

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA
FACULDADE DE PSICOLOGIA



**O STRESS OCUPACIONAL DOS JORNALISTAS:
ESTUDO EXPLORATÓRIO NO CONTEXTO DIÁRIO E
EM CENÁRIOS CRÍTICOS**

Susana de Deus Tavares Monteiro

Orientador: Prof.^a Doutora Maria Alexandra Penedo Marques Pinto

Tese especialmente elaborada para a obtenção do grau de Doutor em Psicologia,
especialidade em Psicologia Social

2018

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Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia no âmbito da bolsa de Doutoramento atribuída
com referência SFRH/BD/41454/2007

Ao meu pai, que luta pela vida como mais ninguém,

graças ao amor que tem por todos nós:

esposa, filhos e netos.

À minha mãe, pela guerreira que é,

sem o saber...

À Íris de Deus, a menina dos meus olhos,

que enche os meus dias de lilás e verde!

FCT

Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E ENSINO SUPERIOR

O trabalho de investigação conducente a esta dissertação foi apoiado por uma bolsa de doutoramento concedida pela Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia com a referência SFRH/BD/41454/2007.

AGRADECIMENTOS

No final desta etapa, longa e árdua, com vários obstáculos mas também com muitos incentivos, é importante reconhecer e agradecer àqueles que ajudaram na realização, e superação, de tal percurso.

À Professora Doutora Alexandra Marques Pinto, pelo exemplo dado enquanto profissional, mulher e pessoa. É difícil seguir os seus passos mas darei o meu melhor... O que aprendi consigo foi muito mais do que uma tese de Doutoramento permite. Consigo ganhei muito mais do que um grau académico. O seu nível de excelência, a sua compreensão constante, o seu carinho e incentivo foram ganhos que levarei comigo para sempre. Obrigada!

To Dr. John Drury for the warm welcome you gave me at Sussex University and for allowing me to witness your work, thus contributing to my professional and personal enrichment. Although my period at Sussex University was short, I brought several enlightenments back with me. Thank you

À Rita Francisco, pelas várias sessões de formação, supervisão e apoio sobre análise de dados com recurso ao programa QSR-NVivo 10. Obrigada pela tua paciência e disponibilidade constante. À Magda Roberto, pela ajuda na análise dos dados quantitativos e participação na autoria de um dos artigos. Enalteço a vossa sabedoria e humildade, características que são a vossa assinatura.

À Tânia Gregg pelo apoio na tradução e na correção do Inglês dos artigos, o que certamente facilitou a publicação dos mesmos.

Aos jornalistas que participaram no estudo, o meu agradecimento por terem aceite este desafio e feito, também vossa, esta curiosidade científica. Um reconhecimento especial à Rita Marrafa de Carvalho, a minha “gémea”, por ter facilitado a minha articulação com a RTP e jornalistas de outros órgãos de comunicação social.

À Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, pela concessão da bolsa de investigação que permitiu a concretização deste trabalho.

Aos amigos que hoje tenho graças à Faculdade de Psicologia de Universidade de Lisboa e que nunca desistiram de me incentivar e acreditar em mim. À Cláudia Ribeiro, por ser a minha *first responder* pessoal... À Camila Machado pela sua serenidade. À Carla Milhano por ser, sempre, a minha *Pretty Woman*. À Saramago, por me ouvir e validar na minha angústia, por também considerar a família muito mais importante que os graus académicos. Ao Rui Ângelo, à Raquel Raimundo e à Helga Pedro, por partilharem comigo as dificuldades enfrentadas nos vossos respetivos percursos de Doutoramento e por me ajudarem com o vosso testemunho pessoal. Acredito que, tal como disseram, “É só mais um estudo.”, “No dia a seguir a vida está toda igual.”... E sim, durante o processo, duvidamos bastante nas nossas próprias capacidades... Foi difícil, mas vocês fizeram com que fosse menos difícil. Obrigada! À Nelly Almeida, pelo apoio permanente nestes últimos anos, os mais difíceis da minha vida. Nem a distância geográfica impediu que eu tivesse o “teu ombro”, quase diariamente. És a minha irmã mais nova, e tenho tanto a aprender contigo.

Às minhas colegas do Instituto Universitário Egas Moniz, pelo apoio, incentivo e “pressão” constante. Obrigada à Coordenadora do Curso em Psicologia (1º ciclo) e em Psicologia Forense e Criminal (2º ciclo), Professora Doutora Cristina Soeiro, a minha “Soeirinho”, por não desistires de mim e por me atribuíres tarefas de maior responsabilidade e complexidade a cada ano letivo. À Professora Doutora Iris Almeida, pela disponibilidade para os meus pedidos, o meu profundo agradecimento. Só tu para iniciares o próprio aniversário a rever a tese de uma colega. À Professora Doutora Cristina Neves e à Professora Doutora Telma Almeida, pelo sorriso delicado com que me perguntavam pelas “novidades?”. Finalmente a resposta passa a ser “Já entreguei!”.

To Mrs. Sivalingam, *nanri* for the unforgettable praise you once gave me. As promised, I can go back now to Batticaloa.

To Kostas, my best friend, thank you for believing in me. In our future conversations, the term "PhD" will certainly not be said 10 times in the space of two minutes...

To Mere, my AFS daughter, for all the support and love you have given me over all these years. I'm so much happier for having you in my life! Thank you for your help in New York, with Dr. Thomas Demaria and Dr. Minna Barrett, and for your encouragement when I presented some of my work at Mount Sinai School of Medicine. Love you.

Aos meus pais, pelo exemplo, apoio e aceitação que me moldam na pessoa que sou. Ao meu pai, quem me ensinou as primeiras letras, e à minha mãe, quem me ensinou que temos que dar sempre o nosso melhor, a minha profunda gratidão pela vossa presença ao longo do meu percurso de vida. Vocês orgulham-se dos meus feitos; eu admiro a vossa força, luta, coragem e persistência. E, sobretudo, o amor que têm um pelo outro! Pai, este grau académico é meu e seu!

Ao Zé e à Rosarinho, agradeço a preocupação e o ânimo. Ao Rafael, agradeço ter ajudado a que momentos de estudo fossem bem interrompidos pelo seu sorriso e vontade em brincar por querer, com toda a razão, a madrinha só para ele.

Ao Ricardo, por todas as vezes que me perguntaste "O que posso fazer para te ajudar?", e pela tua compreensão para com os meus momentos a "Doutorar" ao computador, durante o período de férias e de (suposto) repouso, o meu sincero agradecimento. Finalmente cortamos a meta desta longa maratona! À Íris, a prova de que "quando o amor entre duas pessoas é tão grande que não cabe nelas, nasce a terceira", agradeço ter vindo completar a minha vida. A minha missão nesta vida é ser tua mãe! Ser psicóloga é um acréscimo. É neste papel da parentalidade que quero o meu *Postdoc*. Amo-te, um bocadinho mais do que ontem, um pouquinho menos do que amanhã...

RESUMO

A presente dissertação é o produto final da investigação com o título “*Stress*¹ ocupacional dos jornalistas – Estudo Exploratório no Contexto Diário e em Cenários Críticos”. Tendo por base o modelo holístico de stress ocupacional de Nelson e Simmons (2003), esta dissertação incide no estudo, na identificação e na comparação de variáveis de stress profissional percebidas pelos jornalistas no seu trabalho diário, e também nos cenários críticos para onde são destacados como enviados especiais. Uma vez que os dois contextos são distintos, com as suas especificidades e realidades diferenciadoras, urge caracterizar similitudes e diferenças nas fontes de stress, nas reações emocionais ao stress, nas estratégias utilizadas para lidar com as fontes de stress, nos impactos na saúde e bem-estar e, por último, no suporte organizacional percebido, neste grupo de profissionais. Os desastres naturais e causados pelo Homem são cada vez mais frequentes, pelo que aquilo que antes era uma experiência pontual, para alguns jornalistas apenas, é cada vez mais uma realidade ocupacional regular para os jornalistas. Por outro lado, atentados recentes como o de 2015, ao Charlie Hebdo, em França, revelam que este tipo de evento traumático é cada vez mais frequente no trabalho diário dos jornalistas, trazendo os riscos e o perigo iminente, típicos dos cenários críticos (como os cenários de guerra e o rescaldo de desastres naturais) para o contexto profissional regular dos jornalistas. Uma vez que o foco científico sobre o stress ocupacional dos jornalistas é ainda recente, comparativamente a outros profissionais que também intervêm em contextos idênticos, e designados como *first responders*², o primeiro dos três estudos desta dissertação incide numa revisão sistemática de literatura, relativa aos artigos publicados após o 11 de setembro e até julho de 2015 sobre stress profissional dos jornalistas. Dos 28 estudos identificados, nos quais se analisaram as semelhanças e diferenças no que se refere às fontes

¹ Este termo, tal como outros associados ao tema da investigação (e.g. distress, eustress, coping, savoring) ou estrangeirismos (i.e. media, freelancer) serão mantidos na língua original, sendo que na primeira vez em que surgem, serão escritos em itálico.

² *First responders* enquanto os profissionais que trabalham na “linha da frente” em situações críticas e que são dos primeiros a chegar ao local da ocorrência (e.g. polícias, bombeiros...).

de stress, estratégias de *coping* e impactos, verificou-se que nenhum se baseou num modelo teórico conceptual, nenhum comparou os dois contextos ocupacionais dos jornalistas, a maioria recorreu a metodologia quantitativa e todos incidiram na valência negativa do stress. Dos 28 estudos, 13 foram sujeitos a uma meta-análise referente à relação entre a exposição repetida a eventos críticos e o trauma, tendo-se verificado um efeito pequeno a moderado. O segundo e o terceiro estudos incidem na caracterização e comparação de variáveis de stress ocupacional percebidas pelos jornalistas em cada um dos contextos profissionais, tendo por base o modelo holístico de stress ocupacional. Mais especificamente, no segundo estudo pretende-se analisar as percepções dos jornalistas relativamente às fontes de stress, às reações emocionais de stress, negativas ou positivas, e aos impactos dessas experiências na sua saúde e bem-estar, também de valência negativa ou positiva, quer no contexto diário, quer em cenários críticos. O terceiro estudo foca as percepções dos jornalistas, nos dois contextos, no que concerne a estratégias para lidar com o stress negativo (*coping*) ou positivo (*savoring*) e ao suporte organizacional. Nestes dois estudos é considerado, ainda, o número de incursões em cenários críticos como uma variável individual – uma outra variável de stress ocupacional do modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003) - que pode ter impacto nas outras variáveis mencionadas. Também em ambos os estudos se recorre a metodologia qualitativa, concretamente a entrevista semiestruturada, para aceder às percepções dos jornalistas sobre as variáveis em análise. Assim, 25 jornalistas Portugueses, todos com experiência reconhecida em cenários críticos, para além da sua experiência profissional diária, integram a amostra do segundo e do terceiro estudo. Os resultados obtidos revelam que há uma predominância de respostas para os cenários críticos, parecendo ser este um contexto primordial de realização ocupacional para os entrevistados. As fontes de stress identificadas para cada um dos contextos são negativas, bem como as reações emocionais negativas ou de *distress* no contexto diário. Nos cenários críticos, porém, são as respostas emocionais positivas ou de

eustress que predominam. As estratégias de coping foram mais mencionadas nos dois contextos, sendo que as estratégias de savoring só foram mencionadas para os cenários críticos. Apesar de terem sido referidos impactos positivos na saúde e bem-estar dos entrevistados, a maioria das respostas centrou-se nos impactos negativos. Quanto ao suporte organizacional foi possível identificar três grandes vetores de apoio por parte da organização, na percepção dos participantes: apoio material, burocrático e logístico; apoio psicológico; e formação. Relativamente ao número de incursões em cenários críticos verificaram-se diferenças estatisticamente significativas ($p < .05$) em algumas das fontes de stress, apenas no contexto dos cenários críticos, nas reações emocionais negativas, também nos eventos críticos, em alguns dos impactos no contexto diário, numa das estratégias de coping (por negação e evitamento) em ambos os contextos, em algumas das estratégias de savoring, e em algumas das categorias do suporte organizacional, mas apenas nos cenários críticos. Com os dados obtidos é possível contribuir, adotando uma perspetiva holística, para a reflexão sobre o papel das organizações de comunicação social no suporte e apoio aos jornalistas tendo em vista um desempenho profissional de qualidade em qualquer dos contextos laborais em que se inserem, bem como na criação de medidas de prevenção da doença e de promoção da saúde ocupacional destes profissionais.

Palavras-chave: stress ocupacional; jornalistas; modelo holístico de stress; contexto diário e cenários críticos

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is the final product of the research study entitled "Occupational Stress of Journalists – Exploratory Study in Daily Context and Critical Scenarios". Taking the Holistic Model of Occupational Stress by Nelson and Simmons (2003) as a framework, this dissertation focuses on the study, identification and comparison of professional stress variables perceived by journalists in their daily work, as well as in the critical scenarios to which they are deployed as special envoys. Since they are two distinct contexts, with distinguishing specificities and realities, it is crucial to characterize their similarities and differences in terms of stress sources, emotional reactions to stress, strategies used for dealing with stress, impacts on health and well-being and, finally, of the perceived organizational support among this group of professionals. Natural and man-made disasters are becoming more frequent, so what was once a one-off experience, for only some journalists, has now increasingly become a regular occupational reality for many. On the other hand, recent terrorist attacks such as that of 2015 on Charlie Hebdo, in France, have indicated that this kind of traumatic event is increasingly more frequent in journalists' daily work, bringing the risks and imminent danger, typical of critical incidents (such as war scenarios and the aftermath of natural disasters), to the regular professional context of journalists. Since the scientific focus on the occupational stress of journalists is still recent, compared to other professionals who also intervene in similar contexts, designated as first responders, the first of the three studies in this dissertation focuses on a systematic review of the literature, namely articles published after September 11 and up to July 2015 on the professional stress of journalists. Of the 28 studies identified, in which the similarities and differences in sources of stress, coping strategies and impacts were analyzed, none were based on a theoretical conceptual model and none compared the two occupational contexts of journalists. The majority of the studies resorted to quantitative methodology and they all focused on the

negative side of stress. Of the 28 studies, 13 were subjected to a meta-analysis of the relationship between repeated exposure to critical events and trauma, and presented a small to moderate effect. The second and third studies focus on the characterization and comparison of occupational stress variables perceived by journalists in each of the professional contexts, taking the holistic model of occupational stress as a framework. More specifically, the second study aims to analyze journalists' perceptions of sources of stress, negative or positive emotional reactions to stress, and the positive and negative impact of these experiences on their health and well-being, in both their daily context and in critical scenarios. The third study focuses on the perceptions of journalists, in both contexts, of the strategies used to deal with negative (coping) or positive (savoring) stress and organizational support. In these two studies, the number of deployments to critical scenarios is considered as an individual variable - another occupational stress variable of Nelson and Simmons' (2003) model - that may have an impact on the aforementioned variables. Moreover, in both studies, qualitative methodology is used, namely semi-structured interviews, to access the journalists' perceptions of the variables under study. Thus, the samples of the second and third studies consist of 25 Portuguese journalists, all with recognized experience in critical scenarios, in addition to their daily professional experience. The data obtained point to a predominance of responses to the critical scenarios, which appears to be a primordial context of occupational achievement for the interviewees. The sources of stress identified for each of the contexts are negative, in addition to the negative emotional reactions or distress in the daily context. However, in critical scenarios, the positive emotional responses or eustress are more predominant. Coping strategies were the most frequently mentioned for both settings, whereas savoring strategies were only referred to for critical scenarios. Although positive impacts on the health and well-being of respondents were reported, most responses focused on the negative impacts. As for organizational support, it was possible to identify the

participants' perception of three main channels of support from the organization: material, bureaucratic and logistical support; psychological support; and training. According to the number of deployments to critical scenarios, significant differences ($p < .05$) were identified in some of the sources of stress, only in the context of critical scenarios, in the negative emotional reactions, also in critical events, in some of the impacts on the daily context, in one of the coping strategies (denial and avoidance) in both contexts, in some of the savoring strategies, and in some of the organizational support categories, but only in critical scenarios. On the basis of this data, and from a holistic perspective, it is possible to contribute to the reflection on the role of media organizations in supporting journalists with a view to their quality professional performance in all their occupational contexts, in addition to the creation of measures to prevent disease and to promote the occupational health of these professionals.

Key-words: occupational stress; journalists; holistic stress model; daily context and critical events

Nota prévia

Nesta dissertação é apresentado um conjunto de estudos que foram especificamente desenhados para conhecer e caracterizar as variáveis de stress profissional de jornalistas com experiência em dois contextos ocupacionais, o contexto diário de trabalho, noticiando os acontecimentos do país e eventos locais, nas diferentes secções (política, sociedade, desporto, cultura, saúde...) e os cenários críticos de grandeza mundial para onde alguns jornalistas são destacados como enviados especiais (guerras e atentados terroristas, desastres naturais de grande dimensão).

A escolha deste grupo profissional deve-se ao facto de ser um grupo negligenciado na investigação científica, que só recentemente começou a ser alvo de interesse no âmbito do stress ocupacional. O número de desastres naturais, conflitos armados e atentados terroristas tem aumentado nos últimos anos, colocando estes profissionais sob os mesmos riscos já amplamente estudados em vítimas e noutros profissionais como os polícias, bombeiros e pessoal de emergência ou first responders. Deste modo, justifica-se estudar as variáveis de stress ocupacional a que os jornalistas estão sujeitos nesses contextos. Porém, como os cenários críticos, tipicamente, não são noticiados numa base diária mas sim pontual, é igualmente relevante identificar e caracterizar as variáveis de stress ocupacional com que estes profissionais lidam no seu contexto laboral diário.

Todos os estudos realizados são enquadrados em modelos teóricos de stress, reconhecidos na literatura, de modo a guiar conceptualmente a investigação realizada, e contribuir para a construção de conhecimento sobre os jornalistas em particular. A maioria dos estudos realizados no contexto do stress ocupacional, com diferentes grupos de profissionais, incide na valência negativa do stress ao passo que com os modelos que serviram de base aos estudos realizados foi possível focar também aspetos positivos da vivência de stress.

Este documento divide-se em três partes. Na primeira, apresentar-se-á, no Capítulo 1, um breve enquadramento teórico que suporta as escolhas operacionais e metodológicas realizadas, encerrando com uma apresentação integrada dos três estudos realizados. A segunda parte do documento, Capítulos 2, 3 e 4, apresenta os estudos em si. Por último, a terceira parte, consiste no Capítulo 5, o qual apresenta as conclusões sobre os principais resultados dos estudos, a discussão dos seus contributos e das limitações, bem como a identificação de novas questões de investigação.

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PARTE I

O STRESS OCUPACIONAL DOS JORNALISTAS - INTRODUÇÃO

Capítulo 1

Introdução Teórica e Apresentação dos Estudos

Os Jornalistas como First Responders

Os desastres, ou incidentes críticos, sejam atos da natureza não intencionais ou causados pelo Homem, podem ter efeitos profundos naqueles que os vivenciam. Além dos perigos físicos inerentes aos desastres serem óbvios, tais eventos são uma ameaça grave também para a saúde mental. Nos últimos anos a frequência de desastres, tanto naturais como perpetrados pelo Homem, tem aumentado drasticamente, afetando indivíduos, comunidades e nações. Como Collogan, Tuma, Dolan-Sewell, Borja e Fleischman (2004) referem, além do impacto imediato na saúde física e mental das pessoas afetadas, os desastres podem ter impactos mais crónicos criando dificuldades sociais e económicas, perda de emprego, rutura de relações interpessoais e deteriorando, desse modo, a saúde física e mental também a longo prazo. A investigação tem incidido maioritariamente no impacto dos desastres sobre as vítimas diretas (e.g., Green, Grace, & Gleser, 1985; Jaycox et al., 2010; North et al., 2005), e mais recentemente, nos seus impactos nos profissionais de emergência ou de primeira linha (first responders) (e.g., Marmar et al., 2006; Haslam & Mallon, 2003). Em ambas as situações, existe uma variedade de reações para quem vive e/ou testemunha acontecimentos violentos e potencialmente traumáticos: uns apresentam preocupações e angústias, dificuldades em dormir e de concentração, memórias perturbadoras que, muito frequentemente, se desvanecem com apoio emocional adequado; outros ficam mais profundamente afetados e vivenciam problemas a longo-prazo como depressão, perturbação de stress pós-traumático (PTSD) e outras perturbações de ansiedade.

Após os atentados terroristas de 11 de setembro de 2001, a presença dos jornalistas nos desastres de larga escala tem sido evidente. Já há alguns anos que não são necessários

dias nem semanas para as notícias viajarem pelo globo, e muitos eventos são transmitidos ao vivo, em tempo real, à medida que ocorrem. Nos atentados de 11 de setembro, em Nova Iorque, milhões de pessoas por todo o mundo viram nos seus ecrãs de televisão o segundo avião a embater nas torres gémeas, tal como se estivessem numa das ruas de Manhattan. Em cenários de guerra, sobretudo nas guerras mais recentes do Médio Oriente, começa também a ser frequente a presença de jornalistas *embedded* com os militares (que acompanham as corporações militares), estando estes profissionais sujeitos às mesmas ameaças que os próprios militares.

O facto de os jornalistas poderem estar expostos às mesmas fontes de stress que os first responders tradicionais (polícias, bombeiros), vivenciarem e testemunharem as mesmas situações potencialmente traumáticas, cada vez com maior frequência, para noticiar e transmitir ao público que os lê, ouve e/ou vê as suas histórias de sofrimento e destruição e, conseqüentemente, poderem padecer das mesmas conseqüências físicas e mentais, tem levado vários autores (e.g., Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Law, 2007; Osofsky et al., 2005; Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich, 2008) a considerar estes profissionais também como first responders. Hoje em dia, os jornalistas chegam ao local ainda antes do pessoal de emergência médica. Estes profissionais já não entrevistam, simplesmente, as testemunhas e depois repetem e contam a história. Os jornalistas tornaram-se nas próprias testemunhas, seja porque estão junto às tropas num cenário de guerra, seja porque estão a relatar os efeitos de catástrofes naturais *in loco*. Segundo Aguilera e Planchon (1995), os *media* podem ser usados para disseminar informação importante, tal como as respostas psicológicas esperadas em situações de desastre, os resultados das operações de salvamento, os cuidados que a comunidade deve ter nas próximas horas ou dias, e as entidades que estão a prestar apoio. Os autores acrescentam que, dependendo do contexto, a presença dos *media* pode ser uma oportunidade para as pessoas ventilarem e receberem reconhecimento social e apoio através de uma entrevista

voluntária. Assim, este papel de ajuda que os jornalistas podem ter junto das vítimas, assemelha-os ainda mais ao dos first responders tradicionais, que socorrem e apoiam as vítimas do desastre.

Por estarem expostos ao stress do próprio acontecimento e ao stress do seu papel enquanto profissionais de ajuda, os first responders podem tornar-se as vítimas escondidas do desastre a que respondem (Fullerton, Ursano, Norwood, & Holloway, 2003). São expostos com frequência a situações potencialmente traumáticas tais como corpos mutilados, destruição em massa, situações ameaçadoras para a vida, confrontos com armas de fogo, desastres de viação, testemunhar mortes violentas (Benedek, Fullerton, & Ursano, 2007; Marmar et al., 2006). Estudos anteriores realizados com first responders, incluindo jornalistas (Anshel, Robertson, & Caputi, 1997; Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005; Grieger, Kolkow, Spira, & Morse, 2007; Marais & Stuart, 2005; Marmar et al., 2006; Pyevich, Newman, & Daleiden, 2003; Strupp & Cospers, 2001; Vettor & Kosinski, 2000), mostraram que estes profissionais estão sujeitos a uma profissão emocionalmente desgastante e exigente apresentando, por isso, uma propensão elevada para sinais de distress como absentismo, *burnout*, problemas de adaptação em contextos sociais, familiares e profissionais, depressão, reforma antecipada, distúrbios emocionais, culpa, tensão psicológica, PTSD e traumatização secundária. Um dado que revela quão *stressante* pode ser a profissão de jornalista é o número de jornalistas assassinados ou detidos no exercício da função em países em conflito armado. Segundo a organização *Reporters without Borders* (<http://en.rsf.org/>), em 2014, 72 jornalistas foram mortos e 178 foram detidos. Em 2015, 81 jornalistas morreram e em 2016, esse número diminuiu para 62 mortos. Ao longo de 2017, 65 jornalistas foram mortos e 326 foram detidos. Os piores países para se trabalhar como jornalista são Brasil, Egipto, Somália, Turquia, Ucrânia, Índia, Filipinas, Paquistão e Síria, sendo este último considerado o pior dos piores.

De acordo com o *Center for Disease Control and Prevention* (2006) e o *CareerCast* (2016), os jornalistas estão entre as 10 profissões mais stressantes.

Os Riscos de se Ser Jornalista

Como referido, a inclusão recente dos jornalistas no grupo dos first responders deve-se ao novo desafio da cobertura de acidentes traumáticos como os atentados terroristas e conflitos abertos dos últimos anos (Law, 2007). Contudo, mesmo a investigação realizada após o 11 de setembro sobre stress profissional dos jornalistas, incide maioritariamente no stress diário destes profissionais, com poucos estudos sobre o stress ocupacional dos jornalistas destacados como enviados especiais para cenários críticos, tais como a guerra (e.g., Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Pyevich et al., 2003) e como o rescaldo de uma catástrofe natural (e.g., Weidmann et al., 2008). Em Portugal, a queda da ponte de Entre-os-Rios, em 2001, constituiu um dos primeiros acidentes com cobertura mediática sem precedentes como revela o estudo da jornalista da RTP, Daniela Santiago (2006).

Efetivamente, o dia-a-dia da maioria dos profissionais de comunicação social não incide em eventos críticos de larga escala nem potencialmente traumáticos. Apenas um grupo reduzido de jornalistas, os designados repórteres de guerra ou enviados especiais, cobrem, respetivamente, os diferentes conflitos do globo e os desastres naturais. Há autores que referem inclusive (e.g. Strupp & Cospers, 2001) que o problema não reside nos momentos cheios de adrenalina ao cobrirem uma grande história mas sim, na rotina diária da redação. Assim, o stress crónico do dia-a-dia é considerado mais perturbador que o stress agudo dos cenários críticos. Vários estudos de Reinardy (2006, 2011, 2012, 2013) revelaram que o stress ocupacional vivenciado pelos jornalistas não estava restrito aos cenários de guerra e conflito armado, mas era também proveniente de fatores relacionados com o stress do trabalho diário. Também Strupp e Cospers (2001) argumentam que nem sempre os sintomas

de PTSD nos jornalistas e fotojornalistas advêm de catástrofes ou ataques terroristas. Uma história do dia-a-dia, com resultados terríveis, pode despoletar reações semelhantes.

Apesar da importância da diferenciação e comparação entre stress crónico (mais facilmente promovido no contexto diário de trabalho) e stress agudo (potenciado nos cenários críticos), como veremos, os estudos sobre jornalistas geralmente não têm em conta estas variáveis e reportam indiscriminadamente resultados relativos aos dois contextos de trabalho destes profissionais. Outra limitação, prende-se com o facto da investigação sobre a exposição dos jornalistas a eventos traumáticos (stress agudo), além de escassa, tal como referido anteriormente, incidir apenas nos impactos da profissão na saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas sem analisar outras variáveis de stress ocupacional como as fontes de stress, reações emocionais às fontes de stress, estratégias utilizadas para lidar com as fontes de stress, o suporte organizacional...

