative Health Research, 8*(3), 319-328.
- Riggle, R. J., Edmondson, D. R., & Hansen, J. D. (2009). A meta-analysis of the relationship between perceived organizational support and job outcomes: 20 years of research. *Journal of Business Research, 62*, 1027-1030.
- Rousaki, B., & Alcott, P. (2007). Exploring the crisis readiness perceptions of hotel managers in the UK. *Tourism & Hospitality Research, 7*(1), 27-38.
- Rudstam, H., Gower, W.S., & Cook, L. (2012). Beyond yellow ribbons: Are employers prepared to hire, accommodate and retain returning veterans with disabilities? *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation, 36*, 87-95.
- St. John, W. & Johnson, P. (2000). The pros and cons of data analysis. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 32*(4), 393-397.
- Salston, M. & Figley, C.R. (2003). Secondary traumatic stress effects of working with survivors of criminal victimization. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 16*, 167-174.
- Sarason, I.G., Levine, H.M., Basham, R.B., & Sarason, B.R. (1983). Assessing social support: The social support questionnaire. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44*(1), 127-139.
- Schauben L.J. & Frazier P.A. (1995), Vicarious trauma: The effects on female counselors of working with sexual violence survivors. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19*(1), 49-64.

- Schaubroeck, J. & Jones, J. R. (2000). Antecedents of workplace emotional labor dimensions and moderators of their effects on physical symptoms. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21(2), 163-183.
- Schaufeli, W.B., & Enzmann, D. (1998). *The burnout companion for research and practice: A critical analysis of theory, assessment, research, and Interventions*. London, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Schein, E. H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership* (1st ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E. H. (1992). *Organizational culture and leadership: A dynamic view*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E.H. (1996). Culture: The missing concept in organization studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41(2), 229-240.
- Schein, E.H. (2009). *The corporate culture survival guide*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Schlenger, W.E., Caddell, J.M., Ebert, L., Jordan, B.K., Rourke, K.M., Wilson, D., ... & Kulka, R.A. (2002). Psychological reactions to terrorist attacks: Findings from the National Study of Americans' Reactions to September 11. *Journal of American Medical Association*, 288, 581-588.
- Schneider, B., Brief, A. & Guzzo, R. (1996). Creating a climate and culture for sustainable organizational change. *Organizational Dynamics*, 24, 7-19.
- Schwandt, T. (2015). *The Sage dictionary of qualitative inquiry*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Scurlock, J. & Andersen, B.R., (2005). *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian medicine. Ancient sources, translations and modern medical analyses*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Shoemaker, P.J. & Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Shore, L. M., & Shore, T. H. (1995). Perceived organizational support and organizational justice. In R.S. Cropanzano, & K.M. Kacmar (Eds.), *Organizational politics, justice and support: Managing the social climate of the workplace* (pp. 149–164). Westport, CT: Quorum.
- Showalter, S. (2010). Compassion fatigue: What is it? Why does it matter? Recognizing the symptoms, acknowledging the impact, developing the tools to prevent compassion fatigue, and strengthen the professional already suffering

