News Or Speculation? A Comparative Content Analysis Of Headlines And The Prevalence Of Speculative Language In Corporate And Independently Owned Newspapers

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NEWS OR SPECULATION?
A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HEADLINES AND THE PREVALENCE OF SPECULATIVE LANGUAGE IN CORPORATE AND INDEPENDENTLY OWNED NEWSPAPERS

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Communication in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Central Florida Orlando, Florida

Summer Term
2005
ABSTRACT

This study began with the question of whether the press is conveying messages that contain speculation of future events as opposed to the recounting of current events. Speculative language is a form of subjective speech and as such its presence in press content defies the journalist principle of objectivity. The analysis sought to identify two newspaper’s use of speculative language within headlines in the news sections. Two other variables considered were article placement, and the ownership structure of the news organizations. Previous research supports the claim that the ownership structure of an organization can influence the content it publishes (Lacy, 1986). With this in mind, the study attempted to determine if these variables have an affect on the nature or frequency of speculative language in news content.

The researcher explored the question of speculative language in the press by analyzing headlines from the A (Main) and Local sections from two Florida newspapers, the corporately owned Orlando Sentinel and the independent St. Petersburg Times. The researcher chose to study headlines because they convey the newsworthiness of the story and former research confirms that reader perceptions of a news account can depend on the headline (Pfau, 1995; Tannenbaum, 1953). The aim was to comparatively study the news headlines through quantitative content analysis of the language used.
This thesis is dedicated to my family who inspire me, guide me, support me and believe in me and everything I do. If you’ve ever had a dream you know how important the people are who make it come true.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 2001 I walked into a lecture hall, found a seat among other aimless and wandering students and Dr. Thomas Morgan began to teach. It was an Introduction to Public Relations class and it inspired me. Dr. Morgan guided me throughout my undergraduate and graduate career as a mentor, friend, and personal cheerleader. This thesis was his brainchild and I owe him many thanks.

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Gene Costain, the chairman of my thesis committee. His feedback and insight were crucial to this project, along with his support of my interminable “optimism.”

I would like to thank Dr. Rufus Barfield for his interest in the project and his willingness to join the team.

I must also recognize Joan McCain, my teacher, colleague, and friend. As my personal thesis editor she will probably be the only one to note the oxford comma in the previous sentence, and to wish it wasn’t there.

The success of this project, and nearly everything I’ve ever accomplished, I owe to the constant support and unwavering faith of my family. For lending their strength in the pursuit of my dreams, I owe them so much more than my thanks:

To my parents for believing in and supporting every wild goal and dream I’ve ever embraced. For always providing that extra push, even if I couldn’t appreciate it at the time.

To Courtney for reminding me from time to time that I’m still someone’s little sister. It’s a comforting feeling.

To Charley for giving me someone to call “kid”, and for sharing my somewhat unusual sense of humor. Victory is mine!

To Jade and Sarah, my constant companions, for being hands to hold and hearts to share my dreams.

And to my husband, Jared, for coming into my life and making every moment better. For teaching me to relax, despite my best efforts not to learn, and for helping me realize that I’ll never beat the view from my front porch looking in.
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# LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JMCQ</td>
<td>Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Audit Bureau of Circulation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

News is traditionally defined as reports of new and factual events. If the daily press were limited to this definition, very few pages would remain (Nylund, 2003). Over the last century researchers have found that journalists have evolved this traditional definition to include discourse on discourse (Nylund, 2003), talking news items into being (Boden, 1990), and the occasional use of bias (Stovall, 2002). In light of the media’s tremendous influence on public opinion (Tannenbaum, 1953), researchers have struggled to understand the nature and impact of the changing definition of news content. Headlines such as “Thousands could be without power” or “Proposed plan may cost Americans millions” point to a trend that suggests news is no longer news; speculation is news.

Speculation can be defined as conjecture, theorizing, or assuming. It is one of two main types of subjective speech. The most commonly recognized subjective speech is evaluation, a category that includes judgments, opinions, and emotions (Wiebe et al., 2001). Although evaluative statements may be readily recognized as subjective, readers are less sensitive to recognizing the subjective nature of speculative speech (Wiebe et al., 2001). As a form of subjectivity, the presence of speculative language in news content could compromise the journalistic principles of objectivity, a principle long believed essential to the role of the press in a democratic society.

This study utilizes headlines as the unit of analysis beginning with the premise, based on previous research, that newspaper headlines are designed by headline writers to capture reader attention, and that they illustrate the essence of the article (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004; Scheufele, 2000). Studies on the impact of headlines have found that readers report a statistically
different attitude about an article based on how the headline relayed or stated the issue 
(Tannenbaum, 1953; Condit et al. 2001). Such studies make it apparent that word choice within 
headlines can be vital in conveying messages to readers.

The *Orlando Sentinel* and the *St. Petersburg Times* were chosen to comprise the data sets 
for two reasons. The two papers operate under starkly different ownership structures. The 
*Orlando Sentinel* is owned by the Tribune Company which operates 14 daily newspapers 
including the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Baltimore Sun*. The *St. 
Petersburg Times*, on the other hand, is not owned by a media conglomerate and is not affiliated 
with, nor does it operate, any other papers. These papers were also chosen because, despite their 
varying ownership structures, many other aspects of the papers are uniquely similar. Given their 
relatively close geographic locations the papers have remarkably similar markets comprised of 
very similar demographics. Both papers are communicating to the same general type of people in 
the same specific region of the country. They also claim similar circulation and readership. 
These facts limit confounding variables when attempting to determine the role of ownership in 
the appearance and frequency of speculative language by helping to limit the influence of diverse 
markets or drastically different readership.

There have been numerous studies on subjective language or biased language and 
newspaper headlines, but none attempt to analyze subjectivity in terms of speculative language, 
which brought about several research problems. The first is to establish that newspaper headlines 
contain language that speculates about potential outcomes of current events. To establish the 
presence of speculative language, this study analyzes the word choices of headlines to determine 
if they are reflecting events that have taken place, or if they are projecting what those events 
might mean in the future.
The second research problem was to establish and report the speculative language found, and to determine if the amount of speculative content is affected by two variables: Article Placement, or Ownership Structure. Hence the research addressed three questions.

#1. Is speculative language present in the headlines of the news sections of the Orlando Sentinel and the St. Petersburg Times?

#2. Does independent or corporate ownership affect the amount of speculative language present in news headlines?

#3. Does placement within the publication affect the amount of speculative language present in news headlines?

The researcher chose content analysis for this study’s methodology based on three characteristics. Content analysis involves specific regulations and measures, making it a systematic process. Content analysis is quantitative, offering the researcher the opportunity to summarize the results with precision. And finally the intent of content analysis is to be objective, not allowing personal bias to affect the findings.

To ensure consistent coding, the researcher is using a system established by Wiebe, Bruce, Bell, Martin, & Wilson (2001) to identify speculative language. Their coding system deals with syntactical units, such as individual words or phrases, and calls for expression-level annotation, asking judges first to identify headlines they believe to be speculative, and to then identify the elements in the headline they feel are responsible for the speculative classification. For example (speculative elements are in parenthesis): Election Day (may) go away. Each headline was also coded to reflect the article’s placement in the paper and whether the paper it was printed in is corporately or independently owned.
The researcher anticipates the discovery of speculative language in the headlines of both the *Orlando Sentinel* and the *St. Petersburg Times*. Most likely, article placement will play a role with articles on the front page being more likely to contain speculative word choices. The researcher anticipates a difference in the quantity of speculative language in the two papers based on their varying ownership structures. Previous research supports the claim that the ownership structure of an organization can influence the content it publishes (Lacy, 1986). As an independently-owned newspaper, the *St. Petersburg Times* is perceived by the public as possessing a liberal or left-wing ideology (Mondotimes.com, 2005). As a corporately owned paper, the *Orlando Sentinel* is perceived as ideologically conservative, or right-wing (Mondotimes.com, 2005). Mike Cormack noted that the process of ideology involves the production of meaning and subjectivity (1992). This study attempts to determine if the contrasting ideologies of corporate and independently owned papers produce speculative subjectivity differently.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Speculation as Subjective Discourse

A corpus study of Evaluative and Speculative Language defined subjectivity as “aspects of language used to present opinions and evaluations.” The study went on to define the two main types of subjectivity as Evaluation and Speculation (Wiebe et al., 2001).

The corpus study defined speculation as anything that removes the presupposition of events occurring or states holding. As examples of speculative expression, the study offered he speculated or the situation may be (Wiebe et al., 2001). Webster offers a simplified definition with “to theorize on any subject; to reason from assumed premises; to conjecture.”

Speculative language can be a form of subjective speech that often goes unnoticed by the general public. Take, for example, a news article on an approaching hurricane. A potential headline for this article that simply reports the facts is “As storm approaches public prepares” An example of a headline for this article containing speculative language is “Storm may leave thousands without power.” The first example reports a factual news event. The second example speculates as to what that news event might imply about the future. The corpus study attempts to create guidelines for distinguishing sentences used to present speculation and other forms of subjectivity from sentences used to present factual information, annotating subjectivity at the expression, sentence, and document level. The authors believe this task is particularly important for news reporting where the reader would benefit from knowledge of how opinionated the
language is and whether or not the writer claims to objectively present factual material (Wiebe et al., 2001).

**The Power of Headlines**

This study uses news headlines as a basic unit of analysis. In an attempt to explain how headlines affect public discourse, Emig, an early communication researcher said: “When you stop to think how few people read beyond the headlines and how much of public opinion is made by headlines, you begin to realize the enormous influence exerted by the journalist (or editor) who sits at a desk and writes headlines” (1928, p.54).

Why do headlines wield so much power? The simple answer is that they were designed that way. In 1895, American newspaper magnates Pulitzer and Hearst began using large print for headlines as well as banners or streamers, thus giving birth to the traditional large newspaper headline (Steigleman, 1949). Headlines also have a very visual nature, distinguishing themselves from the rest of the text, therefore catching the reader’s eye (Stovall, 2002). Because of this researchers have argued that many newspaper readers may read only the headlines, omitting the text of the article, to form their opinions (Tannenbaum, 1953; Condit et al., 2001). Steiglemann even went so far as to call the American reader “a shopper of headlines” (1949, p.389). A 1928 study conducted by Emig supports that title. In the study, 51% of 375 participants admitted basing their opinion of the day’s news on headlines. A reader’s tendency to not delve past the headline has changed very little over the years. A 2004 survey conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press reported that 18% of readers admit to preferring to read only
the headlines and 37% prefer to read the headlines and “some reporting” (Pew Research Center, 2004).

Another factor contributing to the influence of headlines is the amount of time an average reader devotes to a newspaper. A study conducted in 1980 determined that the study of headlines was significant due to the fact that the average reader spent only 34 minutes per day with each newspaper they read (Marquez, 1980). The 2004 Pew survey reported that today’s reader devotes only 17 minutes a day to the newspaper, making the study of headlines even more important (Pew Research Center, 2004).