Alguns subgrupos de jornalistas poderão enfrentar maiores riscos ocupacionais e merecer especial atenção. Ertel, Pech, Ullsperger, Von Dem Knesebeck e Siegrist (2005) estudaram em jornalistas *freelancers* o stress profissional medindo o impacto da variável esforço-recompensa na perceção subjetiva da própria de saúde. Os resultados demonstraram que os *freelancers*, sobretudo homens, expostos a condições de trabalho adversas estão em maior risco de saúde (percecionam a sua saúde como pior). Isto porque, como Ertel e colaboradores (2005) referem, os *freelancers*, dada a irregularidade de rendimento, tendem a trabalhar mais horas, a adiar férias e a “negligenciar” possíveis sintomas de doença se as exigências de pressão de tempo existirem. Os autores referem ainda que muito poucos estudos sobre a relação entre condições psicossociais adversas de trabalho e saúde em *freelancers* têm sido feitos. Paralelamente, há alguma evidência que mostra que os fotojornalistas, contratados para capturarem a imagem mais marcante da guerra, podem estar sujeitos às características mais traumáticas da mesma (Feinstein & Owen, 2002, cit. por

Osofsky et al., 2005), o que por sua vez os coloca em maior risco de exposição ao perigo físico imediato bem como de sequelas emocionais. De facto, estes profissionais valorizam os riscos que correm por causa do significado do seu trabalho (Osofsky et al., 2005). Este significado é também o que os pode motivar a aceitar trabalhos cada vez mais perigosos. Maxson (1999), Osofsky e colaboradores (2005) e Strupp e Cospers (2001) lembram que ao contrário de muitos first responders, os profissionais de comunicação social, sobretudo os mais novos e, por vezes ingénuos e inexperientes, podem não estar conscientes da necessidade de lidar com a exposição ao trauma, nem ter acesso a apoio profissional adequado para tal fim. Para jornalistas recém-formados é difícil saber o que esperar em situações emotivas como aquelas em que têm de noticiar eventos com pessoas feridas pela crueldade humana e/ou pela força da natureza (Maxson, 1999). Alguns autores (e.g., Heloani, 2005) referiram-se mesmo à possibilidade de morte prematura dos jornalistas, chamando a atenção para o facto de que, devido a doenças insidiosas que são difíceis de diagnosticar precocemente, um número considerável desses profissionais nem chega à reforma.

Além das preocupações intrínsecas ao desempenho do trabalho, Osofsky e colaboradores (2005) referem que muitos jornalistas se preocupam, ainda, com o impacto do seu trabalho em si próprios e na vida dos seus entes significativos. São frequentes os momentos, ao longo da carreira profissional, em que os jornalistas abdicam das suas próprias vidas pessoais em função do trabalho (e.g. sair repentinamente do País, deixando os colegas, a casa e a família, mesmo em datas festivas como o Natal e aniversários, para ir cobrir um evento). As consequências das experiências diretamente vividas, dos horrores que testemunham, das situações que encontram e dos traumas que vivenciam podem levar a casamentos tensos, ao consumo de álcool e drogas e a sintomas comportamentais e emocionais a longo prazo (Osofsky et al., 2005). A exposição repetida a eventos críticos e, conseqüentemente, ao risco e ao perigo, prejudica a saúde mental destes profissionais, pois

potencia o surgimento de perturbações de ansiedade (e.g., PTSD), de humor (e.g., depressão) e o consumo de substâncias (Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Feinstein, & Nicolson, 2005; Hatanaka e tal., 2010; Pyevich et al., 2003).

Contudo, e à semelhança do que ocorre com os polícias e os bombeiros (Andersen & Brown, 1998; Cross & Ashley, 2004; Frone, Russel, & Cooper, 1993; Gresty & McLelland, 1989), a cultura da profissão pode favorecer o “puxar a corda até ao limite”, contribuindo assim para que a procura de ajuda psicológica ou psiquiátrica seja associada à noção de fraqueza e para que os jornalistas com preocupações no âmbito da sua saúde mental sejam estigmatizados (Law, 2007; Osofsky et al., 2005). Sibbald (2002) acrescenta que “os jornalistas lidam com obstáculos no combate ao trauma na realização do seu trabalho. O jornalismo é uma profissão altamente competitiva e os jornalistas são muito relutantes em tomar consciência de qualquer vulnerabilidade. Dizer que se ficou traumatizado ao ver um acidente de carro pode deslocar o jornalista para outras secções do jornal menos “apelativas” como, por exemplo, a alimentação” (p. 1704).

Modelos Teóricos de Stress: Variáveis de Stress Ocupacional

Apesar do interesse gradual pelo estudo científico do stress ocupacional dos jornalistas, os estudos empíricos sobre estes profissionais ainda são escassos e existem ainda muitas áreas a explorar, diferentes variáveis a analisar e vários *insights* a alcançar. Consideramos necessária uma maior compreensão, entre outros aspetos, sobre as variáveis e processos que predominam no stress profissional dos jornalistas, tendo por base os modelos conceptuais de referência nesta área.

Um dos modelos de stress mais influentes é o modelo transacional e interacionista de Lazarus e Folkman (1984), que postula o stress psicológico como a relação entre a pessoa e o ambiente, a qual é avaliada pelo indivíduo como excedendo os seus recursos e colocando em

perigo o seu bem-estar. Este modelo tem em consideração, quer as características da pessoa quer as da natureza do acontecimento externo. É um modelo orientado para o processo, pois o indivíduo e o ambiente são perspetivados de acordo com uma relação dinâmica que muda constantemente e que é bidirecional, ou seja, em que o indivíduo e o ambiente agem mutuamente um sobre o outro (Folkman, 1984). Os autores referem dois processos críticos que medeiam a relação pessoa-ambiente e que podem assim explicar o que causa stress psicológico em diferentes pessoas: a avaliação cognitiva e o coping. A avaliação cognitiva é um processo avaliativo que determina se e em que medida uma transação particular (ou uma série de transações) entre a pessoa e o ambiente é stressante. De modo geral, uma transação é geradora de stress se for percebida como prejudicial (uma perda efectiva), ameaçadora (uma perda potencial), ou desafiadora (um possível ganho). Estas duas últimas situações diferem no componente cognitivo (o julgamento de uma perda ou dano vs. um ganho ou mestria) mas também no componente afectivo. Uma situação desafiadora é frequentemente caracterizada por emoções positivas (entusiasmo, excitação, alegria) ao passo que uma situação ameaçadora é caracterizada por emoções negativas como o medo, a ansiedade e a raiva. Além desta avaliação primária, o processo de avaliação cognitiva contempla também a avaliação secundária que consiste na avaliação dos seus recursos de coping e opções disponíveis para lidar com a situação avaliada, anteriormente, como stressante. Em suma, a avaliação cognitiva é um processo de categorização de um acontecimento e das suas várias facetras relativamente à sua importância para o bem-estar que decorre de forma continuada e não necessariamente consciente.

O coping, por seu lado, é o processo através do qual o indivíduo lida com as exigências da relação pessoa-ambiente que são avaliadas como stressantes e as emoções que são geradas durante essa transação. Lazarus e Folkman (1984) centram as estratégias de coping em dois tipos ou padrões principais: o coping focado no problema (consiste na ação

direta que se realiza para mudar, remover ou reduzir o *stressor* como comportamentos confrontativos ou coping ativo, planejamento e respostas de resolução de problemas) e o coping focado nas emoções (consiste nas tentativas para mudar a avaliação ou o significado do stressor e pretende regular a resposta emocional associada ao problema como exercício físico, falar com amigos, estratégias cognitivas para mudar o significado do stressor como reconhecer o lado positivo da situação). Como constatado, as emoções têm um papel relevante na manifestação do stress. Lazarus (1999) refere que não se pode considerar o stress e a emoção como dois campos separados, uma vez que há mais particularidades em comum do que divergências, pelo modo como afetam o bem-estar psicológico, o funcionamento do indivíduo e a saúde física. “Quando há stress, existem também emoções – talvez possamos chamá-las de emoções do stress” (Lazarus, 1999, p. 35). Contudo, foi só depois da década de 50 e 60 do século passado que se começou empiricamente a relacionar o stress psicológico com a emoção (Lazarus, 1999). Esta relevância das emoções na vivência do processo de stress, leva Lazarus (1999) a considerar o stress psicológico primeiramente como a ocorrência de emoções negativas (raiva, zanga, desilusão) que são evocadas por situações exigentes. As emoções estão relacionadas com variáveis individuais, sendo por isso influenciadas pelos valores pessoais, objetivos, crenças, recursos pessoais e acontecimentos sociais do indivíduo (Lazarus, 1999). Além destas duas dimensões de coping, outros autores (e.g., Miller, 1990; Skinner, Edge, Altman, & Sherwood, 2003) têm considerado uma terceira, nomeadamente o coping por negação e evitamento, referente a estratégias que evitam o confronto com a fonte de stress ou com as emoções que derivam dela, envolvendo-se o indivíduo em atividades distrativas, de fuga ou escape (e.g., abuso de substâncias). Estes três tipos de coping não são mutuamente exclusivos e podem ocorrer em conjunto e cada um pode facilitar ou diminuir o outro no processo de coping. Independentemente da forma como os diferentes tipos de coping e as suas funções são conceptualizadas, o mais importante no

processo de coping reside no impacto destes na qualidade de vida e bem-estar do indivíduo (Quillian-Wolever & Wolever, 2002). É importante também reconhecer a distinção entre coping disposicional, um coping mais estável entre diferentes situações (Lazarus, 1996) e o coping situacional, ou seja, mais transiente e variável de acordo com a natureza das situações (Buunk, de Jonge, Ybema, de Wolff, & de Wolff, 1998). No presente trabalho, é o coping situacional que é destacado pois incidimos na análise das estratégias de coping utilizadas em cada um dos contextos ocupacionais dos jornalistas (contexto diário ou eventos críticos).

O modelo de Lazarus e Folkman (1984) tem servido de base a muitos outros modelos que tentam explicar o processo de stress de forma geral ou aplicada a um contexto específico como o profissional. É o caso do modelo holístico de stress profissional de Nelson e Simmons de 2003 (ver Figura 1), o qual inclui diversas variáveis que interferem no processo de stress ocupacional, antes, durante e após a vivência do mesmo.

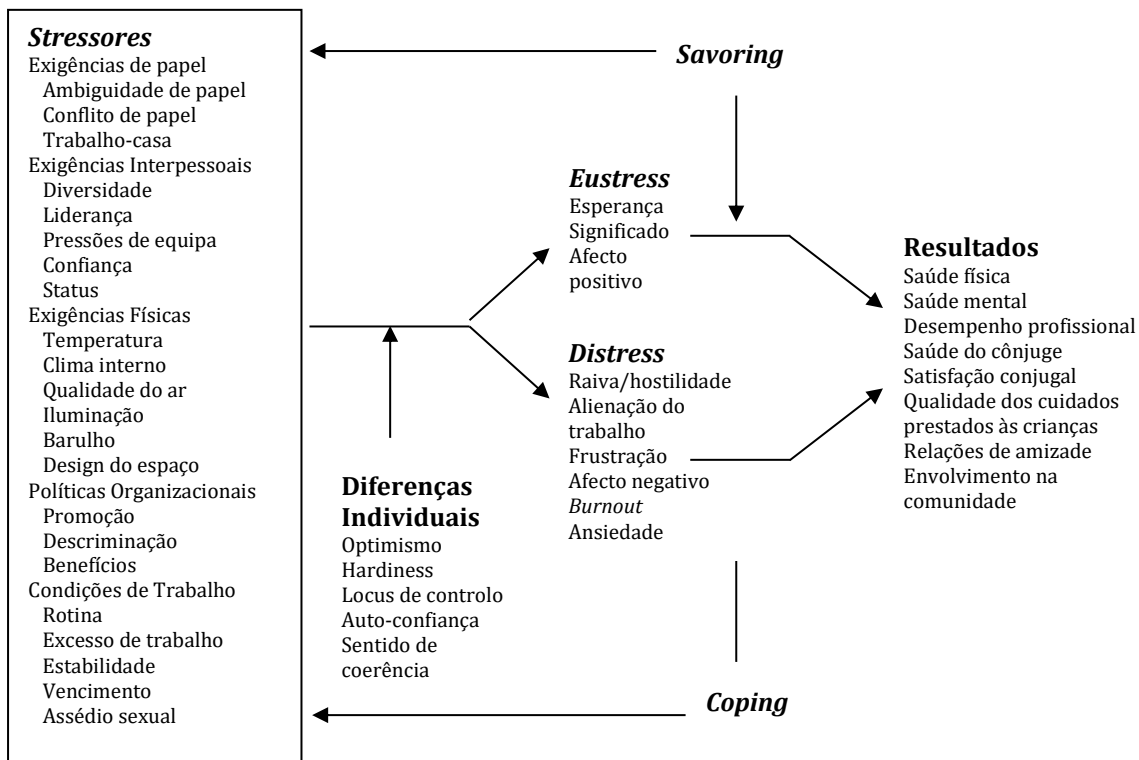


Figura 1. Modelo Holístico de Stress Ocupacional de Nelson e Simmons (2003).

Mais especificamente, no modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003), os estímulos físicos ou psicológicos aos quais o indivíduo responde são designados como *stressores* ou exigências. Os stressores no local de trabalho associam-se a exigências de papel, exigências interpessoais, exigências físicas, políticas organizacionais e condições de trabalho, e algumas destas exigências não serão salientes para alguns indivíduos, mas poderão, no entanto, produzir respostas significativas noutros. No contexto do stress profissional, e para profissões de elevado nível de stress (e.g., first responders), é comum a divisão dos stressores ocupacionais em stressores organizacionais e stressores associados ao desempenho da função. Apesar dos autores do modelo não recorrerem a esta terminologia, optamos pelo uso da mesma pois permite-nos categorizar cada exigência profissional identificada no contexto dos jornalistas, tal como ocorre com outros first responders (e.g., Brough, 2005; McCreary & Thompson, 2006). Os stressores organizacionais remetem para características específicas da organização e o seu funcionamento interno (e.g., rotina, monotonia, burocracia, excesso de horas de trabalho, conflito com superiores e pares, conflito trabalho-família), e são considerados como os stressores mais dominantes no processo de stress ocupacional (e.g., Brough, 2005; Hart, Wearing, & Heady, 1995). Os stressores associados ao desempenho da função remetem para exigências profissionais como o risco e o perigo, prestar ajuda a indivíduos em sofrimento, lidar com armas (como no caso dos polícias). Regressando ao modelo, pelo facto da resposta de stress ser complexa, os autores consideram que a maioria, se não todos estes stressores, pode provocar um grau de resposta negativa e um grau de resposta positiva em qualquer indivíduo, consideração que torna este modelo “inovador”. Esta distinção entre respostas (emoções) positivas e negativas vem dos trabalhos de Hans Selye na década de 70 que haviam sugerido dois tipos de stress em função das emoções que despertam (Selye, 1983; Lazarus, 1999). O distress, que é um tipo de stress destrutivo, ilustrado pela raiva e agressão, danificando a saúde do indivíduo e, o eustress, que é um tipo

de stress construtivo, ilustrado por emoções associadas a preocupações empáticas pelos outros indivíduos sendo compatível com uma boa saúde. No âmbito do stress, as emoções indicam como o indivíduo está a avaliar a situação e ajudam a compreender o comportamento subsequente que vai manifestar, dada a sua função motivadora. As emoções negativas são normalmente acompanhadas por mudanças fisiológicas como o aumento das pulsações cardíacas, da pressão arterial, da secreção de determinadas hormonas, hiperventilação – as quais são frequentemente designadas por sintomas de stress (Buunk et al., 1998). Para Nelson e Simmons (2003), respostas de eustress contribuem para profissionais entusiasticamente envolvidos com as exigências do seu trabalho e que percecionam benefícios positivos, mesmo quando lidam com stressores extremamente exigentes. Enquanto o distress tem sido associado a um aumento de sintomas prejudiciais à saúde do indivíduo, a investigação sobre a relação entre eustress e saúde tem sido mais escassa. Nelson e Simmons (2003) consideram a prevenção do distress a par da promoção do eustress como uma mais-valia dos estudos que se realizem sobre a relação entre o stress e a saúde/doença baseados neste modelo. Uma ideia essencial dos autores é a de que o stress é algo inevitável na vida dos indivíduos mas o distress não, defendendo, nesse sentido, que as três formas de prevenção (primária, secundária e terciária) podem combater a emergência de distress.

O modelo tem também em consideração as diferenças individuais que podem influenciar a avaliação cognitiva dos stressores e moderar, assim, os seus efeitos nas reações de stress. Ao considerar as diferenças individuais, este modelo permite explicar o facto de diferentes indivíduos terem perceções distintas do ambiente de trabalho e reagirem de forma também diferenciada a essas perceções.

Uma outra asserção deste modelo é a de que as pessoas são participantes ativos no processo do stress ocupacional, isto é, os trabalhadores tomam decisões sobre como responder aos stressores no ambiente de trabalho e essas respostas podem alterar esse

ambiente. Neste sentido, Nelson e Simmons (2003) introduzem um novo conceito, de savoring, o qual definem como paralelo ao de coping (enquanto estratégia de resposta perante o distress) mas para as reações de stress conotadas com emoções mais positivas (eustress). Para Nelson e Simmon (2003) coping é um processo transacional caracterizado pelos esforços continuados para pensar e agir de modo a lidar com exigências internas e externas específicas que são avaliadas como ameaçadores e que excedem os recursos do indivíduo. Outros autores (e.g., Bryant, 1989; Bryant & Veroff, 2007) têm conceptualizado e estudado o savoring em maior profundidade, definindo-o como um processo através do qual as pessoas atendem, apreciam e aumentam as suas experiências positivas e que transmite a natureza dinâmica, interativa, transacional das emoções positivas. Bryant (1989) considerava que a capacidade percebida para *savor* resultados positivos pode ser proveniente, entre outros fatores, de crenças sobre estratégias cognitivas e comportamentais que se usam para aumentar ou diminuir a intensidade ou prolongar ou reduzir a duração das emoções positivas. Quase 20 anos depois, Bryant e Veroff (2007) definiram dez dimensões de savoring, umas de natureza cognitiva outras de natureza comportamental, sendo assim possível explorar o seu papel no bem-estar dos indivíduos (Carvalho & Marques Pinto, 2011; Costa-Ramalho, Marques Pinto, Ribeiro, & Pereira 2015; Hurley & Kwon, 2012; Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012; Quoidbach, Berry, Hansenne, & Mikolajczak, 2010). Das dez dimensões, seis são essencialmente respostas cognitivas positivas a acontecimentos positivos, nomeadamente, a construção de memórias, a auto-congratulação, a perspicácia sensorial-percetiva, a comparação, a consciência temporal e o contar as bênçãos. Estes modos particulares de savoring envolvem a utilização ativa da mente para construir memórias, admirar o *self*, concentrar os próprios sentidos, avaliar diferenças comparativas, refletir temporalmente ou identificar coisas queridas na própria vida. Pelo contrário, o pensamento negativista (*kill-joy thinking*) é uma sétima dimensão cognitiva mas é uma resposta negativa que interfere com o processo de

savoring. As outras três dimensões de savoring (a expressão comportamental, o partilhar com os outros e a absorção) são essencialmente focadas no comportamento, pelo que envolvem expressar sentimentos positivos de modo físico ou interpessoal ou mergulhar numa experiência sem a reflexão cognitiva.

No modelo são atendidas, também, diversas variáveis de resultado representando aspetos importantes para o indivíduo, dentro e fora de trabalho (no fundo, medidas de bem-estar), designadamente, a saúde física e mental e as relações interpessoais quer no trabalho (com colegas e superiores) quer em casa (com o cônjuge ou outros familiares). Assim, as respostas emocionais dos profissionais aos stressores ocupacionais com que lidam influenciam o seu desempenho profissional, conduzindo a consequências quer negativas, quer positivas dependendo do tipo de resposta emocional provocada e das estratégias de coping/savoring utilizadas. De referir que contrariamente aos autores do modelo, consideramos o burnout como um possível impacto, resultante da exposição prolongada ao stress profissional (Maslach & Schaufeli, 1993) e não como indicador de reação emocional negativa ou de distress, que, como o nome implica, é uma resposta imediata a um stressor. Também outros autores (e.g., Ososfksy et al., 2005; Reinardy, 2011) se referem ao burnout como uma das consequências possíveis para os jornalistas (em contexto de guerra e no contexto diário, respetivamente).

Nelson e Simmons (2003) consideraram ainda, no seu modelo holístico, a abordagem de prevenção do stress ocupacional desenvolvida por Quick e Quick (1984), que conceptualiza a responsabilidade conjunta de indivíduos e organizações na gestão do stress, tendo em conta os três níveis de prevenção, primária, secundária e terciária. Nesta perspectiva, o apoio prestado pelas organizações, nestes níveis de prevenção, é tido como crucial para ajudar os profissionais a lidarem com o stress ocupacional e para promover o seu bem-estar. Os programas de apoio organizacional refletem o suporte estruturalmente

fornecido pela organização no sentido de atender, direta ou indiretamente, às necessidades emocionais dos funcionários (ações ou declarações recebidas como um termo de carinho, cuidado e preocupação) e às suas necessidades instrumentais (ajuda tangível) e lhes fornecer informações (dando diretrizes), contribuindo assim para o seu bem-estar no trabalho (Siqueira & Gomide, 2008). Segundo Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison e Sowa (1986), o suporte organizacional pode ser definido como a percepção dos trabalhadores sobre medidas concretas por parte da organização para preservar o seu bem-estar e que os leva a sentirem-se valorizados pela entidade a que pertencem, tornando assim possível o surgimento de resultados positivos quer para os próprios, quer para a organização (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). As percepções do suporte organizacional são desenvolvidas ao longo do tempo através de múltiplas interações entre os trabalhadores e os seus empregadores, levando os primeiros a considerar as ações dos agentes organizacionais como ações da própria organização (Eisenberger et al., 1986) e a considerar que a organização está realmente comprometida com eles e é apoiante (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). As intervenções estruturadas que disponibilizam suporte na gestão do stress e na minimização dos efeitos após experiências traumáticas são medidas de prevenção terciária que exemplificam os níveis de suporte (instrumental e informativo) fornecidos pela formação. Com outros first responders, como polícias e bombeiros, estes programas são já frequentes (e.g., Mitchell & Everly, 1993). O apoio psicológico individual é outra abordagem de prevenção terciária, também comum nas entidades dos first responders tradicionais (Law, 2007; Pyevich et al., 2003). A formação estruturada e regular é outra forma de suporte organizacional (medidas de prevenção primária e secundária, baseadas no nível de informação), a qual pode abordar estratégias a utilizar no desempenho das funções em experiências traumáticas (e.g., como entrevistar vítimas de trauma sem lhes causar sofrimento adicional), estratégias para o profissional lidar eficazmente com o trauma e as reações emocionais associadas à cobertura de acontecimentos

que envolvem morte, destruição e outras tragédias (como PTSD e burnout), bem como estratégias de gestão de stress. Uma outra forma de suporte organizacional é o suporte recebido por parte de agentes organizacionais como supervisores, superiores e pares (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Em termos gerais, os estudos no âmbito do stress profissional incidem mais na experiência negativa do stress (distress) do que na positiva (eustress). Este modelo tem sido utilizado em estudos com profissionais que lidam com elevados níveis de stress profissional, tais como profissionais de saúde (Nelson & Simmons, 2005) e, em Portugal, com polícias da Polícia de Segurança Pública, especificamente elementos das Esquadras de Investigação Criminal, sujeitos a stress profissional crónico e elementos do Corpo de Intervenção, sujeitos a stress agudo (Monteiro & Gonçalves, 2008). O impacto negativo do stress profissional na saúde física e mental de diferentes profissionais (Cooper, Kirkcaldy, & Brown, 1994; Nelson & Simmons, 2003; Spector, Dwyer, & Jex, 1988), nas relações sociais e familiares do indivíduo (Adams, King, & King, 1996; Barling & Rosenbaum, 1986; Buunk & Verhoeven, 1991) e no próprio desempenho da função (Jex, 1998; Mughal, Walsh, & Wilding, 1996; Spector et al., 1988) tem sido bem demonstrado. Porém, o impacto do stress profissional nos jornalistas, além de só recentemente ter começado a ser estudado, tem incidindo sempre na sua valência negativa ou distress.

Tendo por base o modelo holístico de stress profissional de Nelson e Simmons (2003), o presente trabalho tem como objetivo geral aumentar o conhecimento existente e permitir uma compreensão abrangente sobre o stress ocupacional dos jornalistas através da recolha das suas perceções sobre variáveis e processos de stress. De forma mais específica este trabalho pretende identificar e explorar similitudes e diferenças nas perceções de jornalistas Portugueses sobre fontes de stress (organizacionais ou associadas ao desempenho da função), reações emocionais (positivas ou negativas) face ao stress, estratégias de coping e

de savoring, impactos na sua saúde e bem-estar, bem como suporte organizacional percebido quer no seu contexto diário de trabalho (sujeitos a um stress crónico), quer em cenários críticos (sujeitos a um stress agudo) onde já noticiaram eventos de tragédia mundial. Um outro objetivo específico consiste na análise da relação entre exposição repetida ao trauma (analisada apenas nos cenários críticos) e as variáveis de stress anteriormente referidas. Espera-se com os dados recolhidos fornecer pistas para a reflexão sobre o planeamento de programas a desenvolver em termos de prevenção da doença e promoção de saúde e bem-estar em contexto ocupacional. Tal conhecimento poderá permitir estudos futuros, de natureza mais abrangente, tendo em vista a elaboração e implementação de medidas preventivas e promocionais, bem como de programas de formação, para ajudar estes profissionais, quer no seu contexto laboral diário quer em situações potencialmente traumáticas, a não desenvolverem sequelas emocionais ou mentais, ou mesmo a potenciarem o seu funcionamento ótimo.

Opção Metodológica

Foi utilizada a entrevista como método de recolha de dados válido e relevante para a produção de conhecimento científico (Kvale, 1996), em especial na investigação exploratória qualitativa, a qual prossegue em função da relevância dos casos e não da sua representatividade (Flick, 2005). É igualmente possível a generalização dos dados, mas o objetivo da entrevista é explorar um domínio que não se conhece (Ghiglione & Matalon, 2005) uma vez que “exploring detailed accounts contributes to broader understandings of multiple experiences of cultural phenomena, rather than building statistical generalizations” (Novak & Davidson, 2013, p. 8). A entrevista enquanto interrogação particular acerca de uma situação englobando as atitudes, opiniões, preferências, representações do indivíduo (Ghiglione & Matalon, 2005) pretende interpretar o significado dessas vivências e perspetivas

sobre o fenómeno descrito (Kvale, 1996). Esta opção metodológica vai ao encontro das recomendações feitas por vários autores com trabalho de investigação em situações traumáticas ou potencialmente traumáticas, tais como aquelas que os jornalistas enfrentam em cenários críticos. Segundo Calhoun e Tedeschi (2006), a metodologia qualitativa pode fornecer a descrição rica, detalhada e a compreensão aprofundada das experiências dos indivíduos que lidaram com situações de vida traumáticas enquanto as estratégias quantitativas focam as variáveis e não as pessoas. Também Alvarez e Hunt (2005), recorreram, além das medidas de autorrelato, à entrevista estruturada para obter informação sobre as experiências dos elementos de equipas de resgate e busca canina destacados para os atentados do 11 de setembro. Bills e colegas (2009) optaram igualmente por um estudo qualitativo sobre as experiências dos voluntários e trabalhadores no resgate e recuperação no *Ground Zero* após os atentados terroristas de 11 de setembro. Estes autores defendem que a avaliação qualitativa sistemática das experiências de grupos de sobreviventes a traumas pode fornecer uma janela importante na compreensão dos resultados do trauma e servir de guia para a intervenção. Isto é, a descrição qualitativa dos acontecimentos é crucial quer para o cientista social que tenta compreender o impacto individual e social do acontecimento quer para o psicólogo que tenta ajudar o indivíduo a superar o rescaldo do mesmo. Alguns outros autores exploraram as narrativas de sobreviventes de traumas em estudos qualitativos que variaram em tamanho da amostra, desde cinco participantes (Tuval-Mashiach et al., 2004) a 240 participantes (para uma revisão ver O’Kearney & Perrot, 2006).