- from the effects. *American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Medicine*, 27(4), 239-242.
- Sibbald, B. (2002). Post-traumatic stress an occupational hazard for journalists. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 166(13), 1704.
- Simpson, R. (2004). Journalism and Trauma: A Long Overdue Conjunction. *Nieman Reports*, 58(2), 77-79.
- Simpson, R. & Boggs, J. (1999). An exploratory study of traumatic stress among newspaper journalists. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 1, 1-26.
- Simpson, R., & Coté, W. E. (2006). *Covering violence: A guide to ethical reporting about victims and trauma*. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Smith, R. J. (2009). Trauma and journalism: Exploring a model of risk and resilience (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Smith, R., Newman, E., & Drevo, S. (2016). Covering trauma: Impact on Journalists. Retrieved from <http://dartcenter.org/content/covering-trauma-impact-on-journalists>
- Smolkin, R. (2003). Girding for terror. *American Journalism Review*, 25(3), 28-34.
- Spiggle, S. (1994). Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21, 491-503.
- Spitzer, C., Barnow, S., Freyberger, H., & Grabe, H.J. (2006). Recent developments in the theory of dissociation. *World Psychiatry*, 5(2), 82-86.
- Staff Reports. (1995, April 20). Recovery may be slow, City psychologist says. *The Oklahoman*. Retrieved from <http://bombing.newsok.com/bombing/article/1175327/?template=bombing/main>
- Stake, R. (1978). The case study method in social inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 7(2), 5-8.
- Stovall, J.G. (2005). *Journalism: Who, what, when, where, why, and how*. London, UK: Pearson.
- Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Strupp, J., & Cosper, D. (2001). Dealing with disaster. *Editor and Publisher*, 134(7), 10-15.
- Sutter, E. (1994, July 6). Crash kills reporter, Pilot as TV news crew watches. *The Daily Oklahoman*. Retrieved from <http://newsok.com/article/2470976>
- Sutton, J., & Austin, Z. (2015). Qualitative research: Data collection, analysis, and management. *The Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy*, 68(3), 226-231.
- Sylvie, G. (2008). *Media management: A casebook approach*. Mahwah, NJ: Taylor and Francis Group.
- Taylor, A. (2014, Dec. 26). Ten years since the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. The Atlantic. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/12/ten-years-since-the-2004-indian-ocean-tsunami/100878/>
- Teegen, F. & Grotwinkel, M. (2001). Traumatic exposure and post-traumatic stress disorder of journalists: An internet-based study. *Psychotherapeut*, 46(3), 169-175.
- Those Who Were Killed (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/people/>
- Tierney, W. (1986). Organizational culture and leadership by Edgar H. Schein. *The Academy of Management Review*, 11(3), 677-680.
- Trahar, S. (2009). Beyond the story itself: Narrative inquiry and autoethnography in intercultural research in higher education. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 10(1). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1218/2653>
- Trochim, W. (2001). *The research methods knowledge base*. Cincinnati, OH: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Turner, J.H. (1998). *The structure of sociological theory*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Underwood, D. (2011). *Chronicling trauma: Journalists and writers on violence and loss*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Wallston, R.S., Alagna, S.W., DeVellis, B.M., & DeVellis, R.F. (1983). Social supports and physical health. *Health Psychology*, 2, 367-391.
- Wang, J. & Ritchie B.W. (2012). Understanding accommodation managers' crisis planning intention: An application of the theory of planned behavior. *Tourism Management*, 33(5), 1057-1067.

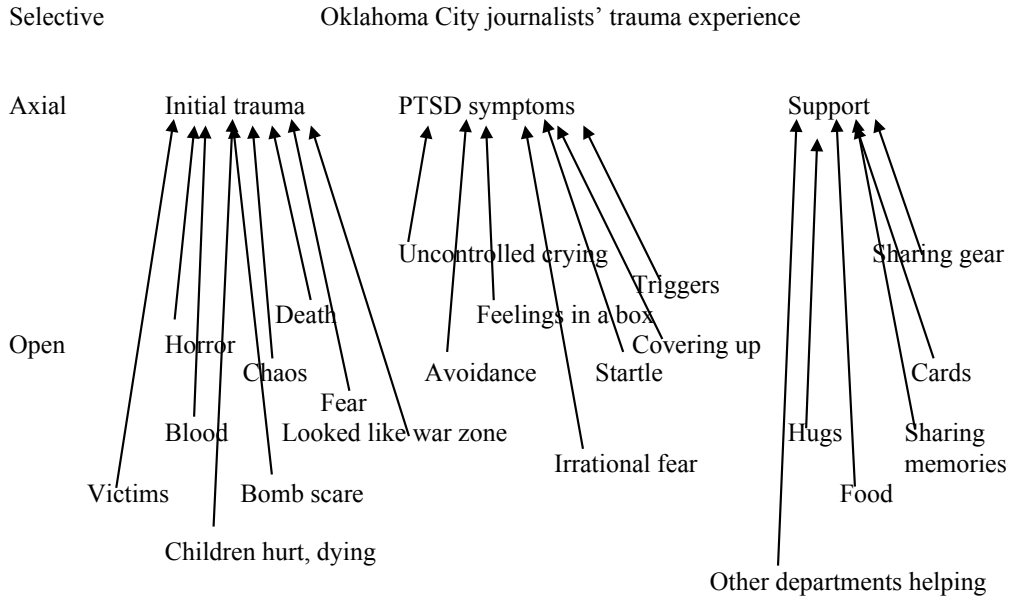
- Weidmann, A., Fehm, L. & Fydrich, T. (2007). Covering the tsunami disaster: subsequent post-traumatic and depressive symptoms and associated social factors. *Stress&Health*, 24(2), 129-135.
- Weidmann, A. & Papsdorf, J. (2010). Witnessing trauma in the newsroom: Posttraumatic symptoms in television journalists exposed to violent news clips. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 198(4), 264-271.
- Weisæth, L. (1989). The stressors and the post-traumatic stress syndrome after an industrial disaster. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 80, 25-37.
- Weisaeth, L., & Eitinger, L. (1993). Posttraumatic stress phenomena: Common themes across wars, disasters, and traumatic events. In J.P. Wilson & B. Raphael (Eds.), *International handbook of traumatic stress syndromes* (pp. 69-70). New York City, NY: Plenum Press.
- Willert, T. (2017, June 12). Moore district settles with families of kids killed in tornado. *The Oklahoman*. Retrieved from <http://newsok.com/article/5552614>
- Vorenberg, S. (2012, Aug. 25). Reporters know first hand the torment of PTSD. *The Columbian*. Retrieved from <http://www.columbian.com/news/2012/aug/26/reporter-knows-first-hand-the-torment-of-ptsd/>
- Viswesvaran, C., Sanchez, J., & Fisher, J. (1999). The role of social support in the process of work stress: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 54, 314-334.
- Vonnegut, K. (1969). *Slaughterhouse five, or the children's crusade: A duty dance with death*. New York City, NY: Dial Press.
- Vonnegut, K. (2005). *Man without a country*. New York City, NY: Seven Stories Press.
- Wayne, S.J., Shore, L.M., & Liden, R.C. (1997). Perceived organizational support and leader-member exchange: A social exchange perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, 40, 82-111.
- Weaver, D., Beam, R., Brownlee, B., Voakes, P., & Wilhoit, G.C. (1996). The American journalist in the 21st century. In D.H. Weaver & G.C. Wilhoit (Eds.), *The American journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era* (pp. 130-132). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Wegner, D.M., Guiliano, T. & Hertel, P. (1985), Cognitive interdependence in close relationships, in W.J. Ickes (Ed.), *Compatible and incompatible relationships* pp. 253-276). New York City, NY: Springer Verlag.