The extant research on the influence of headlines is the justification for the author’s choice to examine headlines rather than entire articles when attempting to analyze speculative language. It also lays the groundwork for the two separate potential problems raised by speculative headlines. The first is that large segments of the population may read only the headlines and not the main body of the news article. In such a case the factual events about which the writer is speculating may never be received. The second potential problem is that even if they read the factual text of a news article, the framing provided by the speculative headline may lead the audience to interpret the article differently. In either case, the presence of speculative language has influenced the consumer’s view of reality. This study attempts to analyze and quantify that influence in the selected papers.

**Previous Studies on the Impact of Headlines**

One of the earliest notable studies on the impact headlines play in helping readers form opinions was conducted by Elmer Emig in 1928. Emig asked subjects very basic questions
involving their newspaper reading habits. A full 192 participants reported they based their opinions on “reading or skimming the headlines,” 144 on reading both headlines and articles, and 118 on the news article itself. From his analysis Emig concluded that headlines are “perhaps the most potent factor entering into the formation and direction of public opinion” (1928, p.55).

In 1953, Tannenbaum, one of the topic’s most prolific researchers explored the impact of headlines as stand-alone, information-carrying devices as opposed to headlines as frames that shape the interpretation of article contents. He conducted a study with two different types of articles--a murder story, and a story about accelerated college programs. For each story he created three different versions of a headline. In the case of the murder story, the headline was either neutral or suggested that the accused was innocent or guilty. For the accelerated college program story, the headline was either neutral, or featured one of two programs more predominately. Different readers were given the articles with different headlines.

Tannenbaum’s results showed that in the case of the murder story there was a statistically significant difference in attitudes about the defendant’s innocence or guilt based on the headline each reader received. There was not a statistically significant difference in attitudes about the college programs based on the varying headlines. With both stories, however, there was a correlation between the influence of the headline and the care with which participants reported reading the article. The less thoroughly the participants reported reading the main text, the more influence the headline had on their interpretation of the content (p.195-196)

A similar study conducted in 1981 found that readers who received headlines containing negative innuendos without receiving any accompanying text rated the subject of the story more negatively that readers who received neutral headlines (Wegner et al., 1981).
Condit’s (2001) study sought to further illuminate Tannenbaum’s 1953 findings. By analyzing news headlines and how they relate to the public’s view on genetic determinism the study provided support for Tannenbaum’s earlier research. The findings illustrated that headlines served as “information conveying devices” for people who read only headlines, and as “framing devices” for article content (Condit et al., 2001, p.381). Just as Tannenbaum’s study had reported, Condit’s research also demonstrated that the less comprehensively a participant read the article content, the greater the influence of the headline on the reader’s attitudes or beliefs.

Headlines may not be as potent to the readers of today as they were to Emig or Tannenbaum’s study participants. The birth and growth of visual media has undoubtedly drawn attention from headlines in modern press. Nevertheless, current readership reports support the concept that headlines are still at times the only bases for formulating opinion. Since the visual media itself tends to follow the news agenda, the researcher deems that headlines still maintain a prominent influence on consumers.

Headlines play a particularly important role, as Tannenbaum and Condit found, among readers who do not comprehensively digest the article content. Since current readership reports convey that the majority of American readers fall into this category, it is reasonable to assume that for the majority of Americans, headlines play an important role in their assessment of news content. As such it is important to understand the language that comprises headlines, such as speculative discourse.
The Power of the Press

It comes as no surprise that a discipline fixated on analyzing and understanding media content will most often find itself studying newspapers. As the medium of choice, newspapers represent 46.7% of all content analysis, a focus that is not without justification (Riffe, 1997). Although newspaper readership has seen a steady decline for more than a decade, it still is reported as the single most common source of news among American consumers.

Several organizations monitor and report American newspaper consumption. When trying to determine the percentage of Americans that rely on the daily press for news, the answer can change drastically depending on how you ask the question. The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press asks survey recipients if they read a paper yesterday. In 2004 42% of Americans said “yes” (Pew research Center, 2004). Scarborough Research asks whether people read a newspaper “in an average week” and found that 54% said “yes”, with 62% claiming to regularly read Sunday papers (Journalism.org, 2004). The Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC’s) numbers climb even higher, claiming a full 85% of Americans reported reading some type of newspaper every week (American Demographics, 2001).

Even the most conservative numbers suggest that newspaper journalists reach nearly half the population. It is this scope of influence coupled with the essential role that media play in a democratic society that merit the intensity with which researchers analyze news content. Media are presupposed to act as a vehicle to reflect public opinion, respond to public concerns, and make the public aware of important events and viewpoints. Robert Miraldi, an associate professor of Journalism at SUNY, New Paltz said a reporter’s task is to “deliver the facts that make enlightened, rational citizens able to choose the direction and leadership of democracy,”
and to do so he must be an “independent observer without prejudice or bias, and free from improper influence” (Miraldi 1990). The question researchers have asked over and over in an endless variation of form is “how has the press evolved with this concept of objectivity?”

**Journalistic Objectivity**

Through the years journalism has wrestled with its own sense of objectivity. In the early nineteenth century papers were expected to espouse a subjective viewpoint, particularly in the political arena. Political culture in the second half of the nineteenth century was largely partisan. Campaigns for political candidates included torchlight parades, the raising of hickory poles, and the barbecue of whole oxen. Daily newspapers often participated in these “rituals of political belonging” (Kaplan 2002, p.1). Partisanship was an omni-present force at work in the American public, and practically defined nineteenth century journalism (Kaplan 2002).

A content analysis of daily newspapers in Detroit from 1865-1920 illustrated that this age of journalism was eventually abandoned and the early twentieth century papers adopted a more stoic style of impartial, precise reporting.

The study coded approximately 10,000 news stories. This longitudinal analysis was an attempt to explore objectivity through an operational definition of “partisanship.” Researchers discovered that between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the American press drastically revised how it reported news. Researchers labeled this time frame “The Rise of Objectivity” (Kaplan 2002).

By 1960, the image of media was changing once again. Agenda-Setting and Agenda-Extension became media buzz words. In his book *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Bernard C.
Cohen observed that the press “may not be very successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.” Studies into agenda-setting functions of the press confirmed that the media have significant influence in determining the issues that will be prominent in the public mind, and that they exercise that influence (Kuypers, 2002). Mass media research in this time frame focused on the media’s ability to create awareness and set issues into motion.

Through the years mass media researchers have struggled to define and operationalize subjectivity in attempts to recognize, analyze, and sometimes even quantify its presence in newspaper content. This present study is driven by the basic belief of past researchers that it is important to identify and understand subjectivity in the press. The researcher chose, for this study, to define subjectivity as speculative language and to analyze its presence in these terms.

**The Influence of Ownership**

Newspapers became big business with the technological advances of the nineteenth century. Bigger and faster presses allowed circulations to skyrocket. Ironically enough, the same technology that turned newspapers into a mass medium also created the economies of scale in production and advertising that would eventually lead to the decline in directly competitive newspaper markets (Gerald, 1963, Lacy, 1986). Better technology lowered the cost of production, which in turn lowered the cost to the end user and expanded circulation. In a competitive market it was more profitable for advertisers to buy space in the paper with the largest circulation. Ultimately papers with the largest circulation received the most advertising revenue, gradually fading out their competition. It was 1880 when daily newspaper competition
peaked with 61% of cities with dailies having two or more such papers (Nixon, 1968). By 1984, only 29 cities had two or more separately owned and operated dailies (Lacy 1986).

Throughout the twentieth century newspapers were absorbed into ever-growing groups, and competing dailies were dying (Lacy, 1986). A decrease in the number of competing newspapers meant a decrease in the number of local voices. The potential conflict between the business and public interests of newspapers became an issue of great concern. In 1947 this concern led to the formation of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, or the Hutchins Commission (Leigh, 1947). The Commission, selected by University of Chicago Chancellor Robert Hutchins and financed by Time Inc. founder Henry Luce, was charged with resolving the conflict between reader and business interests of media organizations.

In answer to this charge, the Commission was instrumental in defining the social responsibility theory of the press from which is derived the idea of the “public’s right to know” and the moral responsibilities of a publisher (Siebert, 1963). The underlying premise for this recommendation was the belief that economic decisions made by newspaper management will have an affect on newspaper content (Lacy, 1986).

The following argument was presented in the commission report:

“Persisting and distorting pressures – financial, popular, clerical, and institutional – must be known and counterbalanced. The press must, if it is to be wholly free, know and overcome any biases incident to its own economic position, its concentration, and its pyramidal organization (Leigh, 1947, p. 18).”

Communication researchers have spent countless pages attempting to identify and analyze the biases detailed by the Hutchins Commission. How does a paper’s economic position, concentration or pyramidal organization generate bias or subjectivity in content? One answer to
that question is ideology. Cormack’s text on ideology makes two powerful points in relation to this study. It establishes the role of economics in the production of ideology, and it refers to “ideologies embodiment in the structures and institutions of a society (1992, p.10).” By this definition, structures such as newspapers become embodiments of ideology determined, in part, by their economic influences. Influences like ownership and organizational structure. As previously mentioned Cormack also argues that the process of ideology involves the production of subjectivity (1992). From all of this the researchers derives the premise that differing ownership structures will generate differing ideologies and hypothesizes that they will, in turn, generate subjectivity, or speculative language, differently. This element for analysis is reflected in research question #2: Does independent or corporate ownership affect the amount of speculative language present in news headlines?

_The Orlando Sentinel_

The Orlando Sentinel was founded more than 125 years ago and is the flagship publication of Orlando Sentinel Communications, a multimedia communications company. It is the 34th largest daily newspaper in the country with a total circulation of more than 265,000. On Sunday the Sentinel ranks 29th with a circulation over 390,000. The 2003 Scarborough Report estimated readership at 600,000 daily and 900,000 on Sunday. (Orlando Sentinel, 2005). The three times Pulitzer Prize-winning daily is owned by the Tribune Company, one of the nation’s largest media companies. The Tribune Company operates 14 daily newspapers including the Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Baltimore Sun, and Newsday. The company claims to reach more than 80% of U.S. households (Tribune Company, 2005). Research performed on line via
Google keyword searches found that general online discussion of the *Orlando Sentinel* centered around the paper’s ideological tendency to lean to the right (Mondotimes.com, 2005, [www.dailykos.com](http://www.dailykos.com), 2005, Politics.com, 2005).