Em suma, a riqueza das experiências e a profundidade dos significados de que os dados da entrevista dão conta, permitem informar o planeamento e clarificar os resultados de pesquisas quantitativas posteriores mais extensivas, com grandes amostras da população e fornecem também informação útil para ser utilizada na organização de intervenções tendo em vista a prevenção de riscos para a saúde e a promoção do bem-estar das populações.

Neste trabalho, a variável diferenças individuais do modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003) assentou no número de incursões dos participantes em cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma). Para tal, os participantes foram distribuídos por três grupos distintos, sendo que no grupo 1 ficaram os jornalistas que tiveram até 9 vezes a experiência de noticiar eventos críticos ($n = 8$), no grupo 2 foram inseridos os jornalistas que foram entre 10 e 19 vezes a cenários críticos ($n = 13$) e no grupo 3, os participantes que já noticiaram mais de 20 vezes eventos críticos ($n = 4$). Assim, para a única variável quantitativa foi aplicado o teste não paramétrico (Kruskal-Wallis) com recurso ao programa estatístico SPSS-21 para analisar as diferenças entre a exposição ao trauma e as categorias obtidas da análise qualitativa para cada variável do modelo estudada. Estas variáveis foram assumidas como contínuas, indo de 0 (nunca mencionada pelo participante) a 5 (o participante mencionou esta categoria cinco vezes). Comparações *pairwise* com recurso ao teste Dunn-Bonferroni ajustado a valores p foram realizadas para verificar entre que grupos ocorriam as diferenças significativas.

Apresentação Integrada dos Estudos

Esta dissertação é constituída por três estudos empíricos com o objetivo comum de providenciar *insight* sobre como o trabalho dos jornalistas pode influenciar o seu bem-estar psicológico, quer no exercício diário das suas funções, quer quando vão como enviados especiais para outra zona do globo reportar um desastre de larga escala, tendo por referência fundamental o modelo holístico de stress profissional de Nelson e Simons (2003) e o recurso à entrevista como abordagem metodológica de natureza qualitativa. Consideramos fundamental este procedimento, que constitui um primeiro passo para o planeamento de estudos mais extensivos e reflexão sobre abordagens preventivas, promocionais da saúde e bem-estar, entre os jornalistas de diferentes órgãos de comunicação social – imprensa, rádio e televisão.

Este trabalho foi possível devido à participação de jornalistas Portugueses da imprensa (Público, Expresso), da rádio (Antena 1, TSF, Rádio Renascença) e da televisão (RTP e SIC), todos com experiência nos dois cenários ocupacionais, sendo que em cenários críticos os participantes tinham sido sujeitos a experiências potencialmente traumáticas como ser alvejado, raptado, agredido, roubado, ficar ferido e necessitar de tratamento hospitalar, ter uma arma apontada à cabeça, comprar uma arma para se defender, assistir à morte de colegas jornalistas, entre outras.

De seguida, são apresentados, de forma sucinta, os três estudos, bem como a articulação e o encadeamento que esteve na sua origem.

Estudo 1: Exigências profissionais, coping e impactos do stress ocupacional em jornalistas: Uma revisão sistemática.

Uma vez que, como já referido, o foco científico sobre o stress profissional dos jornalistas é ainda recente, comparativamente a outros profissionais que também intervêm em contextos idênticos, este primeiro estudo incidiu na identificação e análise das investigações científicas realizadas sobre o tema. Para tal procedeu-se a uma revisão sistemática de literatura, relativa aos estudos publicados após o 11 de setembro e até julho de 2015. Foram identificados 28 estudos, nos quais se analisaram as semelhanças e diferenças no que se refere às variáveis analisadas (fontes de stress, estratégias de coping e impactos), à metodologia utilizada, aos resultados obtidos, e aos modelos teóricos de base (se utilizados), nos dois contextos de trabalho dos jornalistas em análise (contexto diário ou eventos críticos). Dos 28 estudos, 13 foram sujeitos a uma meta-análise referente à relação entre a exposição repetida a eventos críticos e o trauma. Com esta informação sistematizada, através de uma perspetiva holística, foi possível avançar, de forma mais robusta e sustentada, e atendendo às

limitações identificadas na literatura existente de modo a ultrapassá-las, para os estudos empíricos posteriores sobre as variáveis que caracterizam o stress profissional dos jornalistas.

Estudo 2: O stress profissional dos jornalistas: Um estudo comparativo entre reportar eventos críticos e notícias locais

Este segundo estudo procurou caracterizar e comparar as variáveis de stress ocupacional percebidas pelos jornalistas no seu contexto diário de trabalho e nos cenários críticos para onde são destacados como enviados especiais. O modelo holístico de stress ocupacional de Nelson e Simmons (2003) serviu de orientação teórica e conceptual para a entrevista realizada a uma amostra de jornalistas portugueses, todos com experiência em eventos críticos como desastres naturais e/ou guerras, para além da sua experiência profissional diária. A entrevista incidiu em algumas variáveis centrais do modelo como as fontes de stress, as reações emocionais de distress e eustress, e os impactos dessas experiências na saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas. Outra variável central no modelo que serviu de base a este estudo remete para as diferenças individuais. Neste caso, considerou-se o número de incursões em cenários críticos como uma variável individual - relacionada com a experiência profissional dos jornalistas - e que poderia ter impacto nas reações emocionais dos jornalistas perante as fontes de stress ocupacional com que lidam. Os jornalistas não sabem antecipadamente quando vão ser enviados especiais para um cenário crítico, pelo que a sua exposição a tais situações é irregular e pouco previsível, e sem tempo de preparação devido para este tipo de trabalho, aumentando assim o risco de efeitos psicológicos. Esta variável individual, quantificada, permitiu averiguar estatisticamente diferenças nas outras variáveis em análise, de modo a analisar se a exposição repetida ao trauma influencia as percepções dos jornalistas sobre as variáveis de stress profissional. Estudos prévios consideraram esta variável mas apenas em termos dos impactos na saúde e bem-estar dos

jornalistas (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010; Pyevich et al., 2003). Com os dados obtidos foi possível contribuir, adotando uma perspectiva holística, para a reflexão sobre o papel das organizações de comunicação social no suporte e apoio aos jornalistas tendo em vista um desempenho profissional de qualidade em qualquer dos contextos laborais em que se inserem, bem como na criação de medidas de prevenção da doença e de promoção da saúde ocupacional destes profissionais.

Estudo 3: Reportar eventos diários e críticos: Perceções dos jornalistas sobre estratégias de coping e de savoring e sobre suporte organizacional

Uma vez que o modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003) tem mais variáveis centrais do que aquelas analisadas no estudo anterior, o presente estudo incidiu sobre as perceções de uma amostra de jornalistas Portugueses relativamente às estratégias de coping e de savoring a que recorrem quer no seu contexto profissional diário quer em eventos críticos de grande dimensão. Dada a necessidade de criar medidas de suporte e apoio por parte das organizações de comunicação social para a promoção de saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas, este estudo incidiu também sobre a perceção dos jornalistas relativamente ao suporte organizacional por parte das suas entidades patronais. Tal como no estudo anterior, a exposição repetida ao trauma foi considerada uma variável individual que, ao ser quantificada em termos do número de incursões em cenários críticos, permitiu analisar estatisticamente o seu impacto nas perceções dos jornalistas sobre as outras variáveis de stress profissional em análise. Este estudo complementou os dados recolhidos do estudo anterior, colmatando com contributos importantes para a teoria e a prática, através de uma perspectiva holística, a informação que permita orientar a criação de medidas de prevenção e apoio aos jornalistas em ambos os contextos profissionais em que se inserem.

PARTE II

O STRESS OCUPACIONAL DOS JORNALISTAS – ESTUDOS

Capítulo 2

Job Demands, Coping and Impacts of Occupational Stress Among Journalists: A Systematic Review³

Introduction

The study of occupational stress among journalists, whether in their daily work or in the context of reporting critical scenarios (major disasters), and its impact on the health and well-being of these professionals has progressively received greater interest on the part of scientific research. Recent events, such as the terrorist attack at Charlie Hebdo, France, in 2015 have revealed how dangerous this occupation can be, even without being in a war scenario reporting a conflict. Besides this occupational risk there are many reasons that incline us to consider journalism a stressful occupation. Working in the area of journalism implies the ability to broadcast immediate and updated information, and the sooner this occurs, the better it is for the professional. The race against time and competition among the journalists themselves are intrinsic conditions of this profession. The events of yesterday cease to be the news of today. On the other hand, the psychological impact of reporting events in which the survival or human rights of others (and of the journalists) may be at stake cannot be underestimated either. There are, therefore, physical, emotional, and psychological risks at play in such scenarios.

This paper sets out to provide the first systematic review of journalists' occupational stress studies, after the 9/11 attacks, considering the most frequent occupational stressors or demands, coping strategies, and impacts on their health and well-being, both in terms of journalists' daily work and as special envoys to critical scenarios.

³ O estudo que se apresenta constitui parte de um manuscrito que se encontra publicado numa revista científica. A referência completa é: Monteiro, S., Pinto, A., M., & Roberto, M. S. (2016). Job demands, coping, and impacts of occupational stress among journalists: a systematic review. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 25 (5), 751-772. doi: 10.1080/1359432X.2015.1114470

Journalists are currently regarded as a target group in the scientific literature on stress, and further understanding of the aforementioned points will aid the provision of sorely needed recommendations for future research, training plans and support services for these professionals.

Being a Journalist: Having a Stressful Occupation

Journalists are professionals who deal with time pressure on a daily basis with a view to exclusively broadcasting and providing first-hand news. They compete amongst each other to gain audiences and professional recognition from their superiors and citizens at large, having to constantly adapt to new technologies, which often enable the dissemination of news by laymen. Such examples of daily professional demands subject the journalist to continued, intense occupational stress and contribute to a rapid burnout rate. Indeed, a number of studies have shown how journalists experience considerable levels of stress, quality of life deterioration, and also the urge to leave the profession (e.g., Heloani, 2005; Reinardy, 2009b; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010).

In addition to these daily stressors, journalists are also exposed to situations that enhance stress and tension, ranging from “minor” critical events such as road accidents, violent political and social demonstrations, burglaries and murders, situations involving the abuse of children and old people to greater critical events (i.e., major events) such as natural and human disasters. In the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012a), 55% of the participants had reported a potentially traumatic event over the last year, thus revealing significant exposure to painful, difficult, and wearing situations. While most minor incidents occur in the journalist's own country, thus facilitating their coverage (domestic news), many major events require journalists to become special envoys to the region in which they occur, thus being subsequently confronted with stress sources such as exposure to risk and danger.

The responsibility to serve public interest, frequently in an attempt to attract audiences, and the urge to foster a free and informed society in terms of contemporary world history force journalists to take too many risks so as to give priority to task compliance, hence, jeopardizing their own well-being (Osofsky, Holloway, & Pickett, 2005). By consulting the annual reports of the organization *Reporters without Borders* (<http://en.rsf.org/>), a gradual increase in the number of murdered journalists over recent years may be verified: 58 in 2010, 67 in 2011, 87 in 2012. In 2013 and 2014, there was a slight decrease (respectively $n = 79$ and $n = 69$), however, an increase was registered in the number of professionals who were imprisoned ($n = 178$ in both years). From January to July 2015, already 33 journalists have been killed and 154 are imprisoned. These figures are distributed across almost all the continents. Therefore, being a journalist can, in fact, be considered a risky profession, and according to the Center for Disease Control (2006), journalism has a seventh place ranking among the top 10 most stressful professions.

There are already several studies showing that occupations such as police officers, firefighters, ambulance and medical emergency staff, where the employees act as first responders are highly stressful (e.g., Bennett, Williams, Page, Hood, Woollard, & Vetter, 2005; Bos, Mol, Visser, & Frings-Dresen, 2004; Brough, 2004, 2005). However, unlike many first responders, the members of the media may not be aware of the impact of their work demands (Osofsky et al., 2005), since only recently research on this occupational group has emerged and, moreover, journalists may not have access to appropriate assistance in order to deal with those impacts (Osofsky et al., 2005). Thus, more knowledge on journalists' occupational stress variables is needed so as to develop training plans and support services for these professionals.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York represent a milestone in scientific research on the professional stress of journalists. In fact, very few studies have been found prior to 2001

(e.g., Endres, 1988; Fischer, 1985), although the latter references alerted to a need to study the occupational stress of journalists at that time. Nevertheless, the high stress levels to which these professionals were subject was only acknowledged after September 11, and it was after this major critical incident that the first psychological support interventions for journalists emerged (Sibbald, 2002; Strupp & Cosper, 2001). Research began to focus more profoundly on the emotional impact of the events reported by journalists on their well-being after the terrorist attacks of 2001.

Previous literature reviews on this matter have either focused on a specific type of journalists or not differentiated the data on work demands, coping strategies and their impacts on the health and well-being of different groups of journalists. The Osofsky et al. (2005) review focuses on stressors and impacts on the health and well-being of war journalists while the review of Aoki, Malcolm, Yamaguchi, Thornicroft and Henderson (2013) focuses on mental health impacts and perceptions and attitudes about the mental illness of journalists without differentiating local journalists from those who work in major critical incidents. In fact, work demands and their subsequent impacts on the well-being of local journalists differ from those of special envoys, as is the case with, for instance, lifestyle journalists or those reporting on domestic finances in comparison with crime or war journalists. Nevertheless, we are unaware of comparative studies between different types of journalists and thus, we consider this subject worthy of a more systematic approach.

Stress Variables: Definition and Associated Concepts

In this literature review, the conceptual framework of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) on cognitive evaluation, stress and coping, was one of the models based on which we have categorized the findings of a number of reviewed studies. By applying their definition of stress to the professional context of journalists, the stress process is taken here as the

interaction between the journalist's person and the working environment. These professionals evaluate this interaction as exceeding their resources and endangering their well-being.

Following evaluation of the potential stressor or threat, resources are put into action to deal with these demands and associated emotions, designated as the coping process. According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), cognitive evaluation and coping are two fundamental processes that mediate the person-environment relationship and can, therefore, explain what actually causes psychological stress in different individuals.

There is currently no compilation in the literature of the main stress sources, already identified in empirical studies as well as by means of registered anecdotal accounts (also contemplated in the research of this area), for journalists. Within the scope of occupational stress, professional demands are frequently divided into *organization-related stressors* and *task-related stressors*. For instance, studies with police officers (e.g., Brough, 2005; Violanti & Aron, 1993) show that routine and bureaucratic work, excessive working hours, shifts, work-family conflict, conflicts with peers and superiors are typical task-organizational stressors while danger, risk, providing aid to suffering individuals and dealing with weapons are task-related stressors.

As for the coping resources, they may be defined as the internal (e.g., physical and psychological resources, personality characteristics, dispositional optimism, social skills, coping styles) and external variables (e.g., socio-economic status or material resources, social support networks) that influence the stress and coping process and protect the individual from the negative impact of stress-generating events (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999).

The impact of occupational stress may be experienced short, middle, or long term by these professionals according to the effectiveness of the selected coping strategies used to manage work-related stress. Physical and mental health, personal and family relations, and

professional satisfaction are some of the areas that can be significantly affected by occupational stress (Nelson & Simmons, 2003; Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999).

The Lazarus and Folkman (1984) stress model has been reformulated and more recently Folkman and Moskowitz (2000, 2004) asserted that positive and negative affect may be produced by different stressors and may even co-occur during the same stressful episode. Building on this transactional stress approach by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), Nelson and Simmons (2003) developed a holistic occupational stress model, integrating both negative and positive emotional responses to stressors in the explanation of health and well-being outcomes. More specifically, the model takes into consideration the several variables that intervene in the occupational stress process, ranging from professional demands to the resulting positive or negative outcome variables. *Role demands* (e.g., role ambiguity, work-home conflict), *interpersonal demands* (e.g., leadership, status), *physical demands* (e.g., temperature, noise), *workplace policies* (e.g., promotion, downsizing) and *job conditions* (e.g., work overload, wages) are considered as occupational demands. Outcome variables represent important aspects of individuals' professional and personal lives (e.g., physical and mental health, work performance, marital quality). This model also takes into consideration the individual differences that may be particularly prominent in cognitive evaluation, in coping with negative emotional responses and in savouring, an innovative concept the authors of the model propose as a parallel to coping strategies but for positive emotional responses. We have chosen to supplement the transactional understanding of stress represented by Lazarus and Folkman (1984) with this model, given its specifics and application to the occupational context.

The Present Study

The aim of this article is to accomplish a systematic review of the occupational stress variables in journalists, with a view to answering the following research questions: What are the most frequent (1) occupational stressors; (2) coping strategies; and (3) impacts of such variables on the health and well-being of these professionals? In line with these research questions, a meta-analytic approach will be displayed to analyse the strength of the associations among these variables and quantitatively summarize the results of previous studies in this field. A last research question is (4) what are the continuities and discontinuities in these occupational stress variables of journalists, focusing both on their daily work context and critical scenarios (such as major natural and human disasters) in which they report as special envoys?

We aimed to test the following hypotheses regarding stressors and outcomes:

- (1) Organizational stressors exert greater impact on local journalists while task-related stressors cause more stress to journalists who report major incidents abroad (as special envoys).
- (2) Local journalists, due to the chronic stress they experience throughout their career, are more vulnerable to burnout while special envoys, due to the traumatic events they witness, are more prone to developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

The lack of comparative data on coping strategies among journalists does not allow for a consideration of hypotheses regarding this variable.

Method

Criteria for Inclusion

Studies were included whenever they provided an experimental investigation of the occupational stress of journalists, whether by focusing on the stressors, and/or coping strategies, and/or the work impacts on journalists' health and well-being. Furthermore, studies were included only if they explicitly presented a qualitative and/or a quantitative design. Third, the studies to be included were required to have used samples that were either drawn from the local context of journalists or convenience samples of journalists reporting critical incidents as major disasters. A further criterion was that the publication date of these studies had to be during the time span from 2002 to July 2015, since, and as already mentioned, journalists' occupational stress only gained momentum from the year 2001 (after 9/11) onwards. Finally, the search was limited to full articles published in peer-reviewed journals, serving as a minimum quality standard.

Participants

This review includes journalists with and without experience in major critical incidents (natural and human disasters) and who work either for a local news organization or a national scale news channel/company. No specific type of journalist was excluded, which means that various types of studies were analysed to cover the rather small group of journalists who deal with major critical events as special envoys as well as studies with local/domestic journalists.

Only studies with journalists (as reporters or sound and image editors) and photojournalists from the press, TV, radio, and other media types were considered. Research with students of journalism was excluded as well studies that compare journalists with other

professional group because those studies have distinct needs beyond the scope of the present review.

Search Strategy

In order to accomplish the proposed aims, systematic screening of empirical studies, published in English, in Psychology and Media Journals was conducted in the peer-reviewed literature. These studies are available in full text on the *EBSCOhost Web* database (which covers 11 databases⁴, such as PsycINFO), the SAGE database, and PubMed by cross-searching sets of English keywords such as *journalists*, *newsroom*, or *media*, and one or two of the following words: *stress*, *occupational stress*, *work stress*, *stressors*, *coping*, *health (occupational and mental)*, *well-being*.

Searches across databases were broadly similar. We looked for keywords in titles or subject terms. We emailed the corresponding author of some studies (e.g., Feinstein, Reinardy), to request additional information.

Searching in these electronic databases was restricted by having to apply several advanced search criteria whenever possible, such as limiting the time span from 2001 up to the present, and searching for full articles containing empirical work, written in English, and exclusively published in peer-reviewed journals. This initial search resulted in 55 hits, after the removal of duplicates. The lead author screened all titles and abstracts of the identified papers. A selection of excluded studies and all items that met the inclusion criteria were screened by the second author and agreement was reached with the first researcher whenever studies were contested. The identified titles and abstracts were analysed and 15 articles were excluded due to misfit. The main reasons for exclusion were that the studies did not present experimental or quasi-experimental research ($n = 8$), were not about occupational stress ($n =$

⁴ Academic Search Complete; Business Source Complete; eBook Collection; Education Source; Education Resource Information Center; PsycArticles; PsycINFO; Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection ; PsycBooks; Research Starters-Education; Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts.

3 - e.g., suicide), or did not meet participant criteria ($n = 4$). This procedure considered 40 remaining articles that were examined in greater detail by reading the full-text version, eligible for the aim of this review. Finally, a total of 28 articles meeting all the selection criteria were left. In order to ensure that no important articles on the subject had been omitted, references of the final articles were checked in the final step. It should be noted that 13 of the 28 reviewed articles were used to answer H1, 12 of which also contributed towards answering H2 ($n = 25$). Two of the reviewed articles served as a basis for the considerations on coping; however, owing to such scarcity of information, it was decided that no hypothesis would be formulated on this variable.

Data analysis and synthesis

From the 28 identified articles, 13 presented homogeneous data on the association between exposure to traumatic events during work and journalists' symptoms of PTSD, amenable to analysis using meta-analysis procedures. Effect sizes were analysed in terms of correlation coefficients (r). This metric system was chosen since it can be easily interpreted and computed (Field, 2001). Correlation coefficients were given directly in five studies. For the other eight studies, r values derived from means and standard deviations (five studies), determination coefficients (two studies) and p values (one study) (Cohen, 1988; Field, 2005). Five studies presented more than one effect size (e.g., subscale effects instead of overall effects). In this case, an effect size average was computed before performing the meta-analysis (Rosenthal, 1991). The meta-analytic approach was based on Hedges and Vevea's (1998) procedure, whereby estimates for a random-effects model being computed, assuming potential heterogeneity among studies in terms of effect sizes. Publication bias was also addressed with the fail-safe N test (Rosenthal, 1991). Meta-analytic analyses were performed

using custom-written syntax for IBM SPSS 22 (Field & Gillett, 2010) and Comprehensive Meta-Analysis software (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2005).

The remaining variables addressed in the 13 articles subject to meta-analysis, as well as in the excluded 15 were very heterogeneous and not appropriate for a meta-analysis. Indeed, in the 15 articles excluded from the meta-analysis, nine presented data on relations among several non-aggregatable variables (e.g., sources of stress of different news media; work stress and subjective health; ethical reasoning and situational characteristics); four contained data on the association between burnout symptoms and a variety of demographic variables (e.g., gender, age) and/or professional variables (e.g., intention to leave the profession); and two presented essentially qualitative data (e.g., on coping strategies used to buffer the effects of being exposed to trauma and disaster events and work-related stress).

Besides the meta-analysis results, data from all the articles included in the review were synthesized in a systematic descriptive form.

Results

Data synthesis

The search resulted in 28 empirical studies (see Table 1), all with a cross-sectional design, 71% of which were conducted between 2008 and 2013, thus reflecting the fact that only recently has research investigated the occupational stress of journalists in a more systematic manner. No empirical study was identified in 2014, nor in the first 7 months of 2015.

The majority of studies ($n = 24$) focused on domestic samples, although in many cases ($n = 14$) those journalists had also dealt with minor critical events through their work experience. It should be noted that the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b) focused on the first school shooting in Finland that was broadly covered by the media worldwide, but

since it was a national event - in which nine people died including the perpetrator – it is also considered in this figure. Furthermore, the study by Levaot et al. (2013) compared two groups of journalists (Israeli journalists and Western war journalists), using a domestic sample of journalists and a group of special envoys to countries in war, hence, it was not considered in the 24 studies with domestic samples.

Only four articles centered on the study of professionals in major critical settings such as war scenarios (Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005; Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Levaot et al. 2013) or natural disasters (Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich, 2008). The study by Feinstein et al. (2002) was the only one to compare journalists with and without experience in large scale critical events, namely war scenarios.

The studies were distributed across four continents, one from South Africa (Marais & Stuart, 2005), another from Japan (Hatanaka et al., 2010), and the rest from the European ($n = 12$) and American ($n = 16$) continents. The search strategy did not identify any study from Australia. It should be noted that the study by Feinstein and Nicolson (2005) covered both American and British professionals and the study of Levaot et al. (2013) compared Israeli journalists with Western journalists, therefore, presenting the figures for both these continents.

With a total number of 10,447 participants, the sample size varied from 31 participants (Buchanan & Keats, 2011) to 2,159 (Reinardy, 2012), thus showing huge variability in terms of access to the samples made up of journalists.

Table 1. Summary of the analysed empirical studies.

Authors (year) and journal	Sample	Variables/aim	Methodology	Results
Feinstein et al. (2002). American Journal of Psychiatry.	140 war journalists covering conflicts in Bosnia, Sarajevo, Chechnya and Afghanistan, and 107 journalists with no war experience.	PTSD, major depression, psychological distress, alcohol consumption.	Cross-sectional study, using a mixed methods research design –quantitative (self-report questionnaires) and qualitative (Structured Clinical Interview for Axis I DSM-IV Disorders).	War journalists had significantly higher weekly alcohol consumption, PTSD and depression symptoms. They were not more likely to receive treatment for these disorders.
Pyeovich et al. (2003). Journal of Traumatic Stress.	866 American newspaper journalists.	Relationship between exposure to traumatic events stemming from journalistic work and PTSD; cognitive beliefs.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Greater exposure to work-related traumatic events was associated with work-related PTSD symptoms, as well as negative cognitive schemas; cognitive beliefs partially accounted for PTSD symptoms.
Burke, and Matthiesen (2004). Stress and Health.	211 Norwegian journalists.	Correlates (personal and situational characteristics of work, positive and negative affect, burnout, and absenteeism) of three typologies of workaholism (work enthusiasts, work addicts, enthusiastic addicts).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (self-report questionnaires) study.	Work enthusiasts indicated significantly more positive affect and less negative affect, exhaustion and cynicism. Workaholism types did not differ on professional efficacy or absenteeism.
Ertel et al. (2005). Work & Stress.	290 German freelance journalists.	Association among professional stress (effort-reward), coping (ability to relax) and personal/subjective health.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (self-report questionnaires) pilot study.	Significant effects of high effort in combination with low reward on subjective health. Among men a critical pattern of coping with work stress enhanced this effect.
Feinstein and Nicolson (2005). Journal of Traumatic Stress.	85 American and British journalists covering the war in Iraq; 38 were embedded.	Relationship between embedded and non-embedded journalists in the exposure to traumatic events, PTSD, major depression, psychological distress and substance use.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	No differences between embedded and non-embedded journalists on exposure to traumatic events, PTSD, depression, psychological distress, or substance use.
Heloani (2005). University of São Paulo Journal.	44 Brazilian journalists from TV, press and radio.	Sources of stress and quality of life in the work of journalists.	Cross-sectional study, using a mixed methods research design –quantitative (self-report questionnaires) and qualitative (individual and group interviews).	Most journalists complained of professional stress associated with deterioration in their quality of life and a desire to leave the profession.
Marais and Stuart (2005). South African Journal of Psychology.	50 South African journalists.	Influence of previous traumatic experiences, temperament traits and sense of coherence in the degree of PTSD.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (self-report questionnaires) study, using an <i>ex post facto</i> comparative research design.	Journalists who develop severe PTSD differed in their perceptions of trauma, temperament profiles and sense of coherence, which impacted on their way of coping with trauma.