- Wilson, D. & Barglow, P. (2009). PTSD has unreliable diagnostic criteria. *Psychiatric Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.psychiatrictimes.com/articles/ptsd-has-unreliable-diagnostic-criteria>
- Wimmer, R.D. & Dominick, J.R. (2014). *Mass media research: An introduction*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Wölfer, R., Faber, N.S. & Hewstone, M. (2015). Social network analysis in the science of groups: Cross-sectional and longitudinal applications for studying intra- and intergroup behavior, *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 19(1), 45-61.
- Worland, J. (2015, Aug. 26). Suspect in TV broadcast dead from self-inflicted gunshot wound. *Time*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/4011147/wdbj7-virginia-shooting/>
- Yehuda, R., Flory, J.D., Southwick, S., & Charney, D.S. (2006). Developing an agenda for translational studies of resilience and vulnerability following trauma exposure. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1071, 379-396.
- Zankas, S. (2010). A systems approach to post-conflict rehabilitation. In E. Martz (Ed.) *Trauma rehabilitation after war and conflict: Community and individual perspectives* (pp. 111-133). New York City, NY: Springer.
- Zapf, D., Knorz, C., Kulla, M. (1996). On the relationship between mobbing factors and job content, social work environment and health outcomes. *The European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 5(2), 215-237.
- Zimering, R. & Gulliver, S.B. (2003). Secondary traumatization in mental health care providers. *Psychiatric Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.psychiatrictimes.com/ptsd/secondary-traumatization-mental-health-care-providers>

Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Data Set Two

1. What were your perceptions of the extent of trauma among media professionals in your organization?
2. What are your recollections of the time of the bombing in regards to managing staff?
3. What are your recollections of the May 3 tornadoes?
4. What do you recall about the death of Bill Teegins?
5. What emotional states did you observe in staff in Time 1, Time 2, Time 3?
6. Were you aware of PTSD (Time 1, Time 2, Time 3)?
7. Were you aware of the symptoms of PTSD?
8. What were your perceptions of work climate post-traumatic event?
9. How did you manage staff through traumatic events? Discuss Time 1, 2, 3.
10. How were you prepared/trained to manage staff through trauma?
11. What support was in place? Discuss Time 1, 2, 3 for 11-15.
12. How was it communicated?
13. How did leadership considerations occur?
14. How was peer support facilitated?
15. What were the most effective support mechanisms?
16. How do you measure success in support mechanisms?
17. How can you do a better job of managing staff through traumatic events?
18. What do you need to do a better job of managing staff through traumatic events?

Appendix B: Data Set One Coding Diagram



Appendix C: Data Set Two Coding Diagram