*The St. Petersburg Times*

The *Times* began as a country weekly in 1884. The paper became a daily publication in 1924. In 1912 Paul Poynter, a publisher from Indiana, bought the paper and established the Times Publishing Company, and a trust to ensure that the paper would never be owned by an individual. Despite a hostile takeover attempt in 1990, the *St. Petersburg Times* has maintained independent ownership. The six times Pulitzer Prize-winning paper is one of the largest in Florida with a daily circulation of 334,336 and 420,251 on Sundays. The *Times* estimates its readership at 755,000 daily with close to a million on Sundays. The *Times* has one of the highest home-county penetrations in the country at 50% daily and 62% on Sundays. Online researcher performed via Google’s keyword searches showed that discussion among group web logs and forums centered around the paper’s liberal reputation and position on a number of issues from the 2000 election, the war in Iraq, and the Terri Schiavo Case (Mondotimes.com, 2005, [www.dailykos.com](http://www.dailykos.com), 2005, Politics.com, 2005).

The researcher decided for the purpose of this study to access public opinion via the Internet. The researcher acknowledges that these are not academic sources and that there is a limit to this research because of the medium. The researcher also recognizes that the Internet discussions accessed do not comprise all opinions or possibilities, but she believes that for the purpose of this study it is an acceptable way to access general public opinion on this subject.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The Genesis of Content Analysis

Systematic analytical study of journalists and journalism began in the late 1920s spearheaded by sociologist Robert Park at the University of Chicago. Park implemented different studies of journalists in the school of urban ethnography. Influenced heavily by the work of John Dewey and George Herbert Mead, Park envisioned a periodic newspaper, Thought News, as a means for merging journalism with the social sciences (Zelizer, 2004). The paper never materialized, but it did mark early interest in journalism as a viable focus of inquiry and an attempt to address its scholarly study.

Since that time sociology and communication scholars alike have studied in earnest the practices, trends, uses and gratifications, and the effects of journalism. One of the most common methods of conducting that research has been content analysis. Wilhoit’s comparison of 1978-80 Communication Abstracts data with 1944-64 data showed one-tenth of all published mass communication research articles in both periods used content analysis (Wilhoit, 1981). By 1968 content analysis of newspapers was the largest single category of master’s theses in mass communication (Tannenbaum, 1968). Subsequent evidence suggests that scholarly use of content analysis is increasing. Research journals, what Wilhoit and Weaver called “the nerves of a discipline,” offer testament to the method’s growing popularity among communication researchers (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1988). The first 40 volumes of JMCQ (1924-63) included 50 content analyses. The next 10 volumes (1964-73) alone included 51 content analyses, and the subsequent 10 volumes included 106 content analyses (Riffe 1997).
The persistence and growth in content analysis has many contributing factors, including a growth in the number of mass communication scholars and an increased emphasis on scholarly publication. Perhaps the most basic factor in the growth of content analysis is the fact that at its core it is an interest in content driven by questions or criticism of how mass media represents reality. It is this question that generated initial interest in this study.

**Selected Methodology**

A content analysis was performed in an attempt to quantify the amount of speculative language in news headlines. This study compared headline word choice from two Florida newspapers: the *Orlando Sentinel* and the *St. Petersburg Times*. These two papers were chosen for their varying ownership structures. The study looked at the corporately-owned *Sentinel* and the independently-owned *Times* to establish and analyze if and how newspapers of varying corporate structure insert speculative language into their headlines.

This research utilized a content coding system to analyze newspaper headlines from the month of December 2004. The time frame was chosen based on the assumption that increased advertising during the month of December historically offers a larger news hole; therefore issues from this time frame could contain a larger number of news articles. The *Orlando Sentinel* headlines were referred to as Headline Set One and the *St. Petersburg Times* headlines were referred to as Headline Set Two.

For this study the researcher followed a five-step process:

#1. Collected the sample sets.

#2. Created a specific, defined, coding system.
#3. Trained two coders to perform a reliable content analysis.

#4. Had coders code the data

#5. Analyzed and reported the results.

Collecting the sample sets- The researcher began collecting the headline sets from the Orlando Sentinel and the St. Petersburg Times in December 2004. Using the Random feature in Excel, a random list of numbers were generated and the corresponding newspaper dates were selected, creating a two week sample set from within the month of December. Dates were randomly generated to minimize the impact of any one news item on the study. Once the sample set was determined, all headlines in the Main and Local sections were collected for analysis from both papers. The Main and Local sections were chosen because they comprise the commonly accepted “hard news” section of the paper, meaning that the nature of these sections are news related, and readers expect their content to be objective and factual. Headlines from the Opinions, Editorial, and Obituaries pages were excluded from the analysis because they are not intended by the writer nor expected by the reader to be objective. For validity and consistency headlines were not included in the data sets from sections titled In Brief. These sections contain a series of small blurbs on various items. Not all items in these sections contained headlines, and sometime the headlines were simply the first line of the blurb in bold font. Also excluded from the data sets were second article headlines on subsequent pages when an article was continued on another page. These were excluded so that a single article could not influence study results more than once.

All headlines were entered into an excel spreadsheet and coded for their article placement; FP (front page), M (main section exclusive of the front page), L (local section, sometimes called City and State).
Creating a specific and defined coding system- This study used a coding scheme based on The Corpus Study of Evaluative and Speculative Language (Wiebe et al., 2001). The corpus study explored annotating subjectivity at three distinct levels: expression, sentence, and document. The results of this study demonstrate that subjectivity can be identified with reliability at all three levels, and that it is possible to distinguish speculative uses of a word with reliability (Wiebe et al., 2001). For the current study the researcher has chosen to follow Wiebe’s guidelines for expression-level annotation, also referred to as subjective-element annotations.

Expression level annotation looks at individual words and expressions within sentences, making this annotation ideal for evaluating headlines. The researcher’s annotation choice was also based on the previous studies’ assertion that annotations at this level are very fine grained, and therefore best for analysis and knowledge acquisition (Wiebe et al., 2001).

Coders were asked to analyze each headline and to annotate those with word choices that meet the definition for speculative language; anything that removes the presupposition of events occurring or states holding or that expresses uncertainty (Wiebe et al., 2001). Headlines containing such content were coded S (speculative content). Headlines not containing such content were coded N (non-speculative).

Training the coders- In order to prevent the researcher’s personal bias from influencing the outcome of the study, two third party coders were chosen. These coders were communication graduate students. Before coding began, the researcher introduced and explained the definitions for speculative language as defined by Wiebe (2001). Each coder was given a definitions sheet complete with directions for making accurate annotations and examples from the 2001 study (Appendix A).
At the end of this training discussion the researcher presented each coder with a sample set of headlines for analysis. After both coders had completed the sample analysis the results were discussed, allowing the researcher to give further guidance to ensure consistency.

**Coding the data** - The two coders independently coded Headline Set One and Headline Set Two. To establish intercoder reliability, 10% of the sample was coded separately by both coders.

**Analyzing and Reporting Results** - To prevent any unintentional manipulation of the data on the part of the researcher, a fellow graduate student was recruited to assist with calculating results.

Once all the headline codes were entered in Excel, the data was analyzed to determine the comparison of speculative language to non-speculative language. The results are displayed in Appendix D (speculative headlines). The results were also analyzed to determine the role of article placement in the frequency of speculative language. The results are displayed in Appendix E (speculative headline placement). Finally the analysis of Headline Set One and Headline Set Two were compared to determine the role of ownership and ideological structure in the frequency of speculative headlines.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The data set produced a headline total of 936 (n=936; Headline Set One the Orlando Sentinel n= 486; Headline Set Two, the St. Petersburg Times n= 450). The researcher’s goal for intercoder reliability, a percentage agreement between the coders, was 70%. The results for Headline Set One, the Orlando Sentinel provided a percentage agreement average total of 83%. The results for Headline Set Two, the St. Petersburg Times provided a percentage agreement average total of 75%. Combined the study achieved a percentage agreement average total of 80%.

Intercoder Reliability

Coders assessed headlines to determine if they fit the specified parameters for speculative language as defined in this study. In an attempt to achieve reliable coding, coders were given an extensive definition of speculative language, directions for making correct annotations and examples from previous studies to refer to throughout the coding process (see Appendix A). Before coding for the study began each coder was given a sample set of headlines to be coded independently and the results were discussed to allow the researcher to give further direction and clarification. At the end of this training session coders were asked to independently code ten percent of the total study sample to determine intercoder reliability (five percent from Headline Set One and five percent from Headline Set Two).

The researcher tested for reliability by determining the percentage of headlines that were placed into the same category (Speculative or Non-speculative) by the two coders. The results for the intercoder reliability test are displayed in Appendix F. Both data sets yielded reliability
totals above the desired 70%, with the total study agreement average reaching 80%. Coders most often disagreed on the category of headlines that included the words “to” and “will.” These two words have speculative uses when used to express a possibility, contingency, or hypothesis rather than to state an actual fact. However, not all instances in which the words appear are speculative. Lack of agreement in this area constituted the majority of the variance in coding.

An additional area of concern in coding became the use of speculation attributed to a source. For example, a headline that reads “Experts: Epidemics could kill as many as catastrophe did” clearly contains a speculative word choice, but that speculation is attributed to a source. For the purpose of this study the researcher chose to include these headlines in the speculative headline count. The researcher recognizes that it is not speculation on the part of the journalist, but argues that it still constitutes a speculative word choice for the headline.
Table 1

Content Coding Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Headlines Coded</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Sentinel</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>936</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Speculative vs. Non-Speculative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sentinel</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Speculative</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Non-Speculative</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Headlines Determined Speculative</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Placement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Sentinel</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Front Page Headlines</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Main Headlines</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Local Headlines</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Placement of Speculative Headlines**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Sentinel</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front Page</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**% of Location Coded Speculative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Sentinel</th>
<th>Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front Page</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Speculative vs. Non-speculative Content**

Research question #1, Is speculative language present in the headlines of the hard news sections of the *Orlando Sentinel* and the *St. Petersburg Times*?, set out to determine the existence and frequency of speculative headlines within the headline sets. As illustrated in Table 1, the assessment of this research found that on average 9% of all headlines coded were found to be speculative. Of the 936 news headlines assessed 85 were determined to be speculative, while 851 were determined to be non-speculative.
The Influence of Ownership

In research question #2 the researcher sought to determine the effect of varying ownership structures on the presence of speculative content. This element of analysis is based on the claim supported by existing research that the ownership structure of an organization can influence the content it publishes (Lacy, 1986). As anticipated, both ownership structures produced speculative content and in noticeably different quantities. Ten percent of the 486 headlines coded from the *Sentinel* were determined to be speculative where as only eight percent of the *Times* 450 headlines were coded as speculative (50 speculative headlines were found in the *Sentinel* set and 35 in the *Times* set). The 9% of total headline sample determined to be speculative breaks down by ownership as illustrated in Figure 1. Of the Speculative headlines coded, 59% were found in the corporately owned *Sentinel* and 41% were found in the independently owned *Times*.
The Influence of Placement

As a unit of analysis, placement yielded the study’s most interesting results. The third research question sought to determine if placement within the publication affected the amount of speculative language present in news headlines. Three placement locations were determined, Front Page, Main (encompassing the Main or A section but excluding headlines on the front page), and Local (encompassing the Local section, sometimes referred to as City and State).