Table 1. (Continued).

Authors (year) and journal	Sample	Variables/aim	Methodology	Results
Reinardy (2006). <i>Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly</i> .	236 sports journalists from the American press.	Work-related factors and burnout.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Sports journalists suffered moderate rates of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and had a high rate of personal accomplishment.
Weidmann et al. (2008). <i>Stress and Health</i> .	61 journalists who reported the 2004 Tsunami, from Germany, Austria and German regions of Switzerland.	Extent of exposure to trauma, PTSD and depression symptoms and social support.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	8 months after the event, indications of PTSD were found in 6.6 per cent of the sample. PTSD and depressive symptoms were related to the extent of traumatic exposure and to a low degree of social acknowledgment by supervisor and colleagues.
Greenberg et al. (2009). <i>Journal of Mental Health</i> .	124 professionals from a UK based international media organization	Social support sources, perception of the immediate role of supervisors in resolving trauma-related problems, perception of how to seek help and attitudes about PTSD.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (self-report questionnaires) study.	Respondents held relatively non-stigmatizing attitudes about PTSD, and were more likely to turn to family members than managers or colleagues for support after traumatic incidents.
Reinardy (2009a). <i>Newspaper Research Journal</i> .	715 journalists of American print media.	Work-family conflict, perceived organizational support, role overload and job demands, burnout and job satisfaction.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Women reported higher levels of exhaustion and lower levels of professional efficacy than do men. Among younger women 30% said they intend to leave the field.
Reinardy (2009b). <i>Atlantic Journal of Communication</i> .		Motivational (perceived organizational support, social support) and hygiene (work-family conflict, role overload, job demands) factors that affect job satisfaction.		Perceived organizational support and social support created satisfaction, and work-family conflict, role overload, and job demands influenced dissatisfaction. 26% of journalists said they intend to leave newspaper journalism.
Backholm and Björkqvist (2010). <i>Media, War & Conflict</i> .	503 Finnish news journalists and photographers/cameramen working for newspapers, radio, television and the internet.	Impact of previous work-related and personal exposure to potentially traumatic events on journalists' well-being (PTSD, depression, compassion fatigue and burnout).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Personal exposure to traumatic events and the magnitude of the worst crisis-related assignment experienced as a journalist predicted PTSD, depression, compassion fatigue and burnout.
Hatanaka et al. (2010). <i>Journal of Traumatic Stress</i> .	270 journalists of the Japanese media.	Most traumatic professional event and PTSD.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (self-report questionnaires) study.	Posttraumatic stress reactions at the time of the survey were strongly related to symptoms of stress experienced during the stressful assignment.
Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010). <i>The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease</i> .	81 editing room professionals (image and sound editors), in Germany, Austria and German regions of Switzerland.	Work-related characteristics, work stressors distress responses, exposure to video footage, intrusive memories of the video footage, PTSD symptoms, psychological distress, previous traumatic events and associated impairment.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Overall PTSD symptoms were low, although participants with a prior trauma, more general work stress, and a greater exposure to footage had a tendency to show more severe symptoms.

Table 1. (Continued).

Authors (year) and journal	Sample	Variables/aim	Methodology	Results
Buchanan and Keats (2011). International Journal of Psychology.	17 journalists and 14 photojournalists from Canadian newsrooms, with experience in covering events dealing with trauma, conflicts and catastrophes.	Coping strategies employed in dealing with the effects of exposure to trauma and professional stress.	Cross-sectional study, using a mixed methods research design –qualitative, ethnographic (interviews and observations in the workplace).	The most commonly reported coping strategies were: avoidance strategies at work, use of black humour, controlling one’s emotions and memories, exercise and other physical activities, focusing on the technical aspects, and using substances.
Reinardy (2011). Journalism.	770 USA newspaper journalists.	Rate of burnout and relationship between burnout and journalists’ intentions to leave newspaper journalism.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Journalists demonstrated moderate exhaustion, high cynicism and moderate professional efficacy; journalists expressing intentions to leave the profession demonstrated high exhaustion and cynicism, and moderate professional efficacy.
Backholm and Björkqvist (2012a). European Journal of Psychotraumatology.	407 Finnish journalists from the press (232), TV (74), radio (73) and other media types (73) who had worked in at least one critical setting during the course of their career.	Impact of potentially traumatic assignments work stemming from experience in critical settings in the previous year, potentially traumatic personal life events, symptoms of PTSD and depression.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Depression had a significant indirect effect on both the relationships between potentially traumatic work events and between potentially traumatic events in personal life and symptoms of PTSD.
Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b). Media, War & Conflict.	493 Finnish journalists from newspapers, radio stations, television news channels, internet: 196 working on the scene (27) or indirectly (169) with the Jokela school shooting incident compared to a control group of 297 journalists who had not dealt with the crisis.	Impact of the unique working situation of journalists on their psychological well-being when exposed to an unexpected large-scale crisis within their own society; psychological distress (PTSD, depression, secondary traumatic stress and burnout).	Cross-sectional study, using a mixed methods research design –quantitative (self-report questionnaires) and qualitative (open question).	No significant group differences were found. Regarding journalists working with the shooting, previous personal traumatic exposure significantly predicted more distress due to the assignment while work-related exposure did not.
Browne et al. (2012). Journal of Traumatic Stress.	50 journalists (managers, editors, technical staff, reporters, correspondents and photojournalists) working abroad or in the United Kingdom, having been exposed to a traumatic context over the past year.	Exposure to work-related experiences of trauma, guilt cognitions, symptoms of PTSD, traumatic exposure on personal levels, current state of mental health.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Higher levels of exposure to work-related trauma were significantly associated with higher levels of PTSD symptoms and trauma-related guilt cognitions. Guilt cognitions partially mediated the relationship between exposure to work-related trauma and PTSD.

Table 1. (Continued).

Authors (year) and journal	Sample	Variables/aim	Methodology	Results
Feinstein (2012). Journal of Traumatic Stress.	104 Mexican journalists.	Impact of the level of threat related to living and / or work in a region with drug violence on journalists' mental well-being (PTSD, depression and psychological distress).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Journalists who had stopped working on drug-related stories because of intimidation from the drug cartels had significantly higher depressive and PTSD symptoms than journalists living and working under threat in regions of drug violence or journalists never threatened before and living in regions without a drug problem.
Kim (2012). Newspaper Research Journal.	88 American photojournalists.	Ethical reasoning (ethical dilemma between photographing or helping the victim).	Experimental study (using photographs to manipulate the ethical reasoning).	Photojournalists adopted a situational ethics rationale rather than an absolutist or utilitarian rationale.
Morales, Pérez, and Martínez. (2012). Suma Psicológica.	100 Mexican journalists (83 reporters and 17 photographers).	PTSD by gender (male/female), type of news covered (drug trafficking/other) and professional activity (reporter, photographer).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	35% of the journalists had PTSD symptoms. Rates of PTSD symptoms in reporters who covered drug war news were significantly higher than in journalists who covered other assignments.
Mackay (2012). Newspaper Research Journal.	71 local American journalists (33 working for daily newspapers, 24 for TV and 14 for weekly newspapers).	Sources of stress.	Cross-sectional study, using a mixed methods research design –quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) and qualitative (open questions).	Journalists felt pressured by a variety of forces that influenced their ethical decisions.
Reinardy (2012). Newspaper Research Journal.	2159 journalists working for American newspapers (written press).	Professional safety, quality and satisfaction at work, coping strategies, work habits, choices and career changes in the case of dismissal and demographic information.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Coping control, perceptions of job quality and job security and organizational commitment were significant, positive predictors of job satisfaction.
Feinstein, Audet., and Waknine (2013). Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine Open.	116 English-speaking journalists working with User Generated Content.	Impacts of working with User Generated Content on emotional health (PTSD, depression, psychological distress and alcohol consumption).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Frequent exposure to violent images predicted higher symptoms of PTSD, depression and psychological distress.
Levaot et al. (2013). Israeli Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences.	76 journalists whose careers had been defined by work in war zones (38 Israeli journalists and 38 Western journalists).	Impacts of exposure to dangerous circumstances within own communities on the mental health of journalists (PTSD, psychological distress, illicit drugs and alcohol consumption).	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Western journalists reported more frequent PTSD symptoms and drank more alcohol while Israeli journalists reported higher levels of depression, anxiety and somatic distress.
Reinardy (2013). Newspaper Research Journal.	2 159 US newspapers layoff survivors journalists.	Impact of organizational trust, morale, job satisfaction and perception of job quality on burnout.	Cross-sectional, quantitative (online self-report questionnaires) study.	Journalists with depleted trust, morale and job satisfaction experienced significant degrees of burnout and intended to leave newspapers.

Only one of the studies used an exclusively qualitative method (Buchanan & Keats, 2011) and a further four used qualitative methods in conjunction with self-report quantitative methods (Backholm & Björkqvist 2012b; Feinstein et al., 2002; Heloani, 2005; Mackay, 2012). The 23 studies based on a quantitative methodology used either a cross-sectional retrospective approach in their self-report measures ($n = 22$) or an experimental design ($n = 1$ – Kim, 2012); therefore, none of the studies collected data during the reported critical event or in the immediate aftermath.

Sources of stress

As previously stated, we will now move on to compiling the main sources of stress identified in the target articles of this literature review, and differentiate them on the basis of organizational stressors and task-related stressors. The compilation begins with the organizational *stressors*, the most dominant stressors in the occupational stress process, and uses the terminology employed by Nelson and Simmons (2003) in the definition of their holistic model of occupational stress: role, interpersonal and physical demands, organizational policies and work conditions.

Organizational stressors.

Among the 28 studies that were analysed, nine (32%) were found to focus on the sources of stress for journalists, and, in our view, exemplify organizational stressors.

Role demands. One of the identified demands was role ambiguity. The fact that some journalists minimized the effectiveness and importance of their higher education in their daily work was the cause of tension, doubts and uncertainties in terms of their technical role (Heloani, 2005). On the other hand, according to the analysed studies, the requirement that

reporters should be multifaceted and able to adapt to other, non-traditional tasks was a constant demand for the journalists. For example, in addition to collecting information, analyzing, and compiling texts, journalists were expected (or required) to have knowledge and work experience in radio, TV, written press and websites and to perform further duties such as being chauffeurs, among others (Heloani, 2005; Mackay, 2012).

The nature of the journalistic work changes on a daily basis and, therefore, journalists had to be readily prepared to change their focus and be constantly operational, so as to meet the immediate demands of new tasks with little or no notice whatsoever (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012a).

A final identified role demand was the work-family conflict, namely the time spent in one context interfering with presence and dedication in the other. The difficulty confronted by journalists in finding time for the family, or even in building one, was one of the most mentioned sources of stress by the participants in the study by Heloani (2005). The personal sphere of the journalists would often fuse with the actual professional activity, leaving them little time for affective and interpersonal relations, due to the amount of time spent at work, thus giving rise to stress and tension. Reinardy (2006) also found that one of the main sources of stress for sports journalists was the amount of time spent away from the family, the long working hours, including nights, week-ends and public holidays.

Interpersonal demands. Stressors such as interpersonal problems (Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010), competition, rifts and falseness among colleagues (Heloani, 2005), as well as a lack of ethics in information and fact management (Browne et al., 2012; Heloani, 2005; Mackay, 2012) were found to be variables included in this category.

According to Mackay (2012) ethical reasoning may be hampered or compromised by factors such as a journalist's information source, competition with other journalists, social

pressure - discrimination, capitalism, commercial interests – proceedings, or legal action taken against the professional or Organization and technology and audience ratings.

Therefore, this source of stress covers other organizational stressor categories.

Ethical issues, such as interpersonal demands, focus on choosing between performing the journalistic task or interrupting it so as to assist the wounded victims who are in need of aid. As referred to by Browne et al. (2012), the public may regard the journalist's witnessing of events without offering help or ignoring the suffering of victims as morally wrong, and this consideration, in itself, may jeopardize the discernment and reasoning of the professional in the performance of the task. According to Kim (2012), one of the main sources of stress for photojournalists was the decision between “...*acting as dispassionate observers or becoming Good Samaritans*” (p. 6). The presence of other aid professionals, the clear intention of the victim to sacrifice his/her life (e.g., a political statement) and the remote possibility of intervention on the part of the photojournalist were conditions that led the journalists to take the photo (Kim, 2012), which does not mean they did not experience high levels of stress before, during and after making the decision.

The personal characteristics of the professional (such as personality and workaholic profile) may be considered another possible stressor for perfect performance, as proven in the studies by Burke and Matthiesen (2004) and Marais and Stuart (2005).

Physical demands. Environmental stressors (Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010), such as the newsroom, occupied by electronic apparatus and without natural light, also contributed to professional stress in the daily context of the journalist mentioned in the literature review.

Organizational policies. Among the very few references to demands of this nature, some studies are worthy of mention, namely those by Reinardy (2006), in which the issue of

constant competition among the various media types is stressed, by Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010), who pointed to freedom of action as a source of stress, and Browne et al. (2012) who indicated pressure towards a sensationalist version of a tragic event.

Working conditions. At the beginning of the journalistic career, the rather tough and adverse conditions (low payment, unpaid extra working hours, acting as assistant to the chief by serving coffee, and not working as a real reporter), as highlighted in the study by Heloani (2005), may give rise to professional dissatisfaction and lead journalists to change their jobs and sometimes, even their careers. It was stated in this study that the youngest journalists had the lowest wages. However, poor earnings were complained of by the various journalists who, as a result, felt they had a low quality lifestyle (only travelling abroad for news coverage in a professional context, and being unable to travel for leisure purposes with the family).

Routine, nocturnal deadlines, general working conditions and excessive working hours were identified as stressors in the studies by Heloani, (2005), Reinardy (2006) and Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010). In the study by Heloani (2005), most of the interviewees worked between 41 and 60 hours per week, thus indicating a far higher workload than the legal requirements for these professionals. It should be noted that Burke and Matthiesen (2004) believed that the understanding of the stress process of journalists may be made easier by taking the workaholism variable into account, since it seems to characterize the majority of these professionals. Therefore, one is left wondering whether the excessive work hours, often mentioned in the studies, are a reflection of organizational decisions or the very profile and personality of the journalist.

Task-related stressors.

Task-related stressors refer to the constraints associated with task accomplishment, and so two broad vectors may be taken into consideration: daily work constraints and those specific to critical scenarios where the journalist is sent abroad as a special envoy to report major critical events.

Data obtained from five of the 28 analysed studies (18%) refer to the first context. In the study by Reinardy (2006), the main sources of stress indicated by the sports journalists were: having to deal with sports stars, coaches, club directors and fans, being publicly and personally admonished and receiving negative criticism and demoralizing messages through social networks. Interviewing weakened or distressed individuals and pressing them to be interviewed (Browne et al., 2012) was another example of a journalistic task-related stressor. Hatanaka et al. (2010) mentioned the complications inherent to story coverage and Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010) pointed to time pressure as a source of stress. Feinstein (2012), in his study with Mexican journalists, referred to violence and intimidation as stressors, used against these professionals as a means to silence them and to prevent them from disclosing information to society about criminal groups, particularly drug cartels. Finally, as far as the task-related stress experienced by domestic journalists is concerned, a significant number of studies ($n = 14$) considered exposure to (minor) traumatic events as a work demand, therefore it may be considered as a stressor related to journalists' tasks.

As regards the coverage of major critical incidents, stress sources were identified in two (7%) of the studies. The visualization of events involving death, terror, tragedy, violence and human suffering were mentioned as the most common stressors among war journalists (Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005; Feinstein et al., 2002), suggesting that exposure to traumatic events is also a stressor in this context.

Table 2. Stressors identified in the analysed empirical studies.

Authors (year)	Organizational stressors		Task-related stressors	
	Daily context		Daily context	
				Major critical incidents
Feinstein et al. (2002).				Exposure to traumatic events: dealing with death, terror, tragedy, violence and human suffering. Being at risk and/or putting themselves at risk. Pressure to report “sellable” news.
Burke and Matthiesen (2004).	Personality characteristics and workaholic profile (excessive work hours or workaholic disposition).			
Feinstein and Nicolson (2005).				Exposure to traumatic events: dealing with death, terror, tragedy, violence and human suffering. Being embedded.
Heloani (2005).	Role demands, multitasking job, work-family conflict; competition, rifts and falseness; ethical issues; low payment, unpaid extra working hours, doing work other than that of a real reporter, low quality lifestyle, pressure, routine, nocturnal deadlines, excessive working hours...			
Marais and Stuart (2005).	Personality characteristics and workaholic profile.			
Reinardy (2006).	Work-family conflict; competition; meeting deadlines, long hours and long workdays that include nights, weekends, and holidays...		Having to deal with sports stars, coaches, club directors and fans, being publicly and personally admonished and receiving negative criticism and demoralizing messages through social networks, including death threats. Problems during the assignment.	
Hatanaka et al. (2010).			Time pressure.	
Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010).	Interpersonal problems; environmental stressors (light, space in the newsroom...); freedom of action; general working conditions, excessive working hours.			
Backholm and Björkqvist (2012a).	Unpredictable role demands, having new tasks to perform.			
Browne et al. (2012).	Ethical issues; being pressured to present a sensationalist version of a tragic event.		Interviewing vulnerable individuals and pressing them to be interviewed.	
Feinstein (2012).			Dealing with violence and intimidation as a means to not disclose information to society.	
Kim (2012).	Ethical reasoning (ethical dilemma between photographing or helping the victim).			
Mackay (2012).	Multitasking job, lack of ethics in information and fact management.			

Several potentially jeopardizing physical (difficult access to food, water, sanitary conditions) and life (risk of being shot, kidnapped, robbed and attacked) stress sources for journalists were also encountered in this context. For instance, the possibility of journalists being embedded with soldiers was an additional stress source for these media professionals since they were on the front line and, thus, exposed to higher risk as potential targets (Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005). On the other hand, Feinstein et al. (2002) revealed that despite having been warned by their superiors, many journalists gave priority to the story, making their safety a secondary issue - they felt that if they did not report “sellable” news, they would not be professionally recognized and might even be jeopardizing their future career. Table 2 presents the previously mentioned data on stressors, regarding Hypothesis 1 and, as may be observed, H1 is corroborated, thus suggesting that local journalists experience more stress from organizational stressors while special envoys to major critical incidents have to deal more with task-related stressors.

Coping resources

Among the analysed 28 studies, only two (7%) directly addressed the coping strategies and mechanisms most commonly used by journalists to manage professional stress. While the study by Buchanan and Keats (2011) presented an in-depth analysis of coping in journalists, the study by Reinardy (2012) took into consideration the role of control coping in the intention to leave the profession. Besides these two studies, we were able to retrieve useful information from another five (18%) on the way journalists deal with their occupational stress, which we interpreted as possible coping strategies or mechanisms. Considerations on all seven studies (25%) are presented later.

Internal or personal resources.

Coping styles or strategies. Data from the seven articles related to coping strategies revealed that journalists fall back on different coping strategies according to their life history and the nature of the critical event with which they are dealing. Years of professional experience, experience in covering local (on a smaller scale) or foreign traumatic events (large-scale disasters) contribute to determining their choice of the best strategy to be used in order to handle the stress of a given situation.

Indeed, and in line with the study of Buchanan and Keats (2011), fluctuation and change in the choice of strategies on the part of these professionals is understandable and to be expected. These same authors stated that not all the coping actions were automatic, some of them were anticipatory and developed over a period of experience. The journalists in their study used both adaptive and non-adaptive strategies, sometimes simultaneously. In fact, the data obtained by the authors suggested that when confronted with daily sources of stress, such as the suffering of individuals and having to deal with horrific and tragic situations, the journalists tended to resort to coping strategies from these six options: (1) *Avoidance strategies*, such as lying so as not to accept or be attributed tasks in traumatic events, withdrawing themselves from the difficult situation so as not to feel emotionally overwhelmed or refraining from discussing the situation with colleagues, and so forth. (2) *The use of black humour* in an attempt to distance themselves from the horror of the experience and to manage to follow the story through without losing the main focus, using humour and irony to replace their real emotions of shock, sadness, or nervousness. (3) *The control of emotions and memories* to emotionally distance themselves from the intensity of the situation by compartmentalizing their emotional reactions. These strategies, which may also be viewed as being of an avoidance type, were apparently functional for most of the journalists. However, for a minority, this strategy did not prevent the emotions from returning

later on in their lives with higher intensity. (4) *The use of substances* (alcohol, marijuana, hashish, cocaine, crack, and heroine were the most cited) in order to dull or numb emotions and as a means of self-medication for the prior psychological stress, including flashbacks and intrusive images. (5) *Exercise and other physical activities* to relieve tension and become physically exhausted so as not to dwell on their concerns or to justify leaving the organization's premises. (6) *Focus on technical, practical and mechanical aspects* as a protection and shield mechanism in order to maintain control by concentrating on the planning and preparation of the task to be accomplished instead of being overcome by the tragedy they are reporting.

Only in one study, by Heloani (2005), were references to active coping strategies encountered. These strategies are based on confronting and directly resolving the problem, such as an interest or intention on the part of some of the interviewees in gaining a Law qualification, so as to deal more effectively with legal issues in the action taken against them during the course of their career.

A final note about coping strategies is that journalists who perceive they control their environment and stress variables – control coping accordingly to Reinardy (2012) - are less prone to leaving their job.

Interpretation of the stressor. Within the scope of individuals' beliefs which are modified or heightened following a traumatic experience, Pyevich et al. (2003) called for the need to give particular attention to the interpretations or meaning attributed by the individual to the experienced situation. The journalists used the moral significance of their work to help themselves while also denying or feeling the need to suppress their concerns by considering some situations to have been “just bad luck”. They believed that taking such feelings on

board might interfere with their professional performance and stigmatize them among their colleagues (Browne et al., 2012).

External resources.

The social support (to a greater or lesser extent) experienced by the journalists seems to be a significant variable in the ways of handling stress. The study by Pyevich et al. (2003) highlighted the importance of social support as a way of handling and reducing professional stress. Conversely, in the study by Hatanaka et al. (2010), the social support of family and friends had a significant effect on the development of post-traumatic stress, thus contradicting the data of prior studies (e.g., Pyevich et al., 2003).

Nevertheless, social support was not always sought by journalists or made available to them in their work context. In the study by Greenberg et al. (2009), participants were found to resort more to the family than to their superiors or colleagues for support following traumatic incidents and were rather reluctant to seek organizational help for problems related to their participation in traumatic events, despite not presenting stigmatized attitudes towards PTSD. Feinstein et al. (2002) also stated that war reporters were not more likely to have received help (e.g., psychotherapy, medication) than their colleagues with less risky occupational activities, thus reinforcing the “culture of silence” within the journalistic environment. Greenberg et al. (2009) referred to the fact that up until recently, psychological distress in journalists has been a discouraged subject, since it has been interpreted as a sign of weakness on the part of those who admit to having it, thus jeopardizing their career and leading to stigmatized attitudes with regard to mental disease and seeking help.

Consequences of the stressful profession on the health and well-being of journalists

The coping strategies and mechanisms used by individuals to manage their occupational stress have implications on their physical and mental health and on their personal/family and social environment, according to the result variables in the terminology of Nelson and Simmons (2003).

Impact on physical health.

Only two studies (7%) mentioned the physical consequences of the journalistic profession, namely the osteomuscular disorders and associated factors stemming from the introduction of new technologies (Heloani, 2005), and the higher health risk for freelancers, especially men, exposed to adverse working conditions due to an irregular income, the tendency to work longer hours, having to postpone holidays and “neglecting” possible symptoms of illness (Ertel, Pech, Ullsperger, Von Dem Knesebeck, & Siegrist, 2005).

Impact on mental health and well-being.

Mental health and well-being have been given more attention than physical health in most of the studies on the occupational stress of these professionals. Of the 28 analysed studies, 24 (86%) focused on symptomatology and psychopathology such as depression, anxiety disorders, particularly PTSD, alcohol and substance consumption and/or burnout and turnover associated with professional dissatisfaction.

As far as psychopathological symptomatology is concerned, results of studies on depression levels associated with journalistic work have proven to be contradictory. For example, in the study by Weidmann et al. (2008), only 1% of the sample presented depression while in the study by Feinstein et al. (2002), 21% of the participants were depressed. It is

possible that the war journalists in the latter study were repeatedly and severely exposed to traumatic situations, more than the participants who reported the 2004 Tsunami in the study by Weidmann et al. (2008). Another possible explanation for the differences in results may stem from the methodological specificities of each study (e.g., different measures to assess the same outcomes). Furthermore, the participants in the study by Weidmann et al. (2008), who indicated that their supervisors and colleagues showed little recognition for their accomplished work, presented more depressive and post-traumatic symptoms.

The prevalence of PTSD was the most assessed variable across the studies reviewed ($n = 15$), both on the basis of journalists' professional experiences, and in association with prominent personal events. Highly variable PTSD levels were found, ranging from 4% (Pyeovich et al., 2003), 6%-7% (Hatanaka et al., 2010; Weidman et al., 2008) to 29% (Feinstein et al., 2002) and 35% (Morales et al., 2012).

The study by Feinstein et al. (2002) revealed that war journalists presented more symptoms of PTSD and major depression than journalists without this type of experience; four to five times more than the figures for the general population; more than double those for traumatized police officers; and similar figures to those registered in war veterans. Similar results were found in the study by Levaot et al. (2013), in which Western war journalists and Israeli journalists respectively reported high levels of PTSD and high levels of distress.

Feinstein and Nicolson (2005) compared war reporters embedded in military units with reporters who functioned alone, and did not encounter sufficient evidence to consider that the former were subject to a higher risk of psychological problems than the latter.

Neither in the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b) were any differences found regarding the severity of psychological distress symptoms between journalists working on the Jokela school shooting incident (either directly or indirectly) and a control group of journalists who had not dealt with the incident. A minority of journalists indicated a sufficient

level of PTSD (as well as depression, secondary traumatic stress and burnout) to be considered an at-risk group.

Photojournalism, by nature, requires direct observation and physical presence in events, therefore, these professionals may be exposed to the most traumatic characteristics of an event. According to Kim (2012), they observed death, tragedy, and human suffering far more frequently than other journalists (who were able to report such news by means of secondary sources). Hence, not only were they at greater risk in terms of immediate physical danger (being wounded, attacked, kidnapped), but also of profound emotional after-effects. In the study by Morales et al. (2012), reference was made to the fact that photojournalists were the most vulnerable professionals, with a 59% prevalence of PTSD.

As for the type of news being reported, in the study by Morales et al. (2012), 43% of the reporters covering drug cartel wars presented PTSD while others such as financial, political and sports journalists indicated a much lower rate, standing at 22%. These results are in line with the study by Hatanaka et al. (2010), in which reporters located at disaster scenes were more prone to PTSD symptoms than journalists who were simply involved in the composition of news or in their home country.

Weidman et al. (2008), in the only encountered study on the impact of reporting natural disasters, found that 92% of the journalists claimed to have experienced a minimum of four traumatic situations in a professional context and 7% fulfilled the criteria for the diagnosis of PTSD up to 8 months after the disaster, thus suggesting that natural disasters can cause psychological distress in some individuals.

Despite the fact that 69% of the journalists in the sample of Morales et al. (2012) claimed to have been the target of threats or attacks at least once in their professional career, such situations did not contribute significantly to PTSD symptoms in the same way as the experience of a professional traumatic event in the past 12 months, referred to by 94% of the

sample. These results show that not all stressful episodes necessarily give rise to post-traumatic responses. On the other hand, in the study by Feinstein (2012), a quarter of the journalists under study had stopped covering drug-related stories due to intimidation, and this group presented more symptoms suggestive of PTSD when compared to colleagues who either continued working under threat in areas where drug violence was common or to those who had never experienced such threatening conditions. Hence, one may assume that a similar working condition might lead to the same outcome, however characterized by varying degrees of impact levels.

Other variables have been equally explored due to their weakening role in relation to trauma, such as guilt cognitions and re-traumatization. In the study by Browne et al. (2012), the journalists who presented more acute guilt cognitive behaviour also reported higher symptom levels of PTSD, thus suggesting that trauma-specific cognitive behaviour may be relevant to the understanding of the impact of work-related trauma on the mental health of journalists. The feeling of guilt, based on the belief that one should have thought, felt or acted differently –associated with the aforementioned ethical dilemmas - is another reaction to trauma which has increasingly been studied within the scope of research on the occupational stress of journalists (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012b; Browne et al., 2012; Kim, 2012; Mackay, 2012).

From their perspective, Pyevich et al. (2003), Marais and Stuart (2005) and Weidmann et al. (2008) alerted to the high rate of exposure to potentially traumatic situations and the magnitude of the worst reported critical event (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010) being risk factors for the development of symptomatology, especially PTSD. In the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b), only those with a personal history of being exposed to personal traumatic events reacted with more psychological distress to working with the

Jokela incident, while previous work-related exposure was not found to have predicted distress caused by the incident.

In the study by Weidmann and Papsdorf (2010), around 80% of the journalist sample presented recurrent intrusive memories, a core symptom of PTSD, and individuals with previous trauma, with more professional stress and higher exposure to images presented more severe symptoms. In a similar study (Feinstein et al., 2013), daily exposure to violent images predicted higher levels of PTSD, depression and somatic and anxiety disorders.

Another psychopathological reaction to the professional stress of journalists that has been relatively neglected in studies on this subject is substance consumption. In the study by Feinstein et al. (2002), substance abuse was mentioned by 14% of the sample's war reporters, and in the research by Levaot et al. (2013), Western war journalists consumed more alcohol than Israeli journalists, although both groups were exposed to a significant number of traumatic events.

The exposure of journalists to intense situations characterized by risk, danger, chaos and death, especially those involving terrorism, disaster and war (i.e., potentially traumatic situations), was further associated with the psychopathological symptomatology of suffering, through empathy towards the suffering of others, of doubt and self-questioning, vicarious traumatization and burnout in particular (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010).

With regard to burnout, an inherent condition of highly stressful professions, the studies revealed that the chronic occupational stress and symptoms of burnout experienced by the journalists were not solely restricted to war and conflict scenarios, but that this result variable may also have stemmed from factors related to daily work stress (Reinardy, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2013) and from personality and workaholic profile (Burke & Matthiesen, 2004). For example, Reinardy (2006) studied this syndrome in press journalists working in the field

of sport and found that the participants presented moderate rates of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, while the group with higher levels in these dimensions and lower self-fulfilment consisted of the editors. Reinardy (2006) also found that the younger, less experienced journalists, as well as those working for low-circulation newspapers, presented a higher level of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization than their older, experienced colleagues who worked for large circulation newspapers. In a later study with 770 American press journalists, Reinardy (2011, 2012) obtained even higher levels of burnout and found that the journalists who expressed the intention to leave their profession ($n = 173$) presented higher levels of emotional exhaustion and cynicism and moderate levels of professional efficacy, thus putting them at risk of developing burnout. Reinardy (2012, 2013) verified that younger journalists not only reported higher rates of burnout than their colleagues but were most likely to express intentions to leave the profession. Moreover, journalists with low job quality perception showed signs of burnout and women experienced higher levels of burnout than male journalists on the exhaustion and cynicism scales (Reynardy, 2013).

Professionals suffering from burnout often decide to change their profession. Heloani (2005) demonstrated that among journalists, the turnover in search of new opportunities and better working conditions was rather frequent, especially at the beginning of their career, the precise point when working conditions are more difficult and adverse. A final example on the desire to leave the career – as a sign of chronic stress or burnout – comes from the study by Reinardy (2009b), in which 26% of the journalists showed interest in moving to another professional area as a result of job dissatisfaction, the absence of support and encouragement on the part of the organization and low earnings. It should be noted that 36% of the participants were indecisive, which shows that almost 62% of the sample were uncertain about continuing to work in journalism. In another study by Reinardy (2012), the journalists intending to leave the organization presented less professional satisfaction, lower

organizational commitment, a reduced sense of security at work and reduced perceived work quality.

In terms of gender differences in the journalists' symptoms of burnout and turnover, Reinardy (2009a) found that the women presented higher levels of exhaustion and lower levels of professional efficacy than the male journalists, and that around 30% of the women under the age of 27 years manifested the intention to leave journalism.

With regard to PTSD and burnout, as consequences on the health and well-being of journalists (hypothesis 2), table 3 summarizes the data analysed. Hence, H2 is partly confirmed since burnout has only been studied with local journalists; however, this occupational group has also been the focus of an abundance of studies addressing PTSD (i.e., PTSD has not only emerged as an outcome variable in studies solely on special envoys).

Impact on the family and personal context.

As with the impact of journalists' occupational stress on physical health, only two studies (7%) were geared towards the family or personal context. Throughout their professional career, journalists frequently sacrificed their private lives on the basis of work (e.g., leaving the country all of a sudden, leaving colleagues, home and the family, even during festive periods such as Christmas and on birthdays to cover an event). For example, in the study by Heloani (2005), the 44 interviewed journalists mentioned the lack of time to be with their families, and the majority complained of the difficulty in building a family. In the study by Feinstein et al. (2002), despite the fact that no significant differences were found in the number of married and divorced journalists between the two groups under study, namely journalists with and without war coverage experience, a higher number of journalists from the first group were found to be single in comparison with those without war experience. The consequences of directly experienced situations, of the horrors witnessed, the scenes

encountered and the traumas experienced may also have led to tense marriages (Heloani, 2005).

Table 3. Burnout and PTSD as outcome variables identified in the analysed empirical studies.

Outcome variables		Authors (year)		Total
BURNOUT	Daily context	Backholm, & Björkqvist (2010). Burke, & Matthiesen (2004). Heloani (2005). Reinardy (2006). Reinardy (2009a).	Reinardy (2009b). Reinardy (2011). Reinardy (2012). Reinardy (2013).	Total: 9
		Backholm, & Björkqvist (2010). Backholm, & Björkqvist (2012a). Backholm, & Björkqvist (2012b). Browne, Evangeli, & Greenberg (2012). Feinstein (2012). Feinstein, Audet, & Waknine (2013).	Hatanaka et al. (2010). Marais, & Stuart (2005). Morales, Pérez, & Martínez (2012). Pyevich, Newman, & Daleiden (2003). Weidmann, & Papsdorf (2010).	Total: 11
PTSD	Major critical incidents	Feinstein, & Nicolson (2005). Feinstein, Owen, & Blair (2002).	Levaot, Sinyor, & Feinstein (2013). Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich (2008).	Total: 4

Meta-analysis

From the 28 articles reviewed, 13 presented homogeneous data on the association between exposure to traumatic events during work and journalists' symptoms of PTSD, and were examined through meta-analysis procedures. The trauma exposure and PTSD symptoms measures used in the different studies considered in the meta-analysis as well as their respective alpha values may be observed in Table 4.

The meta-analysis results based on Hedges and Vevea's (1998) estimates indicated that between studies variance was $\tau^2 = 0.023$ with a standard deviation of 0.013. The mean effect size for the computed random-effects model was 0.27 (95% CI [.18, .36]), with a significant z score ($z = 5.84, p < 0.001$) (see Table 4). A Q homogeneity test of effect sizes was performed and was significant, indicating that study results are heterogeneous, with variation occurring between effect sizes ($\chi^2(12) = 77.904, p < 0.001$). According to Cohen's criterion to evaluate effect sizes (Cohen, 1988), the r value of .27 (with a coefficient of determination of 7%) is a small to medium effect. To identify the number of studies required to achieve a non-significant effect size, a fail-safe N analysis was computed (Rosenthal,

1991). In this case 1,024 studies would be required to establish a non-significant result between exposure to traumatic events during work and journalists' symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Table 4. Random-effects model meta-analytic results of the association between occupational stress and journalists' health and well-being.

Articles, measures used (α values)	<i>r</i>	<i>N</i>	95% CI	Z score
Backholm, & Björkqvist (2010) Journalist Trauma Exposure Scale: Magnitude of worst experienced event item. PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) ($\alpha = 0.91$).	0.14	503	0.05-0.23	3.15*
Backholm, & Björkqvist (2012a) Journalist Trauma Exposure Scale: Range of Work-Related Potentially Traumatic Assignments Scale (NR). PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) ($\alpha = 0.91$).	0.17	407	0.07-0.26	3.45**
Backholm, & Björkqvist (2012b) Journalist Trauma Exposure Scale: Range of Work-Related Potentially Traumatic Assignments Scale (NR). PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) ($\alpha = 0.91$).	0.36	493	0.28-0.43	8.34**
Browne, Evangelini, & Greenberg (2012) Journalist Trauma Exposure Scale: Work Exposure Total Score ($\alpha = 0.94$). PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) ($\alpha = 0.93$).	0.36	50	0.09-0.58	2.58*
Feinstein (2012) Threatened and non-threatened groups of journalists. Impact of Events Scale-Revised: Intrusion ($\alpha = 0.93$), Avoidance ($\alpha = 0.93$), and Hyperarousal ($\alpha = 0.89$) Scales.	0.33	104	0.15-0.49	3.45**
Feinstein, Audet, & Auknine (2013) Frequency of User Generated Content based work item. Impact of Events Scale-Revised (NR).	0.24	111	0.06-0.41	2.54*
Feinstein, & Nicolson (2005) Embedded and unilateral (non-embedded) groups of journalists. Impact of Events Scale-Revised ($\alpha = 0.93$).	0.04	85	0-.25-0.18	-0.36
Feinstein, Owen, & Blair (2002) War and comparison (non-war) groups of journalists. Impact of Events Scale-Revised (NR).	0.39	247	0.28-0.49	6.43**
Hatanaka, Matsui, Ando et al. (2010) Groups of journalists with field jobs and non-field jobs. Impact of Events Scale-Revised (NR).	0.17	270	0.05-0.28	2.81*
Morales, Pérez, & Martínez (2011) Threatened / assaulted and non-threatened groups of journalists. PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) ($\alpha = 0.92$).	0.09	100	-0.28-0.11	-0.89
Pyeovich, Newman, & Daleiden (2003) Journalist Trauma Exposure Scale: Work Exposure Total Score (NR). PTSD Checklist - Civilian Version (PCL-C) (NR).	0.32	768	0.26-0.38	9.17**
Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich (2008) Frequency of Exposure to Traumatic Situations Overall Score (NR). Post-Traumatic Diagnostic Scale (PDS) (NR).	0.5	61	0.28-0.67	4.18**
Weidmann & Papsdorf (2010) Overall distress associated with video footage (NR). Impact of Events Scale-Revised: Intrusion ($\alpha = 0.83$), Avoidance ($\alpha = 0.82$) Scales.	0.59	146	0.47-0.69	8.10**
Random-Effects Model	0.27	334 5	0.18-0.36	5.84**

Notes: * $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.001$. NR – alpha values Not Reported.

Additional publication bias results may be seen in Figure 2, where a funnel plot displays the studies' symmetry around the current effect size (Light & Pillemer, 1984).

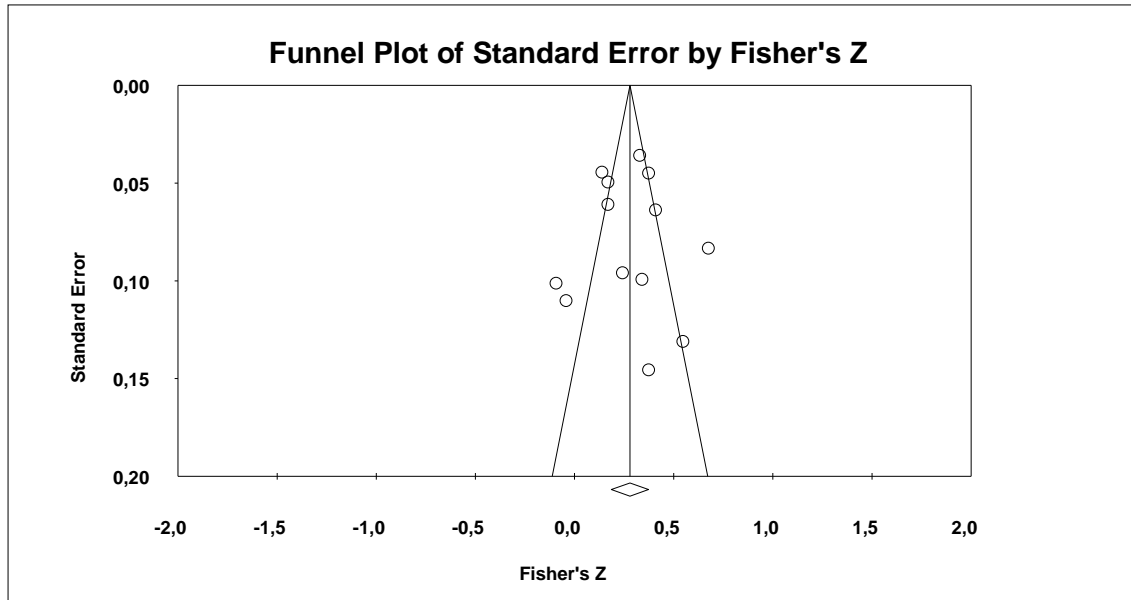


Figure 2. Funnel plot with effect sizes (vertical line represents effect size estimates and diagonal lines the 95% CI).

Discussion

The constant pressure to meet deadlines, long hours, the battle for audiences, the daily competition among the different media types, low pay, implementing new technology, the exposure to news about traumatic events have always existed, and they shed light upon the intrinsic link between stress and the practice of journalism. These factors also seem to have become more noticeable over recent years and have consequently served to attribute the status of at-risk professionals to journalists (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012b; Reinardy, 2012). It is, therefore, of utmost importance to further knowledge on journalists' stress variables, identifying the sources of stress to which they are subject, the coping strategies they use, and the impacts on physical and mental health. The present empirical studies review enables us to outline some conclusions on how research, in this field, has been developed since 2002 up to the present, and to leave some suggestions for future studies.

The first is related to the fact that in the reviewed studies no theoretical models on stress supported the research. We consider that future research on stress variables in journalists would benefit from a general stress model backdrop, such as the transactional model of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), or even occupational stress models, for example, the holistic model of Nelson and Simmons (2003), in order to constitute a broad conceptual framework.

A second conclusion regards the predominance, in the studies analysed in this literature review, of cross-sectional designs based on quantitative data collection through self-report questionnaires, with only one study relying exclusively on qualitative methodology and a further four using a mixed method research design. Thus, further qualitative studies and in particular longitudinal studies are sorely needed to broaden the understanding of journalists' occupational stress, both from an intra-individual and a process perspective.

Undifferentiation may be observed between the studies focusing on local journalists' daily work (composing news in their own country for "minor" incidents) and those centred on their work in major critical settings, where they are sent as special envoys. Nevertheless, the professional reality of most journalists does not involve reporting large-scale disasters and, in fact, only four of the analysed 28 studies have a sample of journalists with experience in war scenarios (i.e., Feinstein et al., 2002; Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005; Levaot et al., 2013) or large-scale natural disasters such as the Tsunami in 2004 (i.e., Weidmann et al., 2008). Therefore, further research on the sources of stress experienced by journalists with this type of professional experience is sorely needed. The evidence collected from these contexts is still limited and, consequently, has implications for its generalization; however, it should be distinguished from the evidence related to local journalists' daily and routine work. In the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b) very few references to everyday work stress issues were found, thus emphasizing the importance given to the specific stressors associated with the critical event being reported. Demands from superiors were mentioned as an

example of such daily work stressors, often regarded by journalists as being unrealistic, highlighting, once again, the weight of critical incidents-related stressors.

Hypothesis 1 was confirmed since in local/domestic journalistic work, organizational stressors seem to carry more weight, while in critical large-scale settings the main professional demands seem to be the task-related stressors. This data may be highly important for future research on the occupational stress of journalists, for the creation of stress prevention and intervention programmes and the promotion of these professionals' well-being. The most common organizational stressors in local/domestic journalists in the analysed studies are the long working hours, the deadlines, the need to accomplish multiple tasks and to constantly adapt to technological advances, the conflict between time spent at work and with the family, competition among colleagues from the same organization and competing entities, divergences with superiors and a lack of support on the part of the latter, and the organization to which the journalist belongs.

In war and natural disaster settings, three broad task-associated sources of stress may be highlighted: (1) the danger and risk to journalists' physical and emotional integrity: "There is nothing worse than attending a correspondent's funeral. Burying one of your people is a shattering experience, the hardest thing we do" (Osofsky et al., p. 287); (2) pressure from paramilitaries when it is the journalist's task to accompany them (embedded) and; (3) the dilemma between continuing to report or stopping to offer assistance to a victim.

Even so, three organizational war setting demands may also be included when taking into account the considerations of Osofsky et al. (2005). One of these demands is role conflict which may occur in journalists who are embedded in military groups - although most of the journalists respect the soldiers with whom they work, they also feel a commitment to broadcast the horrors of war, human suffering and loss of lives, which can cause a certain degree of role conflict. Hence, journalists embedded in military groups may be a strategy on

the part of the authority forces to control the type of events and information they want them to report, which is itself a source of stress. Another organizational stressor stems from organizations' attempts to reduce operational costs by hiring young reporters who are insufficiently specialized to handle the demands associated with working in critical settings, or opting for freelancers to cut the expenses required for full-time professionals (Osofsky et al., 2005). For regular journalists, who are encouraged by the organization to be versatile in terms of their story lines, this stressor leads them to believe they are “dispensable” in their work, as they watch their story being lightly passed on to less experienced and equally less competent colleagues. A third organizational stressor is preoccupation with the family during and after assignments (e.g., worrying about the effects on the couple and their children's development resulting from prolonged separation while abroad; about the dangers involved in journalists' work; about the difficulties in communicating regularly with the spouse/family at home).

However, it is apparent that in both contexts exposure to trauma is one of the most recognizable stress factors, and it emerges in a number of different forms (whether in the frontline or editing images). Half of the analysed studies took into consideration exposure to trauma as a specific research variable (i.e., as a task-related stressor) and/or as participant criteria. Hence, although different occupational stressors are attributed to local/domestic journalists and special envoys, we may assume that exposure to trauma is a risk which overlaps both contexts, and this has been highlighted by the analysed studies.

Therefore, and in keeping with the publication of the *Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma* by Hyght and Smyth (2003), research on the distress and traumatic factors and psychological effects of news coverage and their long term impact on journalists needs to be further developed with a view to preventing professional distress. Only with preparation and

awareness for managing occupational risk factors in occupational settings will journalists be able to share the event they are covering with the rest of the world.

In the analysed studies, there are no references to gender differences in the occupational stress factors of journalists. A *Dart Center* publication has also drawn attention to this fact (Brayne, 2007), underlining that in the case of female journalists, the work-family conflict stressor, for example, is experienced in accordance with their roles as wife and mother, and the parental role is a heavier burden to carry than it is for male journalists. Hence, future research would benefit from exploring gender-associated differences within this scope.

The impact of journalists' professional activity on their mental health and well-being may be disruptive to varying degrees, depending on the coping strategies used. Only one of the analysed studies focuses specifically on the coping variable (i.e., Buchanan & Keats, 2011). Four of the six strategy types listed by the authors allude to escape and avoidance coping. Some of the categories defined by the authors may be framed by the dimensions of emotional coping and problem focused coping, according to the terminology of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) (exercise and other physical activities, focus on technical, practical and mechanical aspects, respectively), although this was not mentioned by Buchanan and Keats (2011). Consequently, it is difficult to compare the results obtained with journalists with other professional groups of who generally select this kind of categorization. As one may conclude, there are very few studies focusing on problem-solving and emotional strategies (e.g., Heloani, 2005; Buchanan & Keats, 2011), usually the most functional in stress management, and there is still no research on gender differences in coping strategies.

Osofsky et al. (2005) have also highlighted two important points within the scope of stress management in war settings. One is the idea that many journalists and photojournalists find it hard to process the overall set of circumstances surrounding their professional

experiences when covering war, which may hamper their stress process and heighten the impacts that affect them. The second consideration underlines that in war settings socialization and the sensation of companionship among correspondents who travel together and share the same accommodation space are perceived by some journalists as an effective means of reducing daily stress levels, since they are thus able to emotionally process the day's events and have personal conversations about their friends and family at home. On the other hand, Osofsky et al. (2005) highlight the fact that behaviours such as alcohol or other substance consumption are part of these socialization moments and are deemed as ways of dealing with extreme stress and culturally accepted by the journalists. In this case, although it may be effective at the immediate moment, social support ends up having adverse implications over time.

In terms of future research on coping in journalists, and in line with the *Dart Center* publication (Brayne, 2007), differentiated coping strategies in female journalists, especially in Eastern and Middle Eastern countries, given the underlying culture-specific gender challenges, need to be addressed. Female journalists' coping strategies in such contexts may sometimes put them at greater risk, so it is crucial that they are familiar with local customs and the role associated with the female gender in order to manage professional stress more effectively. Moreover, and in broader terms, future research needs to increase the study of coping, which has been neglected in this field of study, particularly emotional regulation and problem-solving coping.

There are few systematic studies on the journalist's activity as a factor of occupational physical disease. Indeed, only two studies (Ertel et al., 2005; Heloani, 2005) present data on this topic. Adding to the data obtained on the impact of journalistic work on the physical health of journalists, in their literature review, Osofsky et al. (2005) state that the journalists

exposed to traumatic situations and the after-effects of war experience-related stress may be more susceptible to health problems such as hypertension and heart attacks.

On the other hand, most of the reviewed articles (15) focus on the emotional and psychological after-effects and post-traumatic symptoms that emerge in journalists following coverage of critical events. Research has shown that a considerable number of journalists may develop psychopathological problems such as depression and PTSD following exposure to work-related traumatic events (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010; Feinstein et al., 2013; Morales et al., 2012; Pyevich et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2008). As already stated, the prevalence of depression and PTSD is rather fluctuant, and this oscillation is dependent upon the type of journalism practiced, the event being reported, the stressful experience and also the actual methodology used in the studies that focus on such variables. The figures obtained for PTSD are in line with those found in the literature review by Aoki et al. (2013) – between 0% and 33% - which also verified that the prevalence of PTSD in journalists tends to be higher than in the general population.

As expected, studies on burnout among journalists have tended to focus on local/daily journalists' chronic stress, however studies on PTSD have also taken this occupational group into consideration (instead of focusing mainly on special envoys as hypothesized – H2 partly confirmed).

Only one study focused both on burnout and PTSD as impacts on journalistic work, even though the journalists were not differentiated according to their fields of action (daily/local and special envoys) or chronic versus acute stress (exposure to a potentially traumatic event) situations. Therefore, future studies should take such information into consideration.

In the present study, a meta-analysis was performed to investigate the association between exposure to traumatic events during work and journalists' symptoms of post-

traumatic stress disorder, and the results of 13 studies indicate a small to moderate effect size. However, as mentioned by some authors (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012b), the literature regarding the impact of trauma history on journalists has been mainly of a correlational nature and further research on this topic is sorely needed. Indeed as none of the studies reviewed used a longitudinal design, most data are of a correlational nature and the mapping of the stress and coping process along with its impacts are still missing.

Only two of the analysed studies (Feinstein et al., 2002; Levaot et al., 2013) provide evidence that journalists (in a war setting in both studies) resort to alcohol consumption, and Feinstein et al. (2002) goes on to alert to the fact that those who present symptoms of PTSD and major depression do not receive the necessary treatment. Thus, further studies on the psychopathological consequences of professional stress for both male and female journalists are sorely needed to request clarification from the organizations to which they belong, on the role of the latter in the prevention and support of its journalists who subject themselves to high levels of distress in their daily work and in critical events.

An important note to highlight is the fact that there is an abundance of studies on impacts on health and well-being while those on coping strategies and occupational stressors in journalists are somewhat scarce. It is essential to fully understand the latter variables and to differentiate them according to local/domestic work or reporting in major critical events to enable improved intervention and the provision of formal support to these professionals. For instance, this review takes a step forward in its contribution to the notion that both types of journalists share common organizational (e.g., work-family conflict) and task-related stressors (exposure to trauma). As a result, both types of journalists may suffer from PTSD, although its intensity might differ according to the extent of exposure to the (minor or major) traumatic event.

Only after comprehensive identification and differentiation will it be feasible to move on to a definition/conceptualization of the occupational stress process in journalists, which should also consider something lacking in all the analysed studies: the positive emotional responses, as well as the associated stressors and their respective impacts on the health of journalists.

The absence of studies on the positive impact of professional demands and associated positive emotional responses on the health of journalists reinforces the importance given to psychopathology and to the solely negative impact of occupational stress on these professionals. Thus, a broad field of equally relevant and increasingly prominent study in the literature on occupational health has been neglected.

Finally, it should be noted that no applied studies were identified for this professional group, for example on intervention, representing a gap in scientific research. For example, it would be interesting to compare journalists who receive stress management training, regarding the most common stressors to their work and the more appropriate coping strategies, to those without such training (which is the current practice in much, if not the majority of media organizations). Another interesting example would be to compare journalists with and without formal psychological support programmes in their workplace - occupational health policies geared towards burnout prevention (local/domestic work), set on helping journalists to deal with their family relations when they go abroad as special envoys (major critical events), and preparing them to frequently deal with exposure to trauma (both contexts).

Limitations

The general scientific quality of the revised articles is variable, and the conclusions of this literature review refer to limitations in terms of the size of the studied samples, the

eminently cross-sectional and quantitative data collection methodologies, based on retrospective self-report questionnaires. Greater further investment is recommended in studies with broader samples of journalists, as well as longitudinal designs and qualitative approaches to further knowledge on the adaptation processes and their impact on the health and well-being of these professionals. On the other hand, the present literature review is based on a set of empirical studies defined on the basis of distinct objectives, different samples of media professionals and various methodologies, thus limiting our ability to draw conclusions from the data made available through the investigated research and possible comparative analyses.

On a final note, it is worth recalling that in the literature reviewed between 2002 and the first 7 months of 2015, no applied studies were found on intervention in the professional group of journalists. It is, therefore, urgent that scientific studies are accomplished with a design suited to the construction, implementation analysis, and evaluation of the efficacy of specific interventions with these professionals, in light of what occurs in other professions characterized by high stress levels (e.g., Dowling, Moynihan, Bill, & Lewis, 2006).

Despite the fact that some steps have been taken to regard the journalistic profession as a stressful profession in the research on journalists' occupational stress, there are still many roads to be travelled. Hopefully, the considerations presented in this literature review will enlighten and encourage future researchers in this area to develop scientific work of a more holistic nature, with better quality and precision, in order to laud the efforts and dedication, while acknowledging the health risks, of those who work to keep us informed about what is happening in our country and the world around us.