Both data sets combined included 134 front page headlines, 414 main headlines, and 388 local headlines (see Table 1). Of the 134 front page headlines 15 (or 11%) were found to be speculative. Of the 414 main headlines 34 (or 9%) were found to be speculative. Of the 388 local headlines 36 (or 9%) were found to be speculative.

Within the data set, on any given day 15% of news headlines could be found on the front page, 44% in the main section, and 41% in the local section. If headline placement played no role in the presence of speculative content, then it could be expected that the distribution of speculative content would roughly follow the distribution of location. This means that if 44% of news headlines reside in the local section then roughly 44% of speculative headlines should be found there as well. The following figure compares the distribution of headlines into locations to the distribution of speculative content in locations.
Figure 2: Distribution of Speculative Headlines

If the speculative headlines were distributed proportionately to their placement throughout the paper, this study’s results would be illustrated by the blue graph lines. The actual findings, indicated in the red graph lines, show that the distribution of speculative headlines into the front page, main, and local sections does not conform to the proportions with which headlines are distributed in those locations, but skews heavily to the front page. Where front page headlines constitute only a single page of the paper and only 15% of the total news headlines on a given day, nearly 20% of all speculative headlines can be found here. This illustrates that the front page of the paper contains a higher percentage of speculative headlines even though it contains less than half as many headlines as either of the other two locations. Essentially this means that one out of every nine front page headlines will be speculative while only one out of every 13 main or local headlines will be speculative.
These findings support the researcher’s hypothesis that placement would play a role in the presence of speculative language with headlines on the front page being more likely to contain speculative word choices.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The results of this study found that speculative language is present in the headlines of both the Orlando Sentinel and the St. Petersburg Times, offering a previously un-established baseline for the study of speculative language in headlines. The results showed that both ownership structure and article placement should be considered as variables influencing the appearance of speculative content.

**Research Questions Revisited**

For the scope of this project, the first problem was to establish that newspaper’s headlines contained speculative word choices when ideally they should remain neutral. Hence, the research addresses this major question: Is speculative language present in the hard news sections of the Orlando Sentinel and the St. Petersburg Times?

The study results found that speculative language is present in the headlines of both papers. On average the Sentinel contained more speculative content than the Times.

The second research question required establishing and reporting whether or not the ownership structure of the paper affected the speculative content found. Since the corporately owned Sentinel headlines yielded a significantly greater percent of the total speculative content found in the study (59% vs. the 41% found in the Times), it is one conclusion of this research that ownership structure is a variable in the presence and frequency of speculative language.

It is important to note, however, that since the headline sets were established by selecting randomly generated dates, the number of headlines in each set is not consistent. With 486 total headlines, the Sentinel set comprises a slightly larger percentage of the entire study (52%) than
the Times set with 450 headlines (48%). Therefore some of the variance in speculative language
distribution between the two papers can be attributed to the fact that the Sentinel set offers
slightly more headlines, which equates to more opportunity for speculative content. It is the
opinion of the researcher that although this element could certainly be a contributing factor to the
disproportionate quantity of speculative language found in the two papers, it cannot account for
its entirety.

The final question to be addressed in the research dealt with the role of article placement
in the presence and frequency of speculative language. At the outset of this study, the researcher
anticipated seeing the greatest variance in speculative content in the variable ownership. It was
the placement variable, however, that illustrated a greater influence on speculative word choice.
This research question yielded some of the most definitive results of the study, illustrating that
the distribution of speculative language skews heavily to the front page location. Results showed
that speculative language is more likely to appear on the front page of the paper than in the Main
or Local sections even though the front page contains significantly less headlines, and therefore
less opportunity for speculative content. The researcher finds it noteworthy that nearly 20% of all
speculative headlines can be found on a single page of the paper-- the front page. Based on these
findings one conclusion that can be made from this study is that placement plays a significant
role in the presence and frequency of speculative language.

Additional Observations

Although speculative language is by definition subjective, and therefore holds the
potential to constitute bias, the researcher noticed that very rarely did the speculative content
convey an ideological stance or opinion. Headlines that were determined to be speculative did not seem to focus on political issues, controversial issues, or issues that seemed to be polarized in any way. Even though the two papers chosen for study are believed to have opposing ideologies, the content analysis did not find a right or left tilt associated with the use of speculative language. In general the headlines, although they were determined to be speculative, did not seem to be imparting bias. Most frequently the speculative elements of a headline served to enhance the drama of the information being presented. The researcher reasoned that speculative language is serving as a tool with which to attract the reader’s attention as opposed to a vehicle for opinion or ideology.

As droves of readers flock to alternate sources, newspapers have struggled to maintain their appeal. This struggle has led to a constant search for ways to captivate the reader’s attention. As a result newspapers have employed many tactics to enhance the appeal of the front page of the paper. Increasingly outrageous pictures, like the photos of World Trade Center employees preparing to jump out the windows of the burning buildings or of bloated dead bodies lined up for viewing after the Tsunami, are finding their way onto the front page because they demand the reader’s attention. In much the same way, the headline “Bones may be human skeleton” is a much more enticing way to encourage a readers’ interest than by heading an article about unidentified bones found in the woods without speculative language.

The use of speculative language as an attention-seeking tool is consistent with its concentration in the front page location as well. The researcher reasoned that if speculative language is being used as a tool for attracting readers, journalists would be most likely to put it to use on the front page.
**Limitations**

Although this study achieved acceptable levels of reliability, external validity was a limitation. The scope of the study was such that, although it established a baseline for the study of speculative language in headlines, a larger study would have to be conducted before findings could be generalized to other daily papers.

Lack of agreement between coders about the speculative and non-speculative uses of the words “to” and “will” was also a limitation. Further complicating the process of coding these particular words was the fact that some headlines did not seem to have clear-cut intent. After the fact coders noted that, in headlines containing these two words, it was hard to determine their usage in absence of the accompanying article. Future research in this area will have to establish a more definitive way to determine when these words constitute speculative language and when they do not.

For an additional comparison, future researchers may also want to separately quantify the use of speculative language attributed to the writer and speculative language attributed to a source.

**Future Research**

At the start of this study the researcher speculated that the two newspapers’ wording choices were influenced by both their ownership structures and article placement within the paper. For future researchers, studying the effects of these same two variables while comparing newspapers on a larger, perhaps national, scale is suggested.
A longitudinal study that could establish the use of speculative language as either a declining or growing trend would also be a logical expansion of this research. Given the evidence suggesting that speculative language is an attention seeking tool, the researcher anticipates that it will prove to be a growing trend. As newspapers continue to lose market share to electronic news sources, particularly among the younger demographics, their efforts to reclaim it are only likely to increase.

It could also be fascinating to examine, as an additional variable, the role competing news sources play in the appearance and frequency of speculative headlines. Such a study could be used to further examine the use of speculation as an attention-seeking tool. A researcher would have to analyze several papers from different markets with varying amounts of competing news sources to determine if a higher level of competition equated to the more frequent use of speculative language.

As a side note, it could be interesting to consider how other media sources utilize speculative language. Researchers could consider television or radio broadcasts, or uncensored internet and personal media Web sites such as blogs.
APPENDIX A: CODING DEFINITIONS
Coding Category Definitions

Speculative language:
- Anything that removes the presupposition of events occurring or states holding.
- Anything that expresses uncertainty.
- Theorizing on any subject.
- Reasoning from assumed premises
- Conjecture.

Examples of speculative word choices
maybe could should might potentially speculated
theorized assumed believed if wish may
were will to

Examples of speculative phrases (Speculative elements are in parenthesis)
(If) she were here, we (wouldn’t) be in this fix
Tom suggested that his friends (should) stay overnight.
She recommended that he (should) go and see his doctor.
(If) I (were) you, I’d learn how to drive.
I (wish) it (were) Friday.

Examples of speculative headlines
Storm could leave thousands without power
Election Day may go away
Plan will improve classroom standards
Columbia to free rebels
APPENDIX B: HEADLINE SET ONE
Headline Set One