Capítulo 3

Journalists' occupational stress: a comparative study between reporting critical events and domestic news⁵

Introduction

Journalism: A stressful occupation

Journalists are acknowledged as having a highly stressful occupation (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012b; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010) and, according to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (2006) and CareerCast (2016), journalism is one of the top ten most stressful occupations.

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York in 2001, journalists have become the target of greater attention on the part of scientific research on occupational stress (Sibbald, 2002; Strupp & Cosper, 2001). Most of the research has focused on the daily stress of these professionals, however some data has emerged on the occupational stress variables of journalists deployed to critical events such as war scenarios (e.g., Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Pyevich, Newman, & Daleiden, 2003) and on the aftermath of a natural catastrophe (e.g., Weidmann, Fehm, & Fydrich, 2008; for a review of studies from 2001 to 2015 on journalists' occupational stress see the meta-analyses of Monteiro, Marques Pinto, & Roberto, 2015).

The distinct nature of each of these professional settings needs to be made clear from the outset of this article. Domestic news, or daily work, focuses on news reported by journalists on a day to day basis, in their geographical area of activity, and may sometimes involve short assignments in other areas of the country. Domestic news includes various

⁵ O estudo que se apresenta constitui parte de um manuscrito que se encontra publicado numa revista científica. A referência completa é: Monteiro, S., & Pinto, A., M. (2017). Journalists' occupational stress: a comparative study between reporting critical events and domestic news. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology*, 20, 1-17. doi: 10.1017/sjp.2017.33

topics such as politics, sports, economy, health and may also focus, from time to time, on events that are more stressful and demanding for journalists (e.g., rivalries between sports teams and fans, car accidents, child abuse, crime, murder and violence ...). All journalists have experience in this type of setting. Critical scenarios or events refer to major disasters, involving a significant number of human and material losses, worldwide disclosure, and the deployments of journalists as special envoys to destinations typically outside their home countries. In this setting, journalists are exposed to traumatic events such as wars, terrorist attacks and natural catastrophes, however only a minority of them have this type of regular experience throughout their career.

As scientific research has only turned its attention to this professional group over the last decade, limitations are bound to exist. For instance, little is known about the similarities and differences between the occupational stress variables of journalists, namely occupational stressors, emotional responses to stress and the impacts on journalists' health and well-being, in their daily work and in the context of reporting critical events (major disasters). Furthermore, most prior studies have analysed some of these variables individually and have done so without a theoretical framework as a backdrop to their research (Monteiro et al, 2015).

Since terrorist attacks have increased considerably over the last few years (e.g., France in 2015 and Belgium in 2016), these traumatic events are becoming more and more instilled in the daily work of journalists, therefore the danger and imminent risks of this profession may now even spill over into journalists' daily work context, as was observed in the case of Charlie Hebdo's journalists.

In fact, the journalistic profession has been compared to other high-risk occupations such as police officers, firefighters, emergency health personnel – i.e., first responders. Some authors (e.g., Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Weidmann et al., 2008) even designate journalists as

first responders since, in many cases, they are the first to arrive at the disaster scene, are exposed to the same critical situations, and may later present the same type of after-effects (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and burnout) as other responders (e.g., Anshel et al., 1997). Nevertheless, while the effects of exposure to trauma on traditional first responders have been studied elaborately, research on the exposure of journalists to traumatic events is still scarce (Weidmann et al., 2008), and when it is analysed, the focus tends only to be geared towards the impact on the health and well-being of the journalists without considering the possible impact on other occupational stress variables (e.g., perceived stressors, emotional reactions to stress...). Additionally, according to Monteiro et al. (2015), there are no studies that focus on the positive emotional responses to stress or that try to identify the positive impacts on the life and health of these professionals.

In line with Buchanan and Keats (2011), we are also of the opinion that it “is time to address the needs of this understudied and underserved population of ‘first responders’.” (p. 134). Taking the Holistic Model of Occupational Stress of Nelson and Simmons (2003) as a framework, this study aims to understand journalists’ occupational stress perceptions with a view to providing some cues on prevention measures tailored to the needs of this professional group.

Occupational stress: A comprehensive model

The holistic model by Nelson and Simmons (2003) conceptualizes the occupational stress process in a comprehensive manner, while also taking into consideration the several variables that interfere in this process, from professional demands to the resulting positive or negative outcome variables. Taking Positive Psychology contributions into account, a particular characteristic of this model is its incorporation of eustress, namely the positive emotions that emerge as a favourable response to stress, in addition to the traditional negative

emotional responses, referred to as distress. It also considers the individual differences that may be particularly prominent in cognitive evaluation, in emotional reactions, in coping strategies with distress and in savoring strategies. The latter is an innovative concept the authors of the model define as positive emotion regulation strategies, thus parallel to coping strategies but for eustress responses (Nelson & Simmons, 2003). It should be noted that this article will focus exclusively on four core variables of the model: perceived stressors, emotional responses to stress, impacts and individual differences, as presented below.

Occupational stressors.

Nelson and Simmons (2003) define demands or occupational stressors as role demands (e.g., role conflict), interpersonal demands (e.g., leadership), physical demands (e.g., illumination), workplace policies (e.g., promotion), and job conditions (e.g., earnings). Within the scope of occupational stress, professional demands for high risk or stressful professions, such as police officers and firefighters, are frequently divided into two general types of stressors: organizational or management stressors, and task-related or operational stressors (e.g., Brough, 2005; McCreary, & Thompson, 2006). The former refer to specific characteristics of the organization and its internal functioning (e.g., routine, excessive working hours, work-family conflict, conflicts with peers and superiors), and are identified as the most dominant stressors in the occupational stress process (e.g., Brough, 2005; Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1995). The latter refer to the constraints associated with task accomplishment such as danger, risk, providing aid to individuals in pain and dealing with weapons.

For journalists facing critical or hazardous events, professional demands are extremely high, given that they are first-hand witnesses to death, destruction and human strife (Feinstein et al., 2002; Pyevich et al., 2003). Both professional demands and personal and

professional behaviors may put them in physical and emotional danger, frequently exposing them to high risk situations (Feinstein et al., 2002; Novak & Davidson, 2013; Osofsky, Holloway, & Pickett, 2005). Additionally, according to Weidmann et al. (2008), these professionals perceive little recognition from their superiors and/or peers, however to the best of our knowledge, this is the only study to refer to an organizational stressor in this professional context, since all the others appear to focus on stressors associated with task performance.

With regard to the daily work context, Strupp and Cospers (2001) state that the problem of journalists' occupational stress is not encountered in high adrenaline moments when covering a large-scale story, but rather in the daily routine of writing or reporting a day-to-day event. The main stress sources of journalists' daily work, identified in empirical studies, point to variables such as excessive working hours, deadlines, the work-family conflict, competition, low earnings, divergences with superiors, and lack of support from the organization (e.g., Heloani, 2005; Reinardy, 2006; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010). Hence, there is seemingly a predominance of organizational stressors in the daily work context of journalists.

Emotional responses.

In their holistic model, Nelson and Simmons (2003) integrate both negative and positive emotional responses to stressors, namely distress and eustress, which may even co-occur during the same stressful episode. According to the authors, "Positive and negative responses are separate, distinct, multivariate and potentially interactive in nature. To assume the presence of the positive by simply observing the absence of the negative, or vice versa, is an unacceptably simplistic approach to understanding the sources, responses, and consequences of stress" (p. 105). Therefore, a strategy to assess eustress and distress

concurrently in order to fully understand the stress response is required. Nelson and Simmons (2003) indicate anxiety, frustration, anger/hostility as examples of distress responses and suggest some positive psychological states, such as attitudes or emotions (hope, meaningfulness, manageability, and positive affect) as indicators of eustress. Workers' emotional responses to professional demands determine their own professional performance, thus contributing to both positive and negative consequences, depending on the type of emotional response triggered. For instance, according to Nelson and Simmons (2003), eustressed workers are more enthusiastically involved in the demands of their work and perceive positive benefits, even when confronted with extremely demanding stressors.

Although there are studies with other professional groups (e.g., nurses – Simmons & Nelson, 2001) regarding distress and eustress responses, in the recent meta-analyses conducted by Monteiro et al. (2015), the authors conclude that neither are there studies that empirically analyse the emotional responses of journalists on a daily basis nor in critical scenarios.

Outcomes.

In their holistic stress model, Nelson and Simmons (2003) also regard the outcome variables or impacts, such as physical and mental health, work performance and personal and family relations, as areas which may be significantly affected by occupational stress. An important distinction between this and the previous construct is the fact that the emotional response corresponds to a physiological/cognitive/behavioural activation which kicks in immediately after confrontation with the stress source (e.g., frustration, hope), while the impacts emerge over time and frequently constitute a complex group of symptoms (e.g.,

PTSD, Post Traumatic Growth⁶) arising not only from confrontation with the stressor, but also from the associated emotional responses and their regulation. The consequences may be perceived as negative if they jeopardise the health and well-being of the individual, both in and out of the work context, or as positive, if, conversely, they boost the health and general well-being of the professional (Nelson & Simmons, 2003).

Research on the impact of occupational stress experiences on the health and well-being of journalists working in critical scenarios is geared, primarily, towards mental health problems, particularly PTSD (Pyeich et al., 2003; Morales, Pérez, & Martínez, 2012; Weidmann & Papsdorf, 2010). However, there are also studies that indicate other consequences such as marital tension and high levels of worrying thoughts, difficult adaptation when returning home (Heloani, 2005; Osofsky et al., 2005), and persistent substance consumption (Feinstein et al., 2002).

PTSD is, again, the most studied impact in journalists reporting domestic news, and there is a significant deficit in scientific research on other possible impacts on the health and well-being of these professionals. For instance, there are very few studies that analyse burnout in journalists' daily work (e.g., Reinardy, 2006), an occupational stress variable commonly studied in other stressful jobs. Burnout is a worn out syndrome, resulting from prolonged exposure to chronic stressors (Maslach & Schaufeli, 1993) that encompasses symptoms of emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and lack of professional efficacy (Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). In fact, journalists are confronted with negative psychological experiences over the course of their careers, in the form of routine or organizational stressors (Dick, 2000), thus it is expectable that some may come to present burnout throughout their career.

⁶ Post Traumatic Growth (PTG) is the positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances, such as trauma, crisis, highly stressful events (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1998). PTG is both a process and an outcome and differs from concepts such as resilience, hardiness or sense of coherence, which may affect the response (distress/eustress) to trauma.

The distinction between acute and chronic stress is particularly relevant here, since both forms are conceptually and experientially distinct (Anshel, Robertson & Caputi, 1997). Acute stressors (mainly operational stressors) stem from sudden events that may be of relatively short duration and result in greater levels of psychological and physiological strain or distress than chronic stressors (Brown, Fielding, & Grover, 1999; Dick, 2000). Thus, professionals subjected to acute stressors are susceptible to developing PTSD, hence requiring clinical intervention (Brown et al., 1999), which, in the long run, is far more prejudicial to the organizations in terms of costs and worker productivity. Therefore, one may expect journalists working in critical scenarios to present PTSD more than journalists working on domestic news, who, on the other hand, may develop burnout symptoms.

Individual differences.

The occupational stress model by Nelson and Simmons (2003) also considers the individual differences (e.g., hardiness, locus of control) that may be prominent in cognitive evaluation and emotional reactions. In the case of journalists, we regard exposure to traumatic events as a central variable of individual differences, since their exposure to critical and potentially traumatic situations (i.e., acute stress) is irregular and unpredictable (e.g., they rarely know when a natural disaster or a terrorist attack will occur).

Some authors have investigated the impact of journalists' exposure to potentially traumatic events (Pyeovich et al., 2003; Weidmann et al., 2008) on their health and well-being, revealing that it is a high risk factor for the development of symptomatology, mainly PTSD.

The current study

Taking the Holistic Stress Model of Nelson and Simmons (2003) as the theoretical framework, the purpose of this study is twofold:

1) It attempts to shed light upon the similarities and differences in stress variables perceived by journalists - occupational stressors, emotional reactions and impacts of these experiences on journalists' health and well-being - regarding their daily work and their missions as special envoys to critical scenarios. In line with Feinstein (2004), in so far as the occupational stress process should not be restricted to pathologizing these professionals, this study also sets out to identify the perceived positive emotional reactions and positive impacts on the health and well-being of journalists.

2) It endeavours to ascertain whether the number of deployments to a critical event has an impact on both the perceived health and well-being of journalists, as shown by previous research, and the stressors and emotional reactions perceived by journalists, in their respective daily work and in critical events.

Since journalists' occupational stress is still an under studied area in scientific research, given the exploratory nature of the study, and the access of the researchers to professionals with meaningful experience in a position to provide useful information, a qualitative study was deemed an appropriate approach.

Method

Participants and recruitment

The sample consisted of 25 Portuguese journalists (20 male and five female; $M = 44$ years, $SD = 6.36$) all Caucasian and from Western cultures. The participants worked for the written press ($n = 5$), radio ($n = 7$) and television ($n = 13$ – seven editors and six camera operators). All journalists had an extensive career ($M = 21$ years of professional experience; $SD = 6.49$), and experience in critical scenarios: 32% had been deployed to between 6 and 9 war scenes and/or natural catastrophes, 52% on between 10 and 19 occasions and 16% on

over 20. Five of the interviewees occupied the positions of editor in chief or coordinator, in addition to being editors or camera operators.

In order to qualify as a participant in this study, journalists were required to be Portuguese-speaking members of the Portuguese media, employed by either the public or private press, radio stations or television channels, and to have had on-scene reporting experiences in hazardous/critical events overseas. None of the participants received any kind of compensation.

Efforts were taken to ensure that the sample was as broad as possible in order to accommodate the study aims. Interviews were set up through a media entity contact and conducted with the most nationally renowned journalist, in terms of experience in critical scenarios. This journalist had over 40 years of professional experience, having worked in the afore-mentioned types of media organisation settings, and is currently involved in the training of journalists. The contacts of professionals in various media outlets were provided by this journalist, consequently leading to additional contacts thereafter. Thus, a snowball procedure was adopted to approach the interviewees, by means of which some journalists referred to others with experience in critical events. Theoretical saturation, namely when additional data to the in-depth study of the issues ceases to emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, quoted by Flick, 2005), acted as the cut-off point for the inclusion of cases in the sample.

Measures

A protocol was designed for a semi-structured interview, since this has proven to be more effective in facilitating participants' openness and expression of viewpoints than a structured interview or questionnaire (Flick, 2005). The protocol contained three general questions (the interviewee's professional experience – including number of deployments and type of critical events reported; his/her opinion on journalists being considered first

responders; and, at the end of the interview, additional information or elaboration of previous topics considered relevant by the interviewee), plus six questions regarding each professional setting, totaling 15 questions. The six specific questions were constructed on the basis of occupational stress literature, particularly Nelson and Simmons' (2003) holistic model, and focused on three main themes: sources of stress, emotional responses to such stressors (distress and eustress) and the positive or negative impacts on journalists' health and well-being. For exemplification purposes, the questions regarding stressors were as follows:

1. What are the occupational demands (i.e., stress sources) that cause you stress in your daily work? (Probes: ask for other stress sources / stressors that cause greater stress; if the interviewee states negative stressors, ask for positive ones or vice-versa);
2. Recalling your experience in critical events, what are the typical stress sources that caused you stress as a special envoy? (Probes: as above, plus, in the case of war scenes, asking about being embedded with soldiers).

Data collection and analyses

The study was examined by the Faculty of Psychology, University of Lisbon Commission, which performed the scientific and ethical evaluation of all research projects at the time, as well as the Foundation for Science and Technology (Portugal).

The first researcher, a clinical psychologist with training in qualitative methodology, conducted all the interviews. Before beginning the interview, the interviewer reiterated the information previously given (when setting the interview date and location), explaining the researchers' interest in identifying his/her perceptions of the main themes of the interview (occupational stressors, emotional reactions and impacts) and comparing them to both professional settings of journalists (daily work and critical scenarios). Confidentiality was also assured prior to initiation of the interaction. Each question was asked by the interviewer,

who repeated or reformulated the question, whenever necessary, to make the meaning clearer (e.g., “It seems that you are saying...”), and probed the interviewee to gain further in-depth information relevant to his/her experience (e.g., “Can you tell me more about that?”). On average, the interviews lasted around 90 minutes, varying from one hour to a little over two hours. They were conducted over a period of 15 months, and most were held on the respective media premises of the participants.

Analysis of the transcribed interview content was conducted independently by both authors who acted as coders, by means of a deductive-inductive process, involving themes encountered in the literature review on occupational stress (e.g., two main categories were addressed for stressors: organizational stressors and task-related stressors), and also emerging domains (i.e., topics such as “individual impact” in the impacts category) from the analyses of the response units meanings provided by the participants. Taking the interview questions into account, the interview data was approached from a fresh perspective, in order to determine whether new domains would emerge, and a domain list was established by consensus between both coders.

The intracoder and intercoder agreement was verified to ensure reliability of the content analysis. To this end, 25% of the registration units were categorized independently a second time by both the first and second author, according to the defined category system. In order to calculate reliability, in both cases the number of agreements was divided among coders by the total categorizations for each one, and an agreement rate of 80% was obtained. Divergences were discussed and resolved through joint reflection and alterations were introduced in the category system. The entire interview corpus was then coded independently by the two raters until an agreement of 100% was attained.

The QSR-NVivo 10 (QSR, 2013) software program was used to search for, store and organize the qualitative data of the interviews, and also to count the frequency of answers (measure unit) in order to transform them from qualitative to quantitative variables.

Since one of the aims of the present study was to explore whether repeated exposure to critical events had impacted the three main variables under study, three groups of journalists were considered, based on the number of deployments to critical events in which they had been involved, which was one of the first questions asked at the beginning of the interview. More precisely, group 1 = journalists who had been deployed up to nine times ($n = 8$); group 2 = journalists who had been deployed 10 to 19 times ($n = 13$); group 3 = journalists who had been deployed at least 20 times to critical events ($n = 4$). The intervals used to form the groups were defined in accordance with the minimum (6) and maximum (24) number of the participants' deployments to critical events and were not based on any techniques of statistical power analysis or sample size estimation. Given the size of the subsamples, the SPSS-21 statistical program was used to analyze the differences between the main categories of each variable (stressors, emotional responses and impacts) retrieved by the qualitative analysis, that is, formed by the sum of answers given in the different subcategories. These variables were assumed as continuous, ranging from 0 (never mentioned by the journalist) to 5 (the journalist referred to this category five times). In order to check whether the distribution of the variables' main categories differed across groups of journalists, a Kruskal-Wallis test was applied. This non-parametric test was chosen as an alternative that is suited to samples with fewer than 30 participants when the data does not respect normality assumptions. Pairwise comparisons using the Dunn-Test with Bonferroni-adjusted p-values were then computed to verify where the differences occurred among the groups.

Results

The content analysis of the interviewees' answers yielded 77 inter-related categories, structured in a hierarchical system. In journalists' daily professional context, 31 categories (40%) were identified, while in critical events to which journalists were deployed as special envoys, 46 categories (60%) were constructed.

Tables 5 to 7 present all the response categories regarding each respective stress variable, stressors, emotional responses and impacts, according to the occupational context. The operational definition of each category is presented in the tables whenever they emerge for the first time. Each table presents the coding topics ordered hierarchically, the frequency of quotations, and a quote (chosen as being emblematic of the code) as an example, with the respective socio-demographic data of the respondent, including years of experience (y.e.), in order to help understand the phenomenon under study and to provide an insight into how it was experienced by the participants.

Occupational stressors

Regarding sources of stress, more stressors for critical scenarios were mentioned (58%) than for journalists' daily context (42%). In journalists' daily work there is a predominance of perceived organizational stressors (70%), since only one category (task performance) may be considered as task-related stressors. In critical events, the stress sources or professional demands indicated by the interviewees differed across three points in time: before leaving for a critical event as a special envoy, during the period of time they were at the scene to accomplish the task, and after returning to Portugal. Expressiveness at the first and third of the above-mentioned time references proved to be residual (totaling 6%). The only demand found in the first phase, before leaving for the critical event, falls under the task-related stressors category, as it refers to the journalist's preparation to leave and arrive at

the epicentre of the event in order to broadcast the incident. After returning to their homes and jobs, three demands were mentioned, namely difficulties in adapting to daily life, awareness of the risks they had taken (relative to task-related stressors and totaling 71%) and a lack of recognition on the part of their superiors (characterized as an organizational stressor). The most frequent sources of stress for the interviewees in critical events were restricted to the period in which they were special envoys in such situations, where there a slight predominance of task-related stressors (56.5%) over organizational stressors (43.5%) may be observed.

The data obtained suggests that journalists experience more stress from organizational stressors in their daily work, and face more task-related stressors when deployed as special envoys to major critical incidents.

Emotional responses

In relation to emotional responses, both negative and positive emotional states were far more frequently mentioned for critical events (90%) than for the daily work context (10%). Overall, the positive emotional responses, or *eustress*, to stress sources were more frequent (80%) than the negative emotions, or *distress* (20%). Interviewee responses regarding eustress reactions in critical events covered four main categories, with which positive emotions are associated. Only one of those categories (personal and professional development) was also identified in the daily context. No categories emerged for distress.

In sum, distress was mentioned more than twice as often as eustress for the daily context. In contrast, in critical scenarios, eustress yielded over five times as many references as distress.

Table 5. Context-related categories of occupational stress sources.

Context	Categories and subcategories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Daily work	Structural work conditions (31%)	Organizational stressors Organization characteristics and work conditions perceived as professional demands by the journalists
	▪ earnings and professional instability (21%)	“They sent a trainee to Brussels to earn 500€ instead of using me... Stress is having to alert people to the fact that publicity revenue is decreasing, and there will be less money available for travel expenses...” (radio, male, 10 y.e.)
	▪ monotony (14%)	“Monotony of the newsroom” (press, female, 21 y.e.)
	▪ physical space (11.5%)	“There is an abnormal concentration of noise in the editing room...” (TV-editor, female, 21 y.e.)
	▪ difficulties in career progression (11.5%)	“Being unable to progress in one's career is why a camera operator can remain in the same position for 20 years.” (TV-camera operator, 21 y.e.)
	▪ organizational atmosphere (11.5%)	“Organizational atmosphere...” (TV-editor, female, 22 y.e.)
	▪ work schedule (11.5%)	“...At the beginning of this career, one has to do the night shift for long...” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)
	▪ excessive working hours (7%)	“14h hours of work per day.” (press, female, 29 y.e.)
	▪ equipment and material resources (5%)	“Lack of technological and more modern equipment, lighter for example” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)
	Peers (12%)	Features of peer relations perceived as professional demands by the journalists
▪ relations and conflicts (53%)	“Conflict among the journalists, due to their eagerness to arrive at the scene” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)	
▪ competition (47%)	“...competition among journalists: «if the others can do it why can't we?»” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)	
Superiors (12%)	Features of relations with superiors and their characteristics perceived by journalists as professional demands	
▪ relations and conflicts (87%)	“Conflicts with superiors” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)	
▪ competency of superiors (13%)	“Lack of supervision preparation: a good reporter is not necessarily a good leader. Bad leadership.” (TV-editor, male, 21 y.e.)	
	Work-family conflict (2%)	Conflict between work demands and family relations perceived as a source of occupational stress by the journalists
		“Being away from my family that is in Porto, and I'm here in Lisbon.” (TV-editor, male, 22 y.e.)
	Other (12.5%)	Various occupational demands perceived by the journalists
	▪ audiences (37.5%)	“...audiences. Not being able to fail because of rivalry.” (TV-camera operator, 19 y.e.)
	▪ journalists' specializations (37.5%)	“Poor, fragile academic preparation.” (press, male, 27 y.e.)
	▪ image and visibility of the professional (25%)	Camera operators are not visible, acknowledged... Reporters do not have to go to the locations to collect images, but they are the ones who are visible in the report.” (TV-camera operator, 20 y.e.)
	Task performance (30%)	Task-related stressors Task-related factors and their accomplishment, perceived by the journalists as professional demands
	▪ deadlines and timing (33%)	“Arriving on time at a location for live coverage. Not missing the opportunity to capture the image of the news item” (TV-camera operator, male, 19 y.e.)
	▪ responsibility and job demands (26%)	“I am an editor, coordinator, presenter, reporter, one of the few journalists to do everything.” (TV-editor, female, 17 y.e.)
	▪ reporting on the street/outside (13%)	“...in the street, reporting situations where we are psychologically attacked: when we do not turn up, it is because we have not been to work; when we do, it is because we have arrived too late.” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)
	▪ live news (10%)	“Live news. No matter how much experience you have, it is always stressful doing a live report.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.)

Table 5. (Continued).

Context	Categories and subcategories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ decision-making (10%) ▪ individual vs team work (8%) 	<p style="text-align: center;">Task-related stressors</p> <p>“There is constant decision-making: who to interview, what to say, cutting here or there. In breaking news events, more decisions have to be made, and very quickly.” (TV-editor, female, 17 y.e.)</p> <p>“It’s a profession that is highly dependent on team work: if a peer is late with a piece, I have to change my decision and rearrange the alignment of the news items.” (TV-editor, female, 17 y.e.)</p>
	Before leaving (2%)	<p style="text-align: center;">Task-related stressors</p> <p>Aspects associated with preparing to be deployed, perceived as professional demands by journalists</p> <p>“Lack of preparation time... Sometimes we leave with just the clothes we are wearing.” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)</p>
		<p style="text-align: center;">Organizational stressors</p> <p>Deficient resources (9%) Journalists’ perception of a lack of material resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ technological resources (80%) “...not having resources such as a computer or access to the internet in a place where plan B has had to be activated.” (press, male, 19 y. e.) ▪ financial resources (20%) “...having no money on the ground.” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.) <p>Peers (8.5%) *</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ control and competition (86%) “There is permanent pressure, especially when we are unable to get to the reporting while other journalists are.” (radio, male, 20 y.e.) ▪ relations and conflicts (14%) “When we do not know a team member well, that can be a source of stress” (TV-camera operator, male, 9 y.e.)
Critical scenario	During/At the scene (94%)	<p>Superiors (7.5%) *</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ difference in perspectives (58%) “...being somewhere that is the “centre of the world” for us, and not understanding why it isn’t for the newspaper as well.” (press, female, 21 y.e.) ▪ lack of recognition (25%) “lack of recognition on the part of our superiors (...) when it doesn’t go well we are criticised (...) but when it does go well we are not praised.” (TV-camera operator, 20 y.e.) ▪ supervision (17%) “Absence of supervision (...) and over-supervision.” (press, male, 19 y.e.) <p>Work-family conflict (4%) *</p> <p>“In war scenarios, calling the family can cause pressure because they may ask «When are you coming home?»” (TV-editor, female, 21 y.e.)</p> <p>Other (14.5%) *</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ logistic conditions (46%) “...logistics. Finding a trustworthy translator, a room to sleep in, a table to eat at ...” (radio, male, 16 y.e.) ▪ journalists' specializations (41.5%) “We do not have journalists specialised in conflicts or natural catastrophes...” (press, male, 29 y.e.) ▪ poor earnings (12.5%) “The state channel pays deployed journalists more, <i>per diem</i>, but here [private channel] we earn the same as if we were working normally.” (TV-editor, female, 17 y.e.)

Table 5. (Continued).