Orlando Sentinel Headlines

1  Election Day may go away
2  Fair play for girls?
3  Orange's $10 million will help fix S.R. 50
4  Orlando Fringe Festival takes act out of downtown
5  Chief of Homeland Security resigns
6  NAACP chief is stepping down
7  Chinese mine explosion's toll hits 166
8  Big Chill greets Bush in Canada
9  Challenger breaks off talks on vote dispute in Ukraine
10 Top 'Jeopardy!' champ finally meets match
11 Patch stirs sex drive in women controversy
12 Go to U.N. on threats, panel says
13 Elections overhaul proposed
14 Area school officials see gains for girls in sports
15 Disputes suspend recount in Puerto Rico once again
16 3 appear before Gitmo tribunals
17 Dissident writer freed in Cuba
18 Netherlands euthanasia debate widens
19 340 could be dead in landslides, flash floods
20 Plane skids off wet runway, killing 3 in Indonesia
21 U.S. prepares pre-emptive strike on Taliban militants
22 EU panel recommends talks on membership with Turkey
23 Trade-union workers strike, bringing Italy to virtual halt
24 Palestinian leader orders media to stop incitements
25 Rwandan troops have invaded. Congo officials say
26 Syrians recover mummy, arrest 8 suspects in theft
27 13 Honduran children die in sugar-cane field blaze
28 Fringe flees for new digs
29 Orange's loan will hasten fixes to S.R. 50
30 U.S conduct of terror war draws review
31 U.S. envoy: Iraq vote will proceed
32 Secretary of homeland security resigns
33 Bush must not back down on quality pre-K
34 Orange-Orlando feud heats up fire debate
35 Homes wear out welcome
36 Larry Leckart dies-created lost landmark
37 Shooting injures man walking dogs
Money sought to restore beaches
DCF slaps agency with stiff warning
Security tape may show shooting
Worker falls, dies inside chip mulcher
More join search for hunter
New witness may testify
City to form noise task force
U.S. 27 car-truck crash kills 1
Mary Hill denied new trial
UCF approves plans for expansion
Central Florida urgently needs 35 new judges, state Supreme Court says
Inquiry finds no failure of trains
DCF head focuses on computer woes
Critics disrupt surprise tribute to elections chief
Daytona pilot survives jet crash
Disney will alter ticket pricing
Bush taps ex-cop to replace Ridge
Orlando rates no. 1 for pedestrian peril
Districts, state at odds over classroom
Former teammate's death in Iraq jolts Navy football squad
Attacks kill 2, wound 14 in Baghdad
Sex-drive patch not ready yet, panel says
Putin opposes any revote in Ukraine
Bidders blast Babe's bat out of the ballpark
NYPD tries to reunite 9-11 jewelry, families
Iraq accident kills Guard member who moved to Orlando
Puerto Rico Candidate raps judge
Disney plan increases discounts on longer stays
Cuba frees 13th dissident in rights makeover
Ship's explosives pose risk off Honduras, U.S. says
Columbia to free 23 rebels, seeks release of hostages
Methodist jury defrocks lesbian cleric
Democrats raise more money that GOP
Bush plans to push congress anew to pass intelligence bill
Nebraska governor to run USDA
Sharon to ask rival party for help in leaving Gaza
Legislators hear group's wishes for ideal pre-K
Districts spend millions on portable classrooms
Traffic flow, pedestrian safety conflict, expert says
Storms dig hole through family budget
Cops, Dyer cool their feud briefly
Central Florida gets most of disaster food stamps
Expert: Quick rescue is vital to wanderers
Suit claims Seminole cops went overboard in stop
Child pornography case nets man 75-year term
Bones may be human skeleton
Judge will hear school rezoning
Appeal of murder conviction rejected
Payroll-software flub delays Seminole checks
King Tut exhibit to stop in Florida
DCF computer director quits
Advocate: 'Sunshine' laws evaded
Virus could fight fire ants
Ditching job pays off for slots player
Militants kill 5 at U.S. Consulate in Saudi Arabia
NASA confident of debris solution
Turtle nests may stall restoration of beaches
Intelligence bill set for vote
Congress reaches deal to overhaul national security
Judge who jailed 18 shifted to civil court
Flue shots from outside U.S. are on the way
U.S. math students lag peers, test shows
Court says officer's videos not free speech
Ukraine's president, Putin agree to respect new vote
Pearl Harbor's survivors keep memories of day
Food supply is protected from bioterrorism, U.S. officials say
Gunfight breaks out if Baghdad
Rumsfeld: Troops could exit in 4 years
FBI saw prison abuse, letter says
Soldiers challenge policy extending enlistments
Teen harnesses ocean, wins prize
Environmentalists gather on global warming
Bush plan creates Medicare regions
Run, Stitch! Recycled ride to be your fate
Workforce Central Florida loses training focus and satisfaction of those it is designed to help
Is job agency working?
Judge rejects charter change
Mother lays her 'baby' to rest
Cop who used Taser cleared in man's death
Parks, ball fields face costs of foul weather
Child's death was accident, officials rule
Alabama family grieves for man killed in crash
Deputies: Man eliminated witness
Lennar founder's family gives UM $100 million
Accused cocaine kingpin in court
SUV driver runs down teens, hurts 1 badly, police say
Case of Maali associates goes to jury
Dad's struggle failed to save mauled by
126  Weighty mission
127  Bush vows no new tax for reform
128  State rules will help felons regain rights
129  Consumer Reports rates best buys for medicines
130  White House: 4 others to stay in Cabinet
131  Bill Moyers to retire from TV news
132  Gunman, 4 victims killed at metal concert, police say
133  Pentagon rushes to put best face on armor shortage
134  Soldier from Edgewater killed in Iraq gun battle
135  U.S. backs off criticism, supports U.N.'s Annan
136  Space station faces food shortage
137  Meatpacker accused of cruelty agrees to changes
138  Study: Less-severe operation effective
139  If surgery scares kids, games can calm them
140  Hang the stockings with care, CDC urges
141  6 missing after crash into Bering Sea
142  Champion of atheism becomes a believer
143  Beverly hillbillies' balladeer Jerry Scoggins dies at 93
144  Museum of black history gets boost
145  200 nations meet in Argentina, sound alarm on global warming
146  Likud Party okays alliance with Labor
147  Ukraine calms for new vote
148  Karzai declares 'holy war' on Afghan drug trade
149  Feds warn of anti-jet lasers
150  Iraqi Shiite parties put forth candidates
151  Marine hit with desertion charges
152  NATO nations' refusals on Iraq put alliance at risk, Powell warns
153  Report sees Orlando deficits
154  Nation's cameras descend on Deltona
155  Tick problem reaches peak after storms
156  Comic books help students to be readers
157  Hot meals help fortify kids against poverty
158  2 will face inquiry in mayoral race
159  Ax the tax appeals vote to higher court
160  Vote leaves Trailer city open
161  UCF unveils new research facility
162  Community mourns death of popular 102 Jamz radio personality
163  Pregnant woman accused of fatal DUI must stay in jail
164  Botulism probe turns to Arizona
165  No Casinos drops suit seeking recount
166  Tabloid pictures halt cleanup of anthrax
167  O'Keef expected to leave NASA job
168  View' puts Parramore face to face with change
169  Blue times for many
Material shortages mean roof fixes often take months
Doctors: Ukrainian candidate poisoned
Mom says sons keep her going after young daughter died
Next Homeland choice expected soon
Test of Medicare help line find wrong answers
Bush declared 'fit for duty,' concedes he put on weight
Colleges try instant admissions
Glitch delays debut of heavy-lift rocket
Soldiers who scrounged in Iraq face punishment
4 Iraqi police die at hands of insurgents
Pro-China parties score surprise win in Taiwan election
DNC candidates make their pitches
Troops will join inaugural festivities
Museum is stuff of science fiction
Chesapeake crabs get help in reproducing
Thurmond's mixed-race daughter details relationship in memoir
Sprint nears $34 billion deal to buy Nextel
Arabs decry U.S.-Israel ties
Arafat's death suspicious, nephew says
Proposal gives say to Disney investors
South America tries to best U.S. in crops
Island doesn't embrace Boy George's comeback
Guatemala plans Maya University
Near death, 1 hurt in 2 shootings
Dreams of Santa take flight
Dollar's drop spurs Britons' U.S. shopping spree
Suspect's principal under fire in 2000
Disorder in court? Judges, defenders spar over manners
Jury decides man killed co-worker
Disney honors teachers for innovative projects
DeBarry picks Courson as city manager
15-day leave at home teaches lessons in living
Suspected ringleader denies role in slayings
Storms spark Pahokee revival
Police: Man kills his kids, then himself
After voting, espresso and a mint
Tense exchanges lead up to defender's contempt charge
Storm victims, insurers turn to mediation
Legislators tackle dual frustrations
Come fly over state road 436
Violence in Iraq kills 8 Marines
WebMed dispenses advice to students
Ukraine opens poisoning investigation
Coast Guard tries to get aboard ship
Now flu shots can't find takers
Maiden flight scrubbed again for Delta 4 rocket
Karzai: Bin Laden 'definitely' in region
Study: TV kinder to Hispanics
No trial before 2006 for Saddam
U.S. court to hear Puerto Rico case
4 Israeli soldiers die in Gaza blasts
Imprisoned militant drops bid for post
Palestinian leader calls on Arab countries
Some won't settle for Ohio's election results
Ex-nominee's ties questioned
Exit polls show virtual tie for president of Romania
U.S. feels heat at climate convention
Democrats stick with state chairman
An old neighborhood's last stand
Ocoee man could face extradition
Official: Don't give up on Scripps
Children make all the right chess moves
Parents on strike weather the chills
Mom charges in 4-year-old's death
$85 million missile test goes awry
Contested votes will count in Puerto Rico
School day could lengthen
Sprint to buy Nextel in $35 billion deal
Bush defends chief of defense
Germany mourns Holocaust
Marriage often equals better health
Bus hijackers surrender after standoff in Greece
FCC plan will ease in-flight Web use
Pulled Nativity irks voters in Oklahoma
Allawi enters Iraq's race on Day 1
Wounded Marine killed after returning to duty
British chief quits amid favor flak
Vote recount continues across Ohio
Reinstated ballots may tip Washington state recount
Luxury Manhattan roost invites hawks to return
Ukrainian's dioxin under analysis
Abducted engineer's body found by Afghans
Year with sizzle: 2004 4th-hottest on record
Guard to train Afghan army
Bush touts economic agenda
O'Keefe bails as NASA floats debt to Mars
A refuge from abuse
Tests will hurt kids, critics say
Pre-K measure advances after teachers added
Activists try to halt winter driving on Volusia beach
Connecting the political dots
Gotha man gets 10 years for identity-theft crimes
Parents arrested after girl injured
Report pleases Edgewood police chief -- council member calls it "fluff"
1st icy blast leaves ferns, fruit alone
Former banker sentenced to prison for bilking elderly
Democrats will be back senator vows
Cultural Shift
Celbrex's heart risk rises with high doses
Christmas tree ban in Pasco spurs holiday jeer
Child's death prompts change in DCF policy
Orange students face new rules
Bush signs overhaul of spy operations
EU, Turkey make a deal agree to talks
Stem cells from fat used in skull surgery
4 Turkish police killed
Baby cut from mother's womb found
Church conductor kills himself
Class builds manger without Polk's OK
No regrets, NASA chief says
Missile-defense debut delayed
Boeing rocket test set for Tuesday
EPA: 224 counties have unhealthy air
Bush acts to address problems in oceans
Arson suspect fails polygraph
Panel suggests easing limits on flu vaccine
South Africans slam U.S. health officials
Act 1: A peek at how life sours sweet children
Diocese explores options for retreat in Seminole
Witnesses tell grisly details of '99 killing
Gag rule on press sought in 6 slayings
Coalition's housing helps families 'restart'
Campaign tries to halt school-impact fee rise
Crash slows I-4, Jams Lee Road
South Lake cheerleaders headed for national competition
Fire ants' nemesis could be tiny flies
Slots supporters defend election
Court rejects suit to bar gay nuptials
FAU wants to update image
Sinkhole causing traffic woes
62 killed by bombs in 2 Shiite Iraqi cities
Displays get in the war of a merry whatever
Luxury-starved shoppers flock to high-end retailers
Arts teachers lose rooms, keep on the go
key senators say Rumsfeld should stay
Revenge. Race may be motives in arsons
Israel says it will free 170 Palestinians
Kia Spectra receives poor safety rating
Time magazine names Bush Person of the Year for 2004
Honest women' under fire in Brazil
China detains farmers' advocate
Italian soprano Tebaldi dies at 82
Bush faces bruising debate over social security
Attacks hamper help from troops
Poll: Debt worries half of Americans
Up to 80 vehicles crash on Pennsylvania highway
Arthritis drug still needed, maker says
For Canadians, conflicted feeling about U.S.
Independent Taiwan? Not without war
Mekong River: Dynamic lifeline at risk
Canada's artic winds blow in
Edewater boy makes surprising recovery
Owners doggedly protest pet ban
Citrus trees will fall to clear canker
Inmate tries again to avoid execution
Orlando parishioners told of sex-abuse claim
3 die, 4 injured as tanker hits minivan of 2 British families
Owners fear losses in value
Bush admits results in Iraq 'mixed'
Agencies say mom lied about family
Cold wave rolls into U.S., numbs Central Florida
Retailers hope for last-minute splurge
Fallujans can begin to go home
FBI agents called attention to tactics
4 committees in Senate to bring in Martinez
Study raises questions about safety of Aleve
Lottery winner's granddaughter dead
Tiny baby girl is almost ready to head home
Social Security debate heats up
Bush will meet with Putin in Slovakia
Court upholds Pinochet indictment, arrest
Sinkhole may boost Deltona policy costs
2 more charged in Maryland home fires
Stole baby goes home with father
Lawyers argue over bloodstains
Shooting near UCF leaves 1 dead

Complaints about home lead to exile from Villages

Key witness in murder trial to testify early, for his safety

Accused priest served 3 parishes

Widening of highway to Keys prompts suit

Court refuses to speed voucher lawsuit

1 killed, 2 injured in head-on crash on I-4

Siblings get heroes' welcome

Fanny reader has uncanny following

U.S. to pay back Hungarians for 'gold train' loss

Socialite claims double jeopardy

Where faith, culture meet

Midwest snow delays planes, leaves 22 dead

Rumsfeld visits Iraq as clashes flare in Fallujah

Juvenile-justice transfers worry some lawmakers

Bush re-nominates 20 for judgeships

Democrat wins recount for Washington governor

Hamas, ruling party vies in Palestinian elections

$42 million heist proves hard to use

Has Santa grown too big?

Cancer study yields clues on gray hair

Perfect holiday gift for parents

Former Connecticut governor pleads guilty

Castro walks in public for 1st time since injury

Acevedo Vila declared winner in Puerto Rico

Medicare to help smokers

FDA issues advisory on pain medicines

Testy Putin bristles at U.S. policy

Sadness, vigilance permeate U.S. base

Killer's life rests on judge

Firefighters want pit bull restricted

Probation officer told DCF: I see no abuse

Mom gets a break from worry

Filling Deltona sinkhole, dealing with debris it swallowed will be tricky

Man dies after 2 taser shots

Lawsuit: Meat market broke laws on smoking

Technology site to aid patients

Kissimmee Oks storm water fee

$1 million jury award upheld in cruise assault

Court upholds wider use of Ryce Act

At issue: bear necessities

Smell creates airport buzz

State lax on bikers, foes say

Magnet buses' end irks many in Orange
Security at airport sees slow change
Space station gets relief
New CEO sits at head of Darden table
Poverty violence shadow holiday
Snow thrills Texas, tangles travel
Deadly incidents claim 10 Iraqis
Holiday somber in Mosul
Cassini sends probe to look at mysterious Saturn moon
Frozen frogs make scientific leap
Santa 'pays visit to Denver homeless
2 jailed after attempting church vigil
Indian finds halt bridge project
Secret Service investigates counterfeiter's tricks of the trade
Quake rocks Indonesia, triggers tidal waves, kills dozens across region
Ruling complicates Ukraine's revote
Airports try to balance efficiency, security
Gut instinct serves airport inspector
Bush faces GOP fight on guest-worker bill
Hispanics eat up show featuring mealtime debates
Argentine revival defies predictions
Protectorate may aid Haiti, briefing says
Cameras in court could rein in judge
Tests show chemicals contaminating U.S. drinking water
Stem cells found in heart rivet scientists
3 people die from Saturday crashes
AME church opens doors to Kwanzaa
1924 Home steeped in Parramore past
2 year colleges want to offer 4
Who carries the weight to get things done?
Hospice plans to grow in Villages
Family's support diminishes loneliness
Fast cars may have troopers as drivers
Teen dies attempting to save dog
Jacksonville pays $40,000 for degree fees in Canada
Hole in pre-K plan might leak money
Survivors struggle to stay alive
Orlando faces growth-planning crunch
State to rebuild I-4 at U.S. 192
For cops, traffic accidents deadlier than guns
Goss forces out CIA division chief
Got milk bottles? New look ups sales
Attacks on Iraqi forces kill 26
Author, activist dies of leukemia
Rain drenches California; more bad weather on way
Bush's second term ratings are low
Politics undermines security at U.S. ports, watchdog says
At least 802 die on Sri Lanka train
U.S. bristles at suggestion rich nations are 'stingy'
Thai government on defensive after tragedy
Experts: Epidemics could kill as many as catastrophe did
Vacationing celebrities feel wrath of tsunamis
Hotel Rwanda' should open eyes to Sudan
Acevedo Vila will govern Puerto Rico
Families escape fire unhurt
Citrus canker's threat spreads
$600,000 to be divided among city's firefighters
Road-eating Deltona hole almost gone
Police: Pastor molested Polk boy in 1996, 2 others
Former builder sues over Celery Avenue property
Man arrested after fake bills passed at bar
Dog on the loose attacks 7-year-old
Manatee mom, baby saved
Cops charged with inflating crime-solving
Owner to evict powerless tenants
Floridians' failure to buckle up often fatal
Students' Pell Grants may shrink next year
U.S. steps up Tsunami relief
Irish couple survive watery terror
Top Israelis differ on settler pullouts
Selfless act brings meeting
Militants tell Iraqis to avoid election
Jazz innovator of big-band era left music behind
U.S. dismisses threat of Canadian mad cow
Ukrainians reject Yanukovych's challenge of vote results
Study says fast-food diet really will supersize you
Putin aid: Controls will lead to ruin
Storms continue to cripple west
Sentencing of Belarusian opposition figure draws outcry
False tsunami alarm sends thousands fleeing in panic
Food gets to coastal towns in Somalia
Central Florida fund-raisers to help victims
Some in area rush to help Sri Lanka
Pentagon budget could cut 1 Navy carrier, F-22 fighters
Immigration policies face fierce battle
Live fast, die young -- just don't bill me
Windermere project puts church in jeopardy
Police ask court for mayor's records
Much-ballyhooed club opens but with Paris in Switzerland
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<tr>
<td>478</td>
<td>Illnesses plague mom trying to keep a home</td>
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<td>479</td>
<td>Orlando parade bring citrus, candy, clowns, crowds</td>
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<td>480</td>
<td>Robber feeds need for cash</td>
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<td>481</td>
<td>Pros and Olympians reveal softball 'secrets'</td>
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<td>482</td>
<td>Woman dies in fall from beachfront condo balcony</td>
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<td>Motorcyclist dies in crash on C.R. 462</td>
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<td>484</td>
<td>Couple give up boy they raised</td>
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<td>Leaders to fight for aircraft carrier</td>
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<td>Schools want to go wireless</td>
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<td><strong>Headline Set Two</strong></td>
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<td><strong>St. Petersburg Times Headlines</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Byrd's taxpayer legal tab lives on</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>LaBrakes' cost for dream home: 'Guilty'</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Site woes, delays may lead Scripps to relocate</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>After 74 wins, final 'Jeopardy!' just that</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Southeast Airlines goes out of business</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Extravagance puts a dent in the dollar</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Disney’s new ticket prices: Magic with the math</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Pinellas voting gaffe uncovered</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Yankees star admits steroid use</td>
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<td>Pre-K debate: quality, hours, teachers, busing</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Subway robber fires when register sticks</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Intel bill clears a major hurdle</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Instead of Israel, Jews choose Miami</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Attack on U.S. target ends lull for Saudis</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>a 60-ton test for the cross-town</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Hospital acted on surgery questions</td>
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<td>Canada gets the go-ahead to legalize gay marriage</td>
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<td>School take a new look at how fitness can fuel brains</td>
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<td>Going, gushing, gone</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Wristbands called patient safety risk</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>How do we teach them?</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Enjoying the Bucs in style: Priceless</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Ukrainian candidate was poisoned, doctors say</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Housing's not a home due to dispute</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Charting health's 'oops' factor</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Graham's quiet exit</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Hussein marks a year in custody as trial date edges further away</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Bin Laden thrives in Pakistan, officials say</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Brace for another blustery blast coming our way</td>
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<td>Carjack victim awarded millions</td>
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<td>Shaky start toward democracy</td>
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<td>Debate on pre-K shifts to oversight</td>
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<td>Canada security study paints bleak scenario</td>
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<td>The FDA cautions Celebrex users</td>
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<td>Secular firs settle spirit of conflict</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>3 teens in custody in Subway shooting</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>General: Reservists alone on Iraq prisons</td>
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Rumsfeld's detractors lining up on the right

With no signs, where are you?

Bombs kill at least 60 as Iraqi election nears

Next Haiti conflict 'only beginning'