Context	Categories and subcategories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)	
Critical scenario (cont.)	During/At the scene (94%) (cont.)	Task-related stressors	
		Danger (24.5%)	Conditions associated with the danger of reporting a critical event, perceived as demands by journalists
		▪ threat and risk (75%)	“threats... I have been subject to threats for being a journalist. In Serbia/Bosnia and in Angola on a number of occasions. I once had a gun pointed at my head...” (radio, male, 18 y.e.)
		▪ fear (20%)	“fear for one's own life (in war scenes) is a cause of permanent tension” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)
		▪ control of one side of the conflict (5%)	“The journalist as a neutral element or as someone who “pleases” one of the sides of the conflict being reported: the side where he/she is located. In order to minimize the danger...” (press, male, 19 y.e.)
		Time pressure (13.5%)	Demands perceived by journalists associated with the timing of the news broadcast and the time zone
		▪ deadlines, timing (82%)	“Very limited amount of time to collect information, to do the reports and the live coverage... The urgency to accomplish the task leaves me feeling more stressed than the war itself does.” (TV-editor, female, 21 y.e.)
		▪ time zone (18%)	“Disrupted work patterns due to the different time zone. Having to do live coverage for the news implies at least one hour's rest, one to two hours, which are sometimes the only moments when we actually can wind down. But here they don't understand that.” (TV-camera operator, male, 9 y.e.)
		Obstacles in the performance of duties (8.5%)	Barriers or hindrances in accomplishing the task, perceived as demands by journalists
		Event being reported (8%)	“...being unable to report the situation, especially when we are prevented from doing our work, such as when there are military barriers.” (TV-editor, female, 21 y.e.)
Critical scenario (cont.)	During/At the scene (94%) (cont.)	Characteristics of the critical event being reported, perceived as demands by journalists	
		▪ destruction, suffering and death (62%)	“The actual situation, seeing dead bodies, destruction, people being murdered right in front of us, seeing armed men.” (TV-camera operator, male, 19 y.e.)
		▪ context (23%)	“The stress sources vary according to the place, situation, occasion...” (radio, male, 10 y.e.)
		▪ duration (15%)	“Being a week somewhere [critical scenario] is not stressful. Being 9 months away is.” (radio, male, 10 y.e.)
		Work alone (2%)	Loneliness in the accomplished task perceived as an occupational demand by journalists
			“Loneliness of the reporter.” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)
		Organizational stressors	
		Lack of recognition from superiors (29%)	Attitudes reflecting a lack of appreciation and value on the part of superiors, perceived as demands by journalists
			“ <i>Lack of recognition on the part of superiors after we have returned.</i> ” (TV-camera operator, male, 17 y.e.)
		Task-related stressors	
After returning to Portugal (4%)	Difficulties in adapting to daily life (42%)	Aspects associated with adjusting to daily life, perceived as demands by journalists	
		“ <i>By departing and leaving unresolved issues pending, stress is even higher upon return because one knows that these issues will still have to be dealt with.</i> ” (TV-camera operator, male, 21 y.e.)	
	Awareness of the risks taken (29%)	The risks involved in the deployment, perceived as demands by journalists	
	“ <i>...the stress after returning, when we remember what we experienced (...) the limits we crossed and the mistakes we made to be at the centre of the news volcano.</i> ” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)		

Note. *category previously operationalized

Table 6. Categories of emotional responses to stress according to the context.

Context	Categories and subcategories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Daily context	Distress (70%)	Negative emotions perceived by journalists in response to professional demands “If one fails the task, the deadline, it represents a lack of success and is frustrating.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)
	Eustress (30%) ▪ personal and professional development (100%)	Positive emotions perceived by journalists in response to professional demands “Writing and seeing people read our article... People who appreciate journalists’ experiences... Feeling useful” (press, female, 29 y.e.)
Critical scenario	Distress (15%)	* “Such contact with human strife gives rise to emotion (...) pity...” (TV-editor, female, 17 y.e.)
	Eustress (85%)	*
	▪ professional fulfillment (34%)	• role of reporter (74%) • self-efficacy (26%)
	▪ personal and professional development (30%)	“Witnessing the story that is being written...” (press, male, 42 y.e.) “The pride in having our name associated with important events.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)
	▪ adrenaline (25%)	“Giving voice to those who are unable to speak out, helping those in need, feeling useful at a professional level...” (TV-editor, male, 22 y.e.)
▪ spiritual enrichment (11%)	“Wars are my addiction: getting a “shot of gunpowder” once in a while” (TV-editor, male, 22 y.e.) “Day to day intensity is different to what we experience in our daily lives... People in these chaotic events are amazing because they are concerned about fundamental things. Values and the way human beings help each other become absolutely clear.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)	

Note. *category previously operationalized

Impacts

References to occupational stress impacts were higher among the responses for critical event settings (65%) than for the daily work context (35%), and were mainly negative (83% in critical events and 93% in daily contexts).

The same kind of negative impacts were mentioned by participants in both professional settings, resulting solely in two additional categories for critical events: relations with peers and PTSD. Although some burnout symptoms were mentioned in both professional settings, in the daily work of journalists, burnout was referred to almost five times more frequently than in critical events.

Table 7. (Continued).

Context	Type of impact	Categories and subcategories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Critical scenario (cont.)	Negative (83%) (cont.)	Physical health (8%)	* “In very critical scenarios, you frequently get little or disrupted sleep and do not always eat properly. It is not always possible to follow food hygiene recommendations. This can have consequences on the health of the journalist.” (radio, male, 16 y.e.)
		Family context (6%)	* “Stress, impact on the family. Family members, my wife, being left alone at home when the journalist is away on important dates such as birthdays, Christmas, New Year ... Family members seeing where we are on the news...” (TV-editor, male, 29 y.e.)
		Peer relations (2%)	Journalists’ perceived impact on peer relations arising from their exposure to occupational stressors “Peer relations [deteriorate] when you are not a member of the ‘pack’.” (TV-editor, male, 29 y.e.)
		Increased knowledge (8%)	Journalists’ perceived impact on general knowledge and culture arising from their exposure to occupational stressors “Another positive impact is on a personal level: we gain knowledge from our deployments to places we would not have visited as tourists, such as Iraq.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)
	Positive (17%)	Professional experience (4%)	Journalists’ perceived impact on their professional experience arising from their exposure to occupational stressors “...our professional experiences enrich us. They provide us with more baggage and make us more prepared for future assignments.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)
		Social context (3%)	* “Positive consequences such as having made friends (...) The two doctors who treated me in Iraq, and with whom I exchange emails today...” (TV-camera operator, male, 19, y.e.)
		Autonomy and motivation (2%)	Journalists’ perceived impact on the ability to be autonomous and motivated arising from their exposure to occupational stressors “These positive impacts are what keep me wanting to work in these scenarios.” (TV-editor, female, 22 y.e.)

Note. *category previously operationalized

As for the positive consequences, social context was the only category to emerge in both professional settings. In critical scenarios, there were references to other types of positive impacts, such as increased knowledge, professional experience, autonomy and motivation. Hence, it may be argued that the journalists who participated in this study identified positive impacts on their well-being as a result of their professional activity.

Quantitative Data

Significant differences were found for perceived stress sources in critical events Before leaving - Preparation between groups, $H(2, 23) = 7.543, p = .023$. More specifically, Dunn-Bonferroni pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values revealed mean score distinctions for critical events Before leaving - Preparation between group 2 ($M = .080, SD = .289$) and group 3 ($M = .400, SD = .548$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $p = .030$). There were no significant differences in the mean scores between group 1 and group 2 (Dunn-Bonferroni = .000, $p > .999$) and between the former and group 3 (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $p = .053$).

Further significant differences were also observed for stress sources in critical events for the After returning to Portugal - Difficulties in adapting to daily life phase, ($H(2, 24) = 7.945, p = .019$), this time between group 1 ($M = .000, SD = .000$) and group 3 ($M = .400, SD = .548$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.800, $p = .039$) and between the latter and group 2 ($M = .080, SD = .289$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.800, $p = .026$). No significant differences were found in the mean scores between group 1 and group 3 (Dunn-Bonferroni = .000, $p > .999$).

Significant differences in the distress referred to for critical events were also found ($H(2, 22) = 7.639, p = .022$) between group 2 ($M = .330, SD = .651$) and group 1 ($M = 1.000, SD = 1,069$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = 7.125, $p = .018$). There were no significant differences in

the mean scores between group 1 and group 3 (Dunn-Bonferroni = 3.125, $p = .910$) and between the latter and group 2 (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.000, $p = .534$).

With regard to the perceived impacts on the health and well-being of the journalists, significant differences were only found in the two burnout dimensions identified in the daily context, namely in cynicism ($H(2, 25) = 7.170$, $p = .028$) where the mean value of group 3 was significantly higher ($M = .800$, $SD = .837$) than the mean value of group 1 ($M = .000$, $SD = .000$) (Dunn-Bonferroni = -7.700, $p = .025$), and in emotional exhaustion, ($H(2, 23) = 6.188$, $p = .045$), differences were found between group 2 ($M = .170$, $SD = .389$) and group 1 ($M = .380$, $SD = .518$) (Dunn-Bonferroni = 4.312, $p = .022$). No significant differences were found in the mean scores between group 2 and group 1 (Dunn-Bonferroni = -2.000, $p > .999$) or between the former and group 3 (Dunn-Bonferroni = -5.700, $p = .110$). Neither were any significant differences observed in the mean scores between group 3 and group 1 (Dunn-Bonferroni = 4.312, $p = .168$) nor between the former and group 2 (Dunn-Bonferroni = .000, $p > .999$). Therefore, journalists with a higher number of deployments were found to have a higher tendency to refer more frequently to burnout symptoms. Furthermore, and in response to the second research question, repeated exposure to trauma undoubtedly affects stressors, emotional responses and impacts.

Discussion

This study adopted Nelson and Simmons' (2003) holistic approach to stress with a view to broadening knowledge on the occupational stress variables - occupational stressors, emotional responses and impacts on health and well-being - perceived by Portuguese journalists in both critical events and in the daily context of their work.

Despite having questioned the journalists on each variable under analysis in both contexts, the answers obtained for stressors, reactions to stress and impacts were found to

lean more towards critical events. This may be an indication that experience in these settings (a criterion for participation in the study) is more salient for the interviewees who mention them, thus, emerging more frequently in their reflections on the addressed themes.

Our findings reveal that in daily work, the main stress sources referred to are of an organizational nature, while in critical settings the main perceived professional demands appear to be task-related. This data is in line with studies on other at-risk professionals such as first responders, where the task-related stressors are more associated with acute stress situations, while the organizational stressors are more related to chronic stress situations (Anshel et al., 1997; Brown et al., 1999; Dick, 2000). From another perspective, it may be considered that given the nature of organizational stressors, they are more influenced and controlled by the media organization, while some of the identified operational stressors seem to depend on the psychological and structural functioning characteristics of the individual. This information may be relevant for the recruitment and selection of journalists.

This study also furthers the knowledge on the unique occupational stressors perceived by journalists exposed to tragedy, war, and human strife by acknowledging that in critical and hazardous events, stressors are recognized at three different stages: before the journalists depart for the event, while they are reporting the event, and after returning to their home country, the second of which is the most mentioned phase. Significant differences according to the number of deployments to critical events only emerged in two of the stressors identified in this context, namely Preparation, during the pre-departure phase and Difficulties in adapting to daily life upon journalists' return. Indeed, repeated exposure to critical events tends to heighten these stress sources, both task-related stressors, intensifying the stress associated with preparation in the pre-departure phase and hindering adaptation and pending professional and personal issues upon return. Overall, these results suggest that the stress

process of journalists is phased, and depending on the given point in time, these professionals would benefit from specific support on the part of the organization.

The fact that reference to positive emotional responses to stress sources is four times higher than to negative emotions, or distress, is also of particular relevance. When comparing the two contexts, perceived eustress reactions are more frequent and diverse in critical or hazardous events, suggesting that there is a narrow spectrum of different opportunities for positive emotions in journalists' daily work. In line with data obtained by Feinstein (see Feinstein, 2004) and Novak and Davidson (2013), eustress responses may be an expression of satisfaction of the prevalent motivations among these individuals. As considered by Nelson and Simmons (2003), engagement is one of the primary indicators of eustress, so professionals whose jobs provide eustress reactions on a frequent basis are likely to be more engaged, motivated to keep on doing their work, more satisfied with their job and better suited to deal with (avoid) burnout symptoms and other negative impacts of their occupation. Another possible explanation for the predominance of references to eustress responses may, as stated by Feinstein (2004), be linked to a better biological preparation of these individuals for risky and dangerous professions - in that they choose the drama and excitement of the battle field over a routine 9am to 5pm schedule. Since journalists perceive eustress in critical scenarios, and given that it is in such a context that they truly feel like journalists and attribute meaning to their work (Monteiro & Marques Pinto, 2016), one might expect them to receive positive benefits from these professional experiences, even in view of all the risks and dangers with which they are confronted, and that these benefits (i.e., eustress) fuel their urge to return to such scenarios. Finally, a possible explanation for the high number of references to positive emotional reactions in comparison to negative responses may, perhaps, stem from journalists dealing more effectively with daily stress through their experience as special envoys in critical events (Wallace, 2013). After deployment to critical scenarios, journalists

may more frequently relativize stressful situations, evaluate stressors differently and manage the typical occupational stressors of a daily context more effectively. This consideration is reinforced by the fact that the distress responses mentioned in critical scenarios are significantly reduced by the number of deployments to critical events, as shown by the quantitative data analysis. Thus, apparently, the more experience journalists have with critical events, the more they become accustomed to that context and the more they experience positively associated emotions (perhaps journalists internalize these learning experiences in such a way that they become better prepared for future situations of the same nature).

As for the impact of professional stress on both the contexts under study, the negative consequences are more frequently referred to than the positive. In the case of critical events, individual impact, the symptoms and traumatic experiences of PTSD and mental and emotional health obtain more than half of the answers, hence, partly corroborating previous data (e.g., Hatanaka et al., 2010; Morales et al., 2012; Weidmann et al., 2008) as far as the last two categories are concerned. Within the daily context, the most mentioned negative after-effects by the journalists interviewed were burnout, family context, mental and emotional health and physical health, in keeping with the findings of previous studies (e.g., Heloani, 2005; Reinardy, 2006). It should be noted that journalists mentioned burnout symptoms far more frequently when discussing their work on domestic news and PTSD symptoms when referring to working as special envoys.

Several positive consequences for journalists' health and well-being are mentioned, stemming from their experience in critical events and the social environment in both settings, nevertheless none obtained very expressive values. Therefore, despite the higher frequency of references to eustress responses, particularly for critical events, journalists tend to perceive the impact of such experiences as being essentially harmful to their health and well-being, indicating a cleft between emotional responses and impacts. Media organisations should

invest in promoting more positive impacts so as to duly ensure the well-being of their professionals.

In terms of the impact of repeated exposure to critical events on journalists' perceptions of health and well-being, significant differences were only observed in this study in the cynicism and emotional exhaustion dimensions of burnout in daily work. Hence, several deployments to critical events apparently foster a devaluation of daily “routine” work and reduce empathy in relation to other agents in the accomplishment of tasks (increased cynicism), leading journalists to relativize their daily work situations, and simultaneously protecting them from the associated emotional exhaustion (reduced emotional exhaustion). According to some authors (e.g., Maslach & Schaufeli, 1993), the burnout syndrome includes several dimensions of symptoms which begin, primarily, with emotional exhaustion, and only with longer exposure to the stressors does the cynicism dimension develop. This data may well reflect the development of these burnout symptoms.

The current study offers a valuable contribution to broadening knowledge on the occupational stress variables perceived by journalists in both critical events and in the daily context of their work. Moreover, it goes beyond the typical focus on negative variables and contributes to the knowledge of the perceived positive emotional responses and positive impacts of occupational stress, variables that are understudied in the literature. Additionally, this study analysed whether there were differences among those variables according to journalists' exposure to critical events, and did so by not focusing solely on their impact on the health and well-being of these professionals, as is most prevalent in previous research. Finally, the study also provides some cues on prevention measures tailored to the needs of this professional group.

Limitations and future research

Notwithstanding, this study presents a number of limitations that should be considered when analyzing the findings and reflecting on future research studies within this scope. From the onset, the fact that retrospective methodology was used, and with a small sample size, may have skewed the results on individuals' perceptions of the variables under study. Participants' recollections of work experiences are influenced not only by their memory range, but mainly by their interest in talking about the issues under discussion and in revealing their private thoughts, opinions and insights to the interviewer. Hence, in some cases, depending on the importance of the topic to the journalist, or his/her identification with the issue in hand, greater elaboration or investment in the discussion of this subject may occur, consequently leading to more information for a specific category to the detriment of another. Thus, conceptually, the analysis conducted does not focus merely on the frequency of responses, but rather on the prevalence of the themes addressed as they emerged in the interview. Future studies should consider a larger sample and, with regard to critical event scenarios, participants should have had at least one recent experience (if possible, in the last one to three months).

As a qualitative study, based on a semi-structured interview, the results presented may also be skewed by interviewer bias. Nonetheless, it should be noted that contradictory evidence during the interview and during the content analysis was accounted for in order to reduce the researchers' bias.

As for exposure to potentially traumatic situations, the fact that only situations in a professional context were addressed may have limited participants' answers and, consequently, the findings. Therefore, further studies should be conducted to also include the possibility of personal traumatic experiences and the magnitude of the worst reported critical event, as stressed by other authors (i.e., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010, 2012b).

Another limiting factor is that only journalists with experience in critical events were interviewed. Future studies, even when geared towards daily occupational stress, should compare journalists with and without experience in critical events. Since the present study is restricted to Portuguese journalists, it presents further limitations in terms of generalizing its findings to other populations.

The fact that coping and savoring strategies, relevant in the evaluation of experienced stressors and impacts, have not been included is another limitation in this study. However, given the importance and innovative nature of savoring, these variables will be dealt with in future studies.

The other equally relevant impacts identified in this article (besides burnout and PTSD) also require further investigation in future studies. Further studies for a more in-depth analysis of positive impacts and, if possible, to identify the specific stressors of each emotional reaction and impact are sorely needed. These studies should also focus on identifying positive impacts and, among other possible variables, an analysis of post traumatic growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996), given the findings that have been brought to light with other first responders (e.g., Paton, 2006). A more targeted research approach is needed, by comparing, for instance, different contexts, different stages throughout the process and the magnitude and frequency of exposure to traumatic events.

The use of a non-parametric test for the study of the differences in frequency of the occupational stressors, emotional responses and impacts, according to the number of deployments, coupled with the reduced number of journalists in each of the three groups, compromises the quality of the inferences made. However, given the scarcity of studies on the impact of exposure to critical events, and the difficulty in accessing a larger sample of Portuguese journalists with more diversified experiences, we consider our analyses to be

exploratory. Furthermore, we stress the need for future studies with larger groups of journalists so that it is possible to use parametric statistics and obtain more robust inferences.

This study solely reflects the opinions of the interviewed journalists regarding occupational stressors, emotional responses and impacts on both daily and critical event work settings. These points of view may alert media organizations to the fact that awareness is required of these issues so that suitable preparation and support is made available to journalists in the performance of their work. Moreover, future research should compare media organizations that put into practice the intervention suggestions presented in this study with organizations that do not apply them, in order to fully understand whether these participants' opinions are feasible cues for intervention. Only with that empirical information will it be possible to define directions for prevention efforts, both in the context of domestic news and critical event settings.

Capítulo 4

Reporting Daily and Critical Events: Journalists' Perceptions of Coping and Savoring Strategies, and of Organizational Support⁷

Introduction

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, research has come to acknowledge journalists as an at-risk occupational group, and to focus on the emotional impact of the events they report on their well-being. In fact, it was after this major critical incident that the first psychological support interventions provided by media organizations for journalists emerged (Sibbald, 2002; Strupp & Cosper, 2001). According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (2006) and CareerCast (2016), journalism is one of the top ten most stressful occupations. Journalists are subject to high stress levels as they are forced to juggle multiple work demands and sources of occupational stress: they compete amongst themselves for first hand and exclusive news stories as well as audiences; they deal with time pressure constantly, given that the events reported yesterday are no longer the news of today; they search for the best source in order to broadcast a specific news story; they aspire to the opportunity of real time breaking news; they have to accomplish multiple tasks simultaneously (such as reporting, interviewing, editing, researching and driving). These stress sources are present in every assignment, namely in the minor incidents journalists daily report in their own countries (domestic news), and in major disasters (critical events) which require their deployment as special envoys to the respective regions. More specifically, in this study domestic news or daily work are regarded as the various topics journalists work upon daily (e.g., politics, sports) and may also focus on events that are more stressful for

⁷ O estudo que se apresenta constitui parte de um manuscrito que se encontra publicado numa revista científica. A referência completa é: Monteiro, S., & Pinto, A., M. (2017). Reporting daily and critical events: Journalists' perceptions of coping and savoring strategies, and of organizational support. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 26 (3), 468-480. doi: 10.1080/1359432X.2017.1296832

journalists (e.g., rivalries between sports teams and fans, murder and violence). Critical scenarios, in this study, are those in which considerable human and material losses are observed, with worldwide disclosure, and where journalists witness traumatic events such as wars, terrorist attacks and natural catastrophes. Only a minority of journalists have this type of experience throughout their career on a regular basis (for a review of journalists' stressors, according to daily work and critical events see Monteiro, Marques Pinto, & Roberto, 2016). Nevertheless, the 2015 attacks in France against Charlie Hebdo's journalists and freedom of speech reflect the increasing level of danger and imminent risks of this profession in journalists' daily work context, thus their experience of critical events has ceased to be merely sporadic.

As attention has only been turned to this at-risk professional group over the last decade by scientific research, limitations are bound to exist (Monteiro et al., 2016). For instance, little is known about the differences and similarities between occupational stress experiences and variables of journalists in their daily work and in the context of reporting critical events. There is still a lack of knowledge on the coping strategies used by journalists when dealing with stress sources, their effectiveness in reducing the harmful impact on the health and well-being of these professionals, and nothing is known about the positive side of the professional stress to which they are exposed (e.g., positive emotional responses to stress, positive impacts on the life and health of journalists, use of specific strategies for dealing with positive occupational stress). In the same vein, knowledge is also scarce on the support offered by media organizations to their professionals. In a recent literature review (Monteiro et al., 2016), no study addressing the design and assessment of preventive interventions for promoting the health and well-being of journalists was found.

We believe that these issues deserve a more systematic approach, with a theoretical framework as a backdrop to the research. Hence, this study has resorted to Nelson and

Simmons' (2003) occupational model of stress in order to shed light upon journalists' perceptions of the strategies used – whether as local/daily professionals or as special envoys reporting major disasters - for dealing with negative and positive occupational stress, and their perceptions of organizational concern with their well-being. Moreover, in this study, we take into consideration the effects of repeated exposure to trauma on the perceptions of the afore-mentioned variables.

Theoretical background

Building on the transactional stress and coping approach of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), the stress management approach of Quick and Quick (1984), and Positive Psychology contributions, Nelson and Simmons (2003) developed a holistic occupational stress model, which conceptualizes the professional stress process in a comprehensive manner, integrating both negative and positive emotional responses to stressors in the explanation of health and well-being outcomes. The model considers the several variables that interfere in the occupational stress process before, during and after its experience, ranging from professional demands to the resulting positive or negative outcome variables, which represent important aspects of individuals' professional and personal lives. This model also takes into account individual differences which may be particularly prominent in cognitive evaluation, in coping strategies with negative emotional responses and in savoring strategies, an innovative concept the authors of the model propose as a parallel to coping strategies but for positive emotional responses. This model has been used in studies with professional groups that deal with high stress levels at work, such as health professionals (Nelson & Simmons, 2005) and police officers (Monteiro & Gonçalves, 2008), but not with journalists.

In the current study, this model by Nelson and Simmons (2003) is used as a heuristic to study the most utilised coping and savoring strategies by the journalists, the number of

deployments to critical events as a defining variable of individual differences in these participants, and also their perceptions of organizational support in helping them to manage their occupational stress.

Coping strategies.

Nelson and Simmons (2003) define coping as a transactional process characterized by one's continued efforts to think and act in order to deal with specific external or internal demands deemed threatening and which exceed one's resources.

Different authors have identified several dimensions of coping, however there is neither a consensus on the number and type of coping dimensions used by individuals to face stressful situations nor on their precise definition and content. Despite criticism of the most common classifying higher order categories of coping (e.g., problem- vs. emotion-focused, approach vs. avoidance, and cognitive vs. behavioural; for a critical review see Skinner, Edge, Altman, & Sherwood, 2003), in the present study the distinction between problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping, which is by far the most commonly used, was adopted. This distinction relies on two main coping functions, namely to reduce or remove the risk of harmful consequences which may result from the stress causing event or problem-focused coping (confrontational behaviours or active coping, planning and problem-solving responses), and to regulate the emotional distress reactions or emotion-focused coping (physical exercise, talking to friends, cognitive strategies geared towards the change of meaning of the stressor, such as taking something positive from negative events). In addition to these two coping dimensions, other authors (e.g., Miller, 1990; Skinner et al., 2003) have considered a third, namely coping through denial and avoidance, relative to strategies aiming to avoid confrontation with the stress source or the emotions stemming from such stressor, whereby the individual becomes involved in activities that lead to distraction, denial or

escape (e.g., substance abuse). These three types of coping are not mutually exclusive and may co-occur. They may facilitate or hinder one another in the coping process while independently each one may be effective in the confrontation with a particular stressor.

Regardless of how the different types of coping and their functions are conceptualised, the main importance of the coping processes lies in the impact they have on the individual's quality of life and well-being (Quillian-Wolever & Wolever, 2002). Nevertheless, as referred to by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), and reiterated by Skinner et al. (2003), coping functions must be distinguished from coping outcomes, and coping functions do not reveal anything a priori as to what the effects will be when a specific type of coping is used with a certain stressor in a particular situation at a given time.

Bearing in mind another important distinction between dispositional coping (more stable across different situations, Lazarus, 1996) and situational coping (more transient and variable according to the nature of the situations, Buunk, de Jonge, Ybema, & de Wolff, 1998), the current study focuses on the latter type. Journalists' ways of coping have been explored in relation to two specific contexts (daily work settings and deployments to critical scenarios) and stressors (occupational).

Among the variables under analysis in the current study, it is the coping of this at-risk occupational group that has received more attention from scientific research. The existing research on the most prioritized ways of coping by journalists in critical events suggests a tendency towards a higher use of denial and avoidance strategies (Buchanan & Keats, 2011; Osofsky, Holloway, & Pickett, 2005), considered to be tendentially maladaptive, especially when used consistently (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999).

As for seeking social support following exposure to traumatic events, journalists have been found to resort more to their families than to their superiors and peers, and are reluctant to seek help from the organization for work-related problems in this type of event

(Greenberg, Gould, Langston, & Brayne, 2009). Osofsky et al. (2005) have also highlighted that in war settings, socialization and the sensation of companionship among correspondents are perceived by some journalists as an effective means of reducing daily stress levels. Behaviours such as the consumption of alcohol or other substances are part of these socialization moments and are deemed as ways of dealing with extreme stress that are culturally accepted by the journalists (Osofsky et al., 2005). In such cases, although these behaviours may be momentarily effective, this type of social support may have adverse implications over time.

Regarding the coping strategies for managing the stress of daily work, Heloani (2005) is one of the few authors to address the subject and only refers to active coping strategies, namely those that directly confront and resolve the problem (e.g., journalists attaining a Law qualification, so as to deal more effectively with legal issues in lawsuits against them).