This little black box can spy on teens behind the wheel

School officials reverse, pursue G-rated sites

Audit: PRIDE spin off is illegal

Bush: Bombers shake Iraqis' will

Hushed House GOP pipes up

Religious resentment feeds flames in Iraq

Cross-town bears up to test

Freak snow buries holiday

They'll be home for Christmas

Fallujah's citizens get first look at city

50th anniversary waltz was their last

Seeking justice for a neglected hero

Vote-poor Iraqis may still get seats

The Owner, The Enigma

Doctor dispenses hope to HIV/Aids patients in Haiti

58,000 And rising

Effects of disaster reach across the globe

America's celebrity intellectual

Chiropractic school angers FSU professors

School busing gets and overhaul

Citizens asks for big hike in rates

Relief agencies exert a desperate scramble

Gov. Bush part of disaster delegation

Countering insurgent tactics remains a struggle

Thick fog suspected as factor in train crash

Tampa man accused of working for crime family

Designation elevates USF research into Huntington’s

Windblown

Talented cast saddled with bad material

Sideays' garners six Indie Spirit nominations

A Taxing End

Leaders assess hurricane legacies

Teacher will use insanity defense

Man dies in crash after Clearwater carjacking

FEMA to set up help center in Clearwater

Man's outlook changes in a decade with HIV

Palm Harbour resident will throw for dough

Eroded beaches may get $68-million injection of sand

108 more trial jurists needed, court says

State urges FEMA to pursue reports of storm aid fraud

Eroded beaches may get $68-million injection of sand

108 more trial jurists needed, court says

State urges FEMA to pursue reports of storm aid fraud
Bay area deadly for pedestrians
Heave-hos dislodge 5 tons
Evidence builds against Lafave
Ex-foster care firm owes $1.5-million
Southeast leaves chaos, confusion
Tut, Tut
VH1 becomes the nostalgia network
Hyatt resort to rise on Clearwater Beach
USF trustees approve new faculty contract
County Democrats select a new leader
ACLU honors Times’ bureau chief
Left with a ticket? Here's what to do
A money shift, then grousing
Target is a protest target after Salvation Army band
Felons freed from jail could get more help
Court upholds death for Disney worker's killer
Abducted and shot, survivor now is suing
Officials heap scorn on noisy concert venue
One minute, 123 dollars
Child welfare officer jailed
Crash victim a 'spitfire' tot eh end
State eases clemency process
Phantom' can still mesmerize
Heavy metal loses one of its own
Duran Duran's surprising return
Expressway builders win a reprieve from the state
Weather catches up with calendar
Victim: complex misled her on security
Boy, 14, who left mother sought
Media haunt parents' strike
Band-aid Bandit strikes Sarasota
Pre-K class needs two adults, governor says
Contractor's employee accused of stealing state worker's IDs
Slots foes drop suit, blame official
University presidents eye 4-year fixed tuition
Lawmakers must rein in medical card tomfoolery
Fear, abuse led up to shooting
A life empty no more
FSU chiropractic school not a done deal just yet
Senators push for gas drilling off Florida coast
The Woody Guthrie we didn't know
Signing Off
46 students vie for Times college fund
Don’t waste stamps on electors
126 Nursing home resident charged
127 Thieves dig rare plants
128 U.S. alters Cuban immigrant process
129 Watchdog' ready to retire
130 High Point area is on the verge of revitalization
131 UT coach faces sexual battery charge
132 Professor advanced Alzheimer's research
133 Caretaker content with solitary purpose
134 Jurists see detriment in probation policy
135 Personal tale, a lesson in caution
136 Talk of airport growth flies in face of losses
137 System stymies suits by victims
138 Sci-Fi Channel enters realm of epics
139 And now, for not-so merry or bright TV
140 A Magical Moment
141 Man, 80, in ocean more than 18 hours
142 Suspected ringleader denies role in slayings
143 Hurricanes likely curbed virus outbreak
144 Can a woman in a wheelchair be guilty of a DUI?
145 For Clearwater Mall, success is out in the open
146 Chilly morning, warm crowd greet cranes
147 Unseasonable plethora of pussycats
148 Cart owners want right to roll
149 A friendship forged in wool and feathers
150 Staring down the cold
151 Marine dies fighting with his 'brothers'
152 Lightning closes in on arena tax break
153 Family intends to sue district in girl's death
154 Remembering a Hollywood enigma
155 Video Game Awards rated E for eclectic
156 Man of the hour: Regis Philbin
157 Guest list for holiday party briefly tops 900,000
158 Florida Guard set to deploy hundreds to Afghanistan
159 Officials shush effort to raise freebies issue
160 Friends of victim ask for help
161 School district loses whistle-blower lawsuit
162 U.S. ruling restricts random drug tests
163 Tip warned DCF before girl died in motel room
164 Report blames bad roof clips for arena's collapse in storm
165 Refunds to counties resolve illegal shift of detention costs
166 Victim's lawyer may get $6-million
167 Brothers' deaths leave hole at home
168 Task force: liability fears limit cancer test
169 A second chance dissolves into life in prison
Providers still have questions about pre-K plan
Mahaffey board chooses hiatus
Mary Poppins' soars
He set out on a new path, but it led back to jail
Bills mount as girl fights for her life
State alcohol agent is cleared in fatal shooting
Officer disciplined over remarks
Suicide suspected in soccer coach's death
One man mayoral race ends
Holiday cards send gifts the wrong way
Big Senate role for Martinez a ways off
Agency alters hotline policy after child's death in motel
Marti Frappier, senior center leader
Hospital sues to protect suspended doctors
For officers, off-duty doesn't exist
Road rage chase kills 1
Stetson law professor's hard assent
Foster care gets boost from computer tracking
Helping parents heal from loss
Renowned Italian soprano Tebaldi dies
Oy to the world
The joyful side of religion
Austerity and surprises
It's feeling a lot like Christmas-up north
Huge sinkhole growing
Report: Unaffected areas get aid
Juvenile justice traps some minors
NAACP to ask state to reopen 1951 case
Developer plans to build $10-million condo-hotel
Stray bullet kills boy during home robbery
Father apologizes for rage
Speeder dies racing over bridge
His legacy, still unread, just begs to be seen
Winter frosts and leaves
Officer who killed gunman: 'I was there for a reason'
Baggage screener also rips at tags
Love, Death and Whimsy
Fighting indecency, one bleep at a time
Two teens face charges in car chase
Airport parking a tight squeeze
Ride to breakfast ends tragically for friends
New vision projected for Safety Harbor spa
A response, at last
Troubled bridge project has new overseer
Vandalism braggart scolded on site
4-alarm blaze's cause unknown
Progress' fine falls in worker's death
Investigation prompts fire chief's resignation
Mother ponders daughter's future
State yanks medical licenses in botulism case
Resident is attacked by speeders, officials say
Dunn's help goes to those who helped themselves
3.9 million votes, 63 challenges
Travelers wait out weather
Hit-run victim now the accused
Rat-a-tat realism of air guns calls young warriors to battle
Adoption advocates incensed at Fox show
Asolo's 'Peter Pan' pure magic
Experience vs. education
Growing into a holiday hit
Arrest in deaths of hunting dogs brings relief
Residents return to a cleaned-up Sunrise
Transformer fails, disrupting radio
RadioShack victim to go home soon
Mother hears about slain children
Power surge cuts into WFLA broadcast
Captain sees just a vision of Christmas
Tampa Bay Executive Airport sale complete
Scope of sex offender law is broad, court rules
Jury punishes FedEx in retaliation case
Report cities DCF failures in kids' deaths
$104-million award voided in pool death
Watching and Waiting
Winged intruders upsetting neighbors
Pinellas bar serves sips of holiday solace
Clash of the parents
Sneaky golfers joyfully trim Christmas tees
Traffic experts fear: if the rebuild it, more will come
Deal clears way for rise of office tower
Help, however they can
Poetry and please on eBay for Kazakh Case No. 629
DOT: Elevated road in Pinellas on firm footing
Mother of slain kids takes a step toward recovery
The films of segregation
Boots' still fits
Shooting cries out for new resolve
Another death shakes Robinson High
Extra officers to watch for New Year's excess
Before killing, trash talk on cars
Plant City Marine is killed clearing houses in Iraq
Worker run over by ambulance
Operation PAR founder joins Florida Women's Hall of Fame
Doster killing suspect named
Pilot, ice blamed for crash
Holiday waits for reunion
judges vie for top job
Skin was not always in on Buccaneers sideline
Weather as good as it gets
Star bandleader, master clarinetist dies at age 94
This rockin' eve, bring on the successors
Law giver courts options with mentally ill
Tow to Go is ready to pick up drunks
Tampa Bay a melting pot of New Year's tradition
Ex-Land O'Lakes fire chief arrested in theft
Florida officials promise fight to save 'Kennedy'
Detectives accused of fabricating confessions
Tearful couple hands over boy
1,282 truckloads of sand later, Deltona sinkhole is no more
Kwanzaa ceremony teaches as it reaches
Free spirit finds home with the big top
Violence surges in Sunni areas
2003 Army report talked of inmate abuse
panel urges bigger Security Council
Court takes up Title IX issues
Bush stresses support for intelligence bill
NAACP chief resigns: 'I just need a break'
Member of famed Chicago political family enlists in Army
Victim's mother testifies at sentencing
Bush's Canadian visit frosty
Homeland security secretary resigns
Britain finds new ways to fight back against spitters
FDA to consider patch seen as female Viagra, or a fraud
Talks suspended; protesters try to enter Parliament
Storm kills hundreds of Filipinos
Dutch hospital kills critically ill babies
Attacks kill 2, hurt 14 in Baghdad
Jan 30 election won't be delayed, Bush says
A serial killer resurfaces to rekindle fear in Wichita
N.Y. cop picked for Homeland Security
Church defrocks lesbian minister
Researcher: Virus promising in fight against fire ants
More than 40 percent of Americans on prescription drugs
5 killed in plane crash in Tennessee
Myers drops opposition to intelligence reform bill
Drug Dealers Seizures Go To Auction
Senator: Annan should quit because of corruption
8 soldiers who can't leave service sue
Missing: 1,000 Canadian security uniforms
U.S. students trailing in world math ratings
34 Medicare drug regions created
Pain reliever carries lower risk to heart
Ohio certifies Bush win by 118,775 over Kerry
Letter: FBI complaints on Gitmo ignored
Court: Officer's sex tapes aren't free speech
on-the-move Young fondly viewed as a throwback
Shiite alliance publicizes candidate list
Powell chides NATO allies over Iraq mission
Dust rings solidify idea of planet birth
Critics say intelligence bill puts FBI clout before privacy
Military scrambles to clam turmoil about armor
A shipwreck, a crash; six lost in icy seas
Chaos erupts at heavy-metal nightclub; five die in gunfire
Security nominee made millions on Tasers
New TB drug shows surprising power
Less invasive breast cancer test valid
Sharon's party approves surprising power
Bush designs a tight ship of state
Karzai calls on Afghans to give up drug trade
While a nominee apologizes, White House hunts for a sub
President found fit but fatter
Officials criticize spy satellite as costly, ineffective
Leaving a Senate he briefly ruled, Daschle speaks softly
Women's health statistician say study on pill is flawed
Puerto Rico hearing echoes of Florida
U.S. knew of Hussein's illegal trade
Marine, 5 Iraqi police killed in attacks
Taiwan elections favor China ties
Israel, Iraq conflicts fetter Arab-Western forum
Arafat's nephew says leader's death may have been 'unnatural'
Labor joins Israel's ruling bloc
Remembering the turning point
Where bombs once fell, tourists now flock
Portugal prime minister: Government is quitting
18,000 U.S. troops sweep for Taliban
Among Africa's poor, pregnancy often kills
Palestinian uprising leader out of race
Oil spread in a cold, cruel sea as workers wait for winds to die
NASA chief seeking job at LSU
Discovery leads to a red-letter auction
On electoral voting day, some can’t move on
Hot issue: drivers' licenses for illegals
Ukraine reopens poisoning inquiry
Philippines blast kills 15, hurts 58
2004 was 4th-hottest on record, U.N. says
Long-awaited missile defense test ends in a fizzle
At the hearings next week, ‘Chemical Ali’ will come first
Generals: Armor will take time
In some places, vote counting goes on
Athens bus hijackers surrender, release all remaining hostages
Jailhouse book takes holy war into cyberspace
Wedded state feels better, report says
Cardiac clinic tries to expel it’s McDonald's
Ukrainian's dioxin level near record
Charter schools failing to excel
Five killed in two attacks on Mosul
Baby taken from mother's womb found alive and healthy
Bush signals intelligence reform into law
Sorting it out: oil-for-food
EPA releases list of counties with dirty air
Food safety law reflects efforts to water it down
Blood test finds most harmful dioxin
Hussein urges Iraq to unite against U.S.
Growing Medicaid will get a whack
GOP leaders support retaining defense chief
Agency rejects some marriages
Eviction overturned for hawks
$9.3-billion mystery bid wins Yukos Oil facility
Israel to release 170 from prison
Iraqi politicians take to stump
Prosecutor: Blake killed wife to protect baby girl
Study: Aleve may pose health risk
President pushes private accounts
Few real clues, many suspects in poisoning
Goal is to treat HIV in one pill
Record acupuncture study shows arthritis relief
Baby may be tiniest survivor
U.S. Holocaust survivors reach 'Gold Train' settlement
Victim's computer led police to baby
Memos paint harsh Gitmo
Israeli settler group backs call fro resistance
Ukraine braces for election, aftermath

Former Indian prime minister dies

130 votes decide Wash. Governor race

Es-governor pleads guilty to corruption

Children as pawns

Putin says West uses a 'double standard'

Bush to re-nominate 20 for federal judgeships

Recount gives Acevedo Vila Puerto Rican governor seat

Democrats debate softening party's stand on abortion

Bomber may have been in uniform

Palestinians hold first municipal elections since '76

Think stress to blame for gray hair? Try aging stem cells

FDA wants review of painkiller studies

Explosions mar holiday in Iraq; at least 19 dead

Repair crews find prehistoric village

Bush calls for compassion

Fuel troubles by the tankful

Luggage fiasco includes Tampa

Texans' Christmas present: snowfall

Governor resists Medicaid limits

Instant updates help Mass. Keep guns in legal hands

Terror fears block a Muslim cemetery

Doing business, the Malcolm Glazer way

Online hospital ratings a wakeup call to providers

Last minute court ruling adds twist to Ukraine vote

U.S. desires clean win for the West

Prayers for peace, fears of violence mark holiday

PLO leader Abbas vows to make statehood dream a reality

Sudan, rebels to sign pact Jan. 10

Afghan runner up says he'll form opposition

Snow storm snarls traffic, elates skiers

Strong quake in Asia kills 173

Food ship docks in space

More arrests in Honduras bus attack

Recovering Kabul bustles by day, freezes by night

Blockade urged in Ukraine

Arab crowd cheers Abbas at West Bank rally

Scientists rule out 2029 asteroid impact

FDA okays snail-inspired painkiller

NASA: New shuttle fuel tank is safest ever

The war of the worlds

26 Iraqi security forces are killed

And after Ohio counts again…Bush is still president

U.S. increases aid as U.N. official backs off criticism
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<td>Diverse devastated lands</td>
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<td>Insurgents: Don't vote; democracy contradicts Islam</td>
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<td>The Unimaginable</td>
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<td>U.S., Europe take different routes on drunken drivers</td>
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<td>Pilots' reports of laser beams mount</td>
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<td>A tree-slasher cuts to heart a small town</td>
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<tr>
<td>441</td>
<td>Social Security estimates skimp on life spans, say experts</td>
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<td>442</td>
<td>Washington's long race reaches and official end</td>
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<td>443</td>
<td>One-tenth of preschoolers too hefty</td>
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<td>444</td>
<td>Challenge of Ukraine election is heading to high court</td>
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<td>445</td>
<td>Saudis say capture thwarted bomb plot</td>
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<td>446</td>
<td>Asia tries low-tech disaster shields</td>
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<td>447</td>
<td>False alarm causes thousands to flee</td>
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<td>448</td>
<td>Survivor tells harrowing tales from epicenter of quake</td>
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<tr>
<td>449</td>
<td>Huge waves have long-range effects</td>
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<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>India rebuffs foreign offers of help</td>
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APPENDIX D: SPECULATIVE HEADLINES
Speculative Headlines

Speculative Sentinel Headlines

1. Election Day may go away
2. Fair play for girls?
3. Orange's $10 million will help fix S.R. 50
4. Disney will alter ticket pricing
5. Turtle nests may stall restoration of beaches
6. O'Keef expected to leave NASA job
7. School day could lengthen
8. Students' Pell Grants may shrink next year
9. Security tape may show shooting
10. New witness may testify
11. Suit claims Seminole cops went overboard in stop
12. Bones may be human skeleton
13. Judge will hear school rezoning
14. King Tut exhibit to stop in Florida
15. Virus could fight fire ants
16. Is job agency working?
17. 2 will face inquiry in mayoral race
18. Ocoee man could face extradition
19. Tests will hurt kids, critics say
20. Democrats will be back senator vows
21. Fire ants' nemesis could be tiny flies
22. Technology site to aid patients
23. Who carries the weight to get things done?
24. Fast cars may have troopers as drivers
25. Hole in pre-K plan might leak money
26. Leaders to fight for aircraft carrier
27. 340 could be dead in landslides, flash floods
28. Orange's loan will hasten fixes to S.R. 50
29. U.S. envoy: Iraq vote will proceed
30. Sex-drive patch not ready yet, panel says
31. Columbia to free 23 rebels, seeks release of hostages
32. Bush plans to push congress anew to pass intelligence bill
33. Nebraska governor to run USDA
34. Sharon to ask rival party for help in leaving Gaza
35. Rumsfeld: Troops could exit in 4 years
36. If surgery scares kids, games can calm them
Troops will join inaugural festivities
FCC plan will ease in-flight Web use
Reinstated ballots may tip Washington state recount
Key senators say Rumsfeld should stay
Revenge. Race may be motives in arsons
Israel says it will free 170 Palestinians
Independent Taiwan? Not without war
Has Santa grown too big?
Medicare to help smokers
Protectorate may aid Haiti, briefing says
Cameras in court could rein in judge
Experts: Epidemics could kill as many as catastrophe did
Hotel Rwanda' should open eyes to Sudan
Putin aid: Controls will lead to ruin

Speculative Times Headlines
Site woes, delays may lead Scripps to relocate
School take a new look at how fitness can fuel brains
How do we teach them?
Bin Laden thrives in Pakistan, officials say
With no signs, where are you?
This little black box can spy on teens behind the wheel
Vote-poor Iraqis may still get seats
Thick fog suspected as factor in train crash
FEMA to set up help center in Clearwater
Eroded beaches may get $68-million injection of sand
Hyatt resort to rise on Clearwater Beach
Felons freed from jail could get more help
Phantom' can still mesmerize
Hurricanes likely curbed virus outbreak
Can a woman in a wheelchair be guilty of a DUI?
Family intends to sue district in girl's death
Florida Guard set to deploy hundreds to Afghanistan
Victim's lawyer may get $6-million
Suicide suspected in soccer coach's death
NAACP to ask state to reopen 1951 case
RadioShack victim to go home soon
Traffic experts fear: if the rebuild it, more will come
Extra officers to watch for New Year's excess
FDA to consider patch seen as female Viagra, or a fraud
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Senator: Annan should quit because of corruption</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Arafat's nephew says leader's death may have been 'unnatural'</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Growing Medicaid will get a whack</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Baby may be tiniest survivor</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Bush to re-nominate 20 for federal judgeships</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Bomber may have been in uniform</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Think stress to blame for gray hair? Try aging stem cells</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Afghan runner up says he'll form opposition</td>
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APPENDIX E: SPECULATIVE HEADLINE PLACEMENT
### Speculative Headline Placement

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<td>Site woes, delays may lead Scripps to relocate</td>
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APPENDIX F: INTERCODER RELIABILITY SAMPLE
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<td>Orlando Fringe Festival takes act out of downtown</td>
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<td>Chief of Homeland Security resigns</td>
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<td>NAACP chief is stepping down</td>
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<td>Chinese mine explosion's toll hits 166</td>
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<td>Big Chill greets Bush in Canada</td>
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<td>Challenger breaks off talks on vote dispute in Ukraine</td>
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<td>Top 'Jeopardy!' champ finally meets match</td>
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<td>Patch stirs sex drive in women controversy</td>
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<td>Area school officials see gains for girls in sports</td>
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<td>Disputes suspend recount in Puerto Rico once again</td>
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<td>3 appear before Gitmo tribunals</td>
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<td>Dissident writer freed in Cuba</td>
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<td>Netherlands euthanasia debate widens</td>
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<td>Plane skids off wet runway, killing 3 in Indonesia</td>
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<td>EU panel recommends talks on membership with Turkey</td>
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<td>Palestinian leader orders media to stop incitement</td>
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<td>Rwandan troops have invaded. Congo officials say</td>
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<td>Syrians recover mummy, arrest 8 suspects in theft</td>
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<td>13 Honduran children die in sugar-cane field blaze</td>
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<td>U.S. envoy: Iraq vote will proceed</td>
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<td>Secretary of homeland security resigns</td>
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<td>Bush must not back down on quality pre-K</td>
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<td>Orange-Orlando feud heats up fire debate</td>
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<td>Homes wear out welcome</td>
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<td>Larry Leckart dies-created lost landmark</td>
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<td>Shooting injures man walking dogs</td>
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<td>Money sought to restore beaches</td>
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<td>DCF slaps agency with stiff warning</td>
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<td>Security tape may show shooting</td>
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<td>Worker falls, dies inside chip mulcher</td>
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<td>More join search for hunter</td>
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<td>New witness may testify</td>
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<td>City to form noise task force</td>
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<td>U.S. 27 car-truck crash kills 1</td>
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<td>Mary Hill denied new trial</td>
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<td>UCF approves plans for expansion</td>
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<td>Central Florida urgently needs 35 new judges, state Supreme Court says</td>
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<td>Inquiry finds no failure of trains</td>
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<td>DCF head focuses on computer woes</td>
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<td>Critics disrupt surprise tribute to elections chief</td>
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<td>Daytona pilot survives jet crash</td>
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<td>Byrd's taxpayer legal tab lives on</td>
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<td>LaBrakes' cost for dream home: 'Guilty'</td>
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<td>Site woes, delays may lead Scripps to relocate</td>
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<td>After 74 wins, final 'Jeopardy!' just that</td>
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<td>Southeast Airlines goes out of business</td>
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<td>Violence surges in Sunni areas</td>
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<td>2003 Army report talked of inmate abuse</td>
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<td>panel urges bigger Security Council</td>
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<td>Court takes up Title IX issues</td>
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<td>Bush stresses support for intelligence bill</td>
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<td>NAACP chief resigns: 'I just need a break'</td>
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<td>Member of famed Chicago political family enlists in Army</td>
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<td>Victim's mother testifies at sentencing</td>
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<td>Bush's Canadian visit frosty</td>
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<td>Homeland security secretary resigns</td>
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<td>Britain finds new ways to fight back against spitters</td>
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<td>FDA to consider patch seen as female Viagra, or a fraud</td>
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<td>Talks suspended; protesters try to enter Parliament</td>
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<td>Storm kills hundreds of Filipinos</td>
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<td>Dutch hospital kills critically ill babies</td>
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<td>Thick fog suspected as factor in train crash</td>
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<td>Tampa man accused of working for crime family</td>
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<td>Designation elevates USF research into Huntington’s</td>
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<td>Windblown</td>
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<td>Talented cast saddled with bad material</td>
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<td>A Taxing End</td>
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<td>Leaders assess hurricane legacies</td>
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<td>Man dies in crash after Clearwater</td>
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<td>carjacking</td>
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<td>FEMA to set up help center in Clearwater</td>
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<td>Man's outlook changes in a decade with HIV</td>
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<td>108 more trial jurists needed, court says</td>
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<td>State urges FEMA to pursue reports of storm aid fraud</td>
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<td>Extravagance puts a dent in the dollar</td>
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<td>Disney’s new ticket prices: Magic with the math</td>
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<td>Pinellas voting gaffe uncovered</td>
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<td>Yankees star admits steroid use</td>
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