A recent systematic review (Monteiro et al., 2016) has proven that research in this area is still scarce, and that studies on the coping strategies used by journalists in their daily work such as in critical scenarios, are sorely needed.

Savoring strategies.

Although Nelson and Simmons (2003) included the savoring concept in their occupational stress model as being equivalent to coping but for positive emotional experiences, Bryant (1989) and Bryant and Veroff (2007) are responsible for the conceptualisation and initial empirical studies on savoring. According to Bryant and Veroff (2007), savoring is a process by which individuals respond to, appreciate and enhance their positive experiences and which transmits the dynamic, interactive and transactional nature of positive emotions. Bryant (1989) considered that the perceived ability to savor positive outcomes may stem, among other factors, from beliefs about cognitive or behavioural

strategies that one may use to augment or dampen the intensity or prolong or shorten the duration of positive feelings, and almost 20 years later, Bryant and Veroff (2007), identified 10 such savoring strategies: 1) Sharing with others (searching for others with whom to share the experience or to recount how much one valued a particular moment); 2) Memory building (storing images for future recollection, thinking about reminiscence or ways of recalling the event later on with others); 3) Self-congratulation (telling oneself how proud one is or how others must be impressed with one's actions); 4) Comparing (contrasting one's own feelings with those that seem to be felt by others, the present situation with similar moments in the past or with the former expectation of what the event would be like); 5) Sensory-perceptual sharpening (focusing on specific stimuli in a given situation by blocking out others); 6) Absorption (total immersion in the moment, and relaxation, without focusing on thoughts or cognitive reflections of the event); 7) Behavioural expression (outward physical manifestations of pleasant inner feelings, such as laughing or chuckling, jumping); 8) Temporal awareness (reflecting on how short-lived and fleeting the moment is, wishing it to last and/or encourage oneself to make the most of it); 9) Counting blessings (acknowledging and reminding oneself of one's fortune, identifying what one is grateful for and the source of this particular blessing; 10) Kill-joy thinking (thinking of ways in which the event could be better). The latter is the only dimension to always reduce savoring, as it consists entirely of diminishing cognitions and reducing pleasure or satisfaction, and serves to regulate positive emotions in ways that are culturally normative (Bryant, Chadwick, & Kluwe, 2011).

Bryant and Veroff (2007) claim that these strategies may be split into two groups: cognitive responses and behavioural responses. In the first, memory building, self-congratulation, comparing, sensory-perceptual sharpening, temporal awareness, counting blessings and kill-joy thinking are included. The other three savoring dimensions - sharing with others, absorption and behavioural expression - are essentially behaviour-focused.

Subsequent theorists have used other conceptual frameworks for categorizing savoring strategies, resulting in multiple conceptual frameworks which Bryant et al. (2011) parallel to the wide range of theoretical models for categorizing coping strategies. In the current study, the groups of cognitive and behavioural responses are used, as initially presented by Bryant and Veroff (2007).

Since the introduction of the savoring concept by Bryant and Veroff (2007), savoring strategies have been studied among different population groups, namely high school students (Carvalho & Marques Pinto, 2011), undergraduate students (Hurley & Kwon, 2012), adults (Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012), university employees (Quoidbach, Berry, Hansenne, & Mikolajczak, 2010), and couples (Costa-Ramalho, Marques Pinto, Ribeiro, & Pereira 2015) proving to be significant predictors of well-being in the samples under study. However, to our knowledge, there is no such research on journalists, which is one of the contributions of the present study. As journalists with experience in critical scenarios mention that it is in such contexts that they truly feel like journalists and attribute meaning to their work (name omitted to ensure the integrity of the review process), one might expect positive emotions to occur and for journalists to make use of savoring strategies in order to regulate them. Therefore, studies are sorely needed in order to understand which specific savoring strategies journalists use to regulate their positive emotions in different professional contexts.

Individual differences.

The occupational stress model of Nelson and Simmons (2003) also contemplates the individual differences that may be prominent in cognitive evaluation and in emotional reactions and that moderate the relationship between stressors and strains. Typically, these individual differences are studied as dispositional or personality traits. However, as Lazarus and Folkman (1984) mentioned, cognitive appraisals are complex processes that are

influenced both by personality factors and by the situational context. Thus, situational variables that may have a role on the way individuals deal with stress are worth to be considered in the study of occupational stress variables and, according to Nelson and Simmons (2003) model, they may be included in the “individual differences” category. In the case of journalists, we consider exposure to traumatic events as a potential differential variable - of a situational nature, related to the professional experience of journalists - given that journalists' exposure to critical and potentially traumatic situations is irregular and somewhat unexpected (e.g., they rarely know when a natural disaster or a terrorist attack will occur), and they do not receive suitable training for this type of work, thus heightening the risk of psychological effects. There are, indeed, studies that focus on this variable, however only in terms of the impacts on the health and well-being of journalists (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010; Pyevich, Newman & Daleiden, 2003), while there do not appear to be any that analyse the relationship between journalists' exposure to professional traumatic events or the strategies they perceive to use for dealing with stress or perceived organizational support.

Organizational support

With regard to the conceptualization of occupational stress interventions, Nelson and Simmons (2003) based their holistic model on the preventive stress management approach developed by Quick and Quick (1984), which focuses on the joint responsibility of individuals and organizations to manage stress. The three levels of preventive stress management, primary (e.g., job redesign, time management, and efforts to change the individual's perception of the stressor), secondary (e.g., practicing physical exercise, meditation, writing about traumatic events and stressors and regulating nutritional habits) and tertiary (e.g., receiving professional help such as counseling, physical therapy, medical treatment) are then applied in this context (Nelson & Simmons, 2003). The organizational

efforts at these levels of prevention are frequently facilitated by employee assistance programmes. These programmes often mirror the support structurally provided by the organization, which may directly or indirectly meet the needs of employees at emotional (actions or statements received as a term of endearment, care and concern), instrumental (tangible aid) and information (giving guidelines) levels, thus contributing to the individual's well-being at work (Siqueira & Gomide, 2008).

Therefore, the support provided by the organization is crucial in helping workers to manage their occupational stress and to promote their well-being. The current study focuses on the organizational support perceived by journalists, defined as the extent to which employees perceive concrete measures on the part of the organization to preserve their well-being and which lead them to feel valued within the entity to which they belong (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986), thus making it possible to contribute to outcomes that are favorable to both employees and the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Perceptions of organizational support are developed over time through multiple interactions between employees and their employers, leading employees to see the actions of the organizational agents as actions of the organization itself (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and to perceive that their work organization is committed to them and supportive (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

As already mentioned, the first structured interventions offering support in the management of stress and minimization of the after-effects of traumatic experiences in journalists only emerged after the terrorist attacks of September 11 (Strupp & Cospers, 2001). These tertiary prevention measures exemplify the instrumental and information levels of support provided by the organization.

Providing individual psychological assistance is another tertiary prevention technique, and although journalists work in a highly competitive environment and may be very reluctant

to admit any vulnerability (Sibbald, 2002), media organizations are responsible for making psychological support readily available for interested journalists. Pyevich et al. (2003) and Law (2007) argue that psychologists may help journalists in the same way they help firefighters and police officers, in addition to helping special envoys' family members to deal with the stress caused by the high risk and threatening scenarios to which the journalists are deployed.

Training for journalists is another form of organizational support (primary and secondary prevention measures, based on an information level) which may range from traumatic or related experiences (e.g., how to interview victims of trauma without adding to their suffering), to strategies for effectively dealing with the trauma and emotional reactions involved in the coverage of death, destruction and other tragedies, including post-traumatic stress disorder and burnout, as well as stress management. According to Strupp and Cosper (2001), such training should be implemented regularly for media professionals and should be part of the academic curriculum of those who intend to pursue this career.

A specific form of organizational support is the support received from tangible agents of the organization, such as supervisors, managers and peers (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). O'Driscoll et al. (2003) suggest that supervisory support may need to be extended beyond general awareness and emotional support to include targeted instrumental support (e.g., offering flexibility in work arrangements) and that managers should be able to balance organization requirements and employees' needs. Encouraging organizational members to offer direct and indirect support to employees can enhance the uplifting effects of perceived organizational support (Nixon, Yang, Spector, & Zhang, 2011).

Despite the efforts taken by a number of professional entities and recommendations presented by several authors, there seem to be no scientific studies that focus on the organizational support provided by media entities (Monteiro et al., 2016). One of the aims of

the present study is to help overcome this limitation in the current research on the professional stress of journalists.

The current study

Taking the Holistic Model of Stress of Nelson and Simmons (2003) as the theoretical framework, this exploratory study focuses on journalists' perceptions of the strategies they use to deal with occupational stress (whether positive or negative) and of the measures adopted by the organization for professional stress management, on a daily basis and in critical situations. The research questions posed were as follows:

(1) What are the coping strategies that Portuguese journalists, with experience in critical or hazardous events, refer to using either when they are sent to such events or when they perform their daily work?

(2) What are the savoring strategies that Portuguese journalists, with experience in critical or hazardous events, refer to using either when they are sent to such events or when they perform their daily work?

(3) What are the perceptions of Portuguese journalists, with experience in critical or hazardous events, regarding the support provided by their workplace/organization for dealing with occupational stress?

Additionally, bearing in mind the impact of repeated exposure to critical events on the health and well-being of journalists (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010; Pyevich et al., 2003), this study also assumes that journalists' professional experience may be considered as an individual difference that may exert influence on their perceptions in terms of how they deal (cope or savor) with stressors and organizational support, in each of their occupational settings. Therefore we added a fourth research question:

(4) What is the relationship between repeated exposure to critical events (number of deployments to critical events) and the above-mentioned variables?

Since journalists' occupational stress is still an under explored area in scientific research, a qualitative study is an appropriate approach, given the interest in comparing similarities and differences between journalists' daily work and journalists' experience of reporting critical events, as well as access on the part of the researchers to professionals with meaningful experiences who might be in a position to provide useful information.

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were 25 Portuguese journalists (20 male and five female; $M = 44$ years, $SD = 6.36$) who, at the time of the interview, worked for the written press ($n = 5$), radio ($n = 7$) and television ($n = 13$ – seven editors and six camera operators). All participants were Caucasian, from Western cultures, had an extensive career ($M = 21$ years of professional experience, $SD = 6.49$), and experience in critical scenarios: 32% of the participants had been deployed to between 6 and 9 war scenes and/or natural catastrophes, 52% on between 10 and 19 occasions and 16% on over 20. Five of the interviewees occupied the positions of editor in chief or coordinator, in addition to being editors or camera operators.

In order to qualify as a participant in this study, journalists were required to be Portuguese-speaking members of the Portuguese media, employed by either the public or private press, radio stations or television channels, and to have had experiences in on-scene reporting in hazardous/critical events overseas. None of the participants received any kind of compensation.

An intentional sample was used, and effort was made to ensure it was as broad as possible in order to meet the study aims. The first interview was set up through a media entity contact and conducted with the most nationally renowned journalist, in terms of experience in critical scenarios. This journalist had over 40 years of professional experience, having worked in the three types of media organization settings, and was involved in the training of journalists. The contacts of professionals in various media outlets were provided by this journalist, consequently leading to additional contacts thereafter. Thus, the participants were approached by the snowball procedure, by means of which some journalists referred to others with experience in critical events. Theoretical saturation, namely when additional data to the in-depth study of the issues ceased to emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, quoted by Flick, 2005), acted as the cut-off point for the inclusion of cases in the sample.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

A semi-structured interview was conducted since there is evidence that it is more effective in facilitating participants' openness and expression of viewpoints than a structured interview or questionnaire (Flick, 2005), providing researchers with an excellent snapshot into the lives of participants (McCreary & Thompson, 2006).

After identifying the journalists' professional experience (including number of deployments and type of critical events reported) at the beginning of the interview, they were asked to recall their work experiences in their daily work or in critical scenarios and to focus on one positive and one negative stress experience in each context. They were then questioned on the specific (coping and savoring) strategies used on each occasion. The script also included a section regarding participants' perceptions of organizational support.

The first researcher, a clinical psychologist with training in qualitative methodology, conducted all the interviews. Before beginning the interview, the interviewer reiterated the

previously given information (when setting the interview date and location), explaining the researchers' interest in identifying the journalist's perceptions of the main themes of the interview. Each question was asked by the interviewer, who repeated or reformulated the question, whenever necessary, to make the meaning clearer (e.g., "You seem to be saying..."), and probed the interviewee to gain further in-depth information relevant to his/her experience (e.g., "Can you tell me more about that?"). On average, the interviews lasted around one hour. They were conducted over a period of 15 months, and most were held on the respective media premises of the participants. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed to the participants, as was the data being used strictly for research purposes. The study was approved by the Faculty of Psychology, University of Lisbon Commission for scientific and ethical evaluation, as well as the Foundation for Science and Technology (Portugal).

An analysis of the transcribed interview content was accomplished independently by both authors who acted as coders by means of a deductive-inductive process, involving themes encountered in the literature review (for all the variables under study), and also emerging domains from an analysis of meanings of the response units provided by the participants. In order to guarantee the credibility and content validity of the research study, the intra and intercoder agreement was verified. More specifically, the raw results were individually identified and grouped into themes and sub-themes by the main researcher, and subsequently a blind, independent coding on 25% of the recorded interviews was conducted. In order to calculate reliability, in both cases the number of agreements was divided among the coders by the total categorizations for each one, and an agreement rate of 80% was obtained. Whenever they were in disagreement, the coders resolved the discrepancies identified in the categories by means of revision, recoding or verification of the category system until a consensus of 100% was reached in the entire interview corpus.

The QSR-NVivo 10 (QSR, 2013) software program was used to search for, store and organize the qualitative data of the participants, and also to count the frequency of answers (measure unit) in order to transform them from qualitative to quantitative variables.

Since one of the aims of the present study was to explore whether repeated exposure to critical events had impacted the perceived coping and savoring strategies and organizational support, three groups of journalists were considered, based on the number of deployments to critical events in which they had been involved. This was one of the first questions asked at the beginning of the interview. More precisely, group 1 = journalists who had been deployed up to nine times ($n = 8$); group 2 = journalists who had been deployed 10 to 19 times ($n = 13$); group 3 = journalists who had been deployed at least 20 times ($n = 4$). The intervals used to form the groups were defined in accordance with the minimum (6) and maximum (24) number of the participants' deployments to critical events and were not based on any techniques of statistical power analysis or sample size estimation. Given the size of the subsamples, the SPSS-21 statistical program was applied to analyse differences between the frequencies of the main variables (coping strategies, savoring strategies, perceived organizational support) by using the Kruskal-Wallis test, a non-parametric alternative suited to samples with under 30 participants when the data does not respect normality assumptions. Pairwise comparisons, using the Dunn-Bonferroni approach, were then computed to identify where the differences occurred between groups.

Results

The content analysis of the interviewees' answers gave rise to 32 inter-related categories, structured in a hierarchical system. For the daily professional context of the journalists, seven categories (22%) were identified while for critical events, to which journalists were sent as special envoys, 25 categories (78%) were constructed.

Tables 8 to 10 present all the response categories regarding each respective occupational stress variable under study, coping strategies, savoring strategies, and perceived organizational support, according to the occupational context. Each table presents the coding topics ordered hierarchically, the frequency of quotations, and some quotes (chosen as being emblematic of the code) as examples. The respective socio-demographic data of the respondent, including years of experience (y.e.), is also presented in order to help understand the phenomenon under study and to provide an insight into how it was experienced by the participants.

Coping Strategies

Perceptions of coping strategies were far more salient (88%) than of savoring strategies (12%) and were also more prominent in critical than in daily events (more than double in the former). The collected data made it possible to obtain answers that covered the three types of coping strategies identified in the literature: in both contexts, the most commonly mentioned coping strategies by journalists for dealing with negative stress sources were emotion-focused strategies (a slightly higher frequency in daily work than in critical events), followed by problem-focused strategies (almost twice the frequency in critical events than in daily work), and, with the least expression, denial and avoidance strategies (a residual frequency in critical events, which was five times higher in daily work).

Table 8. Context-related categories of occupational coping strategies.

Context	Categories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Daily work (29%)	Emotion-focused strategies (61%)	“Relativizing.” (press, male, 27 y.e.) “Reading is what I do on a frequent basis.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.) “Practising sport, especially combat sports to release the stress.” (TV-camera operator, male, 21 y.e.)
	Problem-focused strategies (24%)	“One must weigh the pros and cons” (press, female, 29 y.e.) “Ability to respond immediately.” (TV, female, 17 y.e.) “To do your best when you can control the problem.” (TV, male, 29 y.e.)
	Denial and avoidance strategies (15%)	“Fleeing” (press, male, 19 y.e.) “Not having any strategies...” (radio, male, 20 y.e.) “Medication such as tranquilizers and anti-depressants. Approximately 2/3 of the editorial staff take psychotropic drugs. Medication is not a strategy since it is taken due an ability to resolve a situation at a more advanced stage of professional strain” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)
Critical scenario (71%)	Emotion-focused strategies (53%)	“Withdrawing oneself from the pain of the tragedy by writing detective stories, for example.” (press, male, 42 y.e.) “Wondering «Why am I here?», «What am I doing?»...” (radio, male, 20 y.e.) “Relativizing arguments. Everything is extreme there so it’s best to talk so there is no element of surprise people are unable to deal with .” (TV, female, 21 y.e.)
	Problem-focused strategies (44%)	“Carry packets of cigarettes to negotiate and open terrain. It is regarded as the equivalent to a handshake.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.) “Getting to know the local culture and acting in conformity to get the job done. The female journalists have to really understand the culture and behaviours of the country they are in...” (TV, female, 22 y.e.) “Stress management in third world countries with bad working conditions involves knowing how to work in such a place. One should try to depend as little as possible on the local conditions, local TV because of the national satellite company. Going to an entity that has portable satellites. It is important to establish predictability in the access to means.” (TV, male, 29 y.e.)
	Denial and avoidance strategies (3%)	“In the former generation, journalists would drink more in extreme situations.” (press, male, 42 y.e.) “Some smoke too much, others eat too much...” (radio, male, 16 y.e.) “Some smoke dope” (TV-camera operator, male, 21 y.e.)

Savoring Strategies

As previously mentioned, the perception of savoring strategies obtained a percentage of 12% (in the global analysis of strategies for dealing with stressors) and were only salient for critical events. Of the 10 savoring strategies described in the literature, only six were identified: sensory-perceptual sharpening and memory building presented the highest frequency rate, followed by comparing and absorption, and, lastly, temporal awareness and sharing with others.

Table 9. Context-related categories of occupational savoring strategies.

Context	Categories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Critical scenario (100%)	Sensory-perceptual sharpening (21%)	“Food for life: drinking that wine from Caná and we feel we are in another world” (press, male, 42 y.e.)
		“Perhaps it is due to the actual scenario that journalists work in these critical events: the noise, the “appealing” characteristic smell, which is not one of gunpowder, but rather of the dust following the bombings, and then the serenity. After the bombings there is silence and after that, the sound of birds.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.)
		“Through smells, sounds, images...” (TV, female, 22 y.e.)
	Memory building (21%)	“We are left with very strong impressions, human marks. (...) The case of a child on the border of Afghanistan who witnesses the death of his family. He pushes his father’s body for miles in a wheelbarrow to bury him...He doesn’t ever find anyone alive and leaves the wheelbarrow behind. He manages to reach the border where there’s a refugee camp and a lady who “adopts” him to stay with her and her children.” (press, male, 42 y.e.)
		“...the events I experienced, the photographs I brought back, the friends I made, the traveling, the people I met (...) the countries I got to know are such a treasure that nobody can take away from me, no matter how many robbers try to.” (radio, male, 17 y.e.)
	Comparing (17%)	“I relive the experiences [mentally]” (TV-camera operator, male, y.e.)
		“...understanding we don’t have problems, the problems are there. We end up ranking problems.” (TV, male, 22 y.e.)
	Absorption (17%)	“Understanding specific cultures and behaviours as different from ours.” (TV-editor, female, 22 y.e.)
		“It’s going somewhere impossible but full of humanity because it is full of life and death (...) where the essence of being human may be further and more reliably studied” (press, male, 42 y.e.)
	Temporal awareness (12%)	“...I have a colleague, a camera operator at (name of entity) who says that whenever he is filming in a war setting, he forgets where he is and thinks he is in a film” (radio, male, 18 y.e.)
“You can’t just be there to report, you get drawn in to the situation and live it.” (TV, male, 22 y.e.)		
Sharing with others (12%)	“There is a dimension of experiencing great moments and the «I am here»...” (press, female, 21 y.e.)	
	“Being where things are happening. Directly witnessing what is happening, namely events that are important for world history” (TV, female, 22 y.e.)	
		“...sharing experiences, even our own” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)
		“They are things that imply leaving our environment, meeting other people and establishing contacts, listening, sharing information, sharing bread...” (radio, male, 10 y.e.)

Organizational Support

Journalists’ perceptions regarding organizational support were divided into three main categories: support given to journalists while they are at critical scenarios; non-existing support; and support that organizations should provide to journalists, the latter having obtained almost half of the given answers. In the last two categories, types of support for critical scenarios and daily work contexts were identified. Data collected on total absence of support from the media organizations enabled the identification of four times more categories for critical scenarios than for the daily work context. In this category, in both occupational contexts, a type of support entitled “other” was identified, which includes brief references to

unavailable support. In the third main category (support that should be provided by the media organizations), the collected data was also much more frequent across the critical scenarios than for the daily work context (approximately four times more frequent).

Table 10. Context-related categories of organizational support perceived.

Context	Categories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Critical scenario (100%)	Support given to journalists (24%)	
	Material, logistic and bureaucratic support (24%)	“[entity] once covered specific expenses so that I could cover the story overseas. Clothing for the snow that I would clearly never wear again here.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.) “There is a lot of professional support from the radio when I’m on the ground. They give logistic support. (...) Sending money, getting me out of there, they are great.” (radio, male, 10 y.e.) “Journalists take helmets, vests and money. You need a lot of money... I’ve carried 10 thousand dollars in a neck purse” (TV, female, 17 y.e.)
	Life insurance (24%)	“There is a premium life insurance for deployments to war scenarios.” (press, female, 29 y.e.)
	Training (21%)	“Before going to Israel I had military training.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.) “...training in extreme situations, which was only provided after [peer’s name] was kidnapped” (radio, male, 17 y.e.) “Now, since my incident [being shot], there are training courses for war journalists: training with the National Army where they teach useful strategies to be used in these contexts” TV, female, 17 y.e.)
	Support from colleagues (17%)	“We get informal support and feedback from our peers who are also our friends.” (TV, female, 22 y.e.) “They see me as a priority, they’re attentive, affectionate” (radio, male, 10 y.e.)
	Medical plan (14%)	“The medical plan works well: we do tests before departing, we take out medical insurance, we take medication with us, we have access to the Tropical Medicine Institute.” (TV, female, 21 y.e.)
Daily work (17%)	Non-existing support (29%)	
	Psychological support (33%)	“The organization does not care about us, it does not offer us any support, psychological, for instance.” (TV, male, 22 y.e.) “The mental health of this organization’s professionals is very debilitated. But nobody acknowledges this. Physical health is always given more attention than mental and emotional health.” (TV, male, 21 y.e.)
Critical scenario (83%)	Other (67%)	“The organization offers no support” (press, male, 27 y.e.)
	Psychological support (24%)	“There has been no psychological support to date and I assume that is still the actual situation” (radio, male, 21 y.e.) “There is no psychological support. The theory is that it is an at-risk profession and so you know what to expect.” (TV-camera operator, male, 21 y.e.)
	Material, logistic and bureaucratic support (21%)	“Zero. The organization does not even help with the bureaucratic side of booking vaccines and visas when the journalist has to go overseas.” (radio, male, 20 y.e.) “From then on [journalist’s arrival at first location] we have to sort ourselves out [for logistical matters].” (TV-camera operator, 17 y.e.)
	Training (17%)	“There is no previous training. We are not told what type of food to take to places without food.” (radio, male, 18 y.e.) “...they [peers] take courses for journalists on their own initiative [in external entities]” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)
	Other (38%)	“There is little or no support for the journalists deployed to catastrophe scenarios.” – press, male, 19 y.e) “No support to go, and no support when we get back. People are “indifferent” here to journalists’ work there, in a dangerous context” (press, male, 42 y.e.)

Table 10. (Continued).

Context	Categories (%)	Quotations (socio-demographic data of the respondent)
Daily work (21%)	Support that organizations should provide to journalists (47%)	
	Psychological support (75%)	<p>“The companies should pay more attention to journalists’ strain... Having a psychologist, for instance. The health insurance includes four psychiatric consultations per year but it does not include psychological support” (press, female, 29 y.e.)</p> <p>“Psychological support should be daily” (radio, male 20 y.e.)</p> <p>“I believe that having a psychologist in [entity] to support professionals would be helpful” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)</p>
	Other (25%)	<p>“Agreements for journalists to buy books at a cheaper rate” (press, male, 18 y.e.)</p> <p>“The organization should promote paintball, go-carts for groups [of journalists] to release their stress” (TV-camera operator, male, 20 y.e.)</p>
Critical scenario (79%)	Medical and psychological support (43%)	<p>“Psychological support would always be useful a priori and a posteriori when something traumatic happens.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)</p> <p>“During [deployment period to critical scenario] (...) distance psychological counselling should not be ruled out. Afterwards, face-to-face counselling, in case of need. Speaking to someone who can listen and assess would undoubtedly be of great benefit” (radio, male, 17 y.e.)</p>
	Training (29%)	<p>“Training prior to deployment would be positive. Training in terms of experiences, to be alerted to what they are going to experience, with the personal testimony of other reporters, and to prevent stress.” (radio, male, 21 y.e.)</p>
	Material, logistic and bureaucratic support (9%)	<p>“Bureaucratic support should be crucial” (radio, male, 20 y.e.)</p> <p>“If the organizations effectively provided the required logistical support for deployment to critical scenarios, most of the stress generated on departure, which is reflected over the following days, would be eliminated.” (radio, male, 16 y.e.)</p>
	Support from superiors (7%)	<p>“Upon our return, there should be some acknowledgement from superiors, even if only a conversation about the experience over a coffee. Superiors listening to the experience and asking for a “report” so that an “evaluation” of the experience can be made and then organize the next deployment accordingly.” (TV, male, 17 y.e.)</p> <p>“The professional [should] feel that the superiors are behind them. Since [peer’s name] situation, when she was shot, the superiors have come to understand that there are risks and journalists can get killed...” (TV, male, 23 y.e.)</p>
	Psychological support provide to family members (4%)	<p>“There should be support for those who stay here, so that they can be informed about what is happening with the journalist abroad...” (press, male, 19 y.e.)</p> <p>“Providing support for the journalists’ family. And how can the journalist transmit this information to the family? What are the best strategies?” (TV, female, 21 y.e.)</p>
	Financial compensation (4%)	<p>“Higher wage.” (TV, male, 29 y.e.)</p>
	Better functioning of human resources (4%)	<p>“...the structures of Human Resources so that they understand what it is for a journalist to work in armed conflicts or critical scenarios. Perhaps so that when the journalists return from coverage of a war they don’t have to hear questions such as « At what time would you take a break from work to have a meal?» or «How many kilometers did you drive per day?». I don’t know if it’s possible for someone who has never experienced a war scenario to understand how absurd it is to ask such questions...” (radio, male, 16 y.e.)</p> <p>“The Human Resources Department of a television cannot be the same as the Human Resources Department of a shop. It has to be aware of this stress and these concerns. It should resolve properly all these issues before they accumulate. Good management of a Human Resources Department which works through a network with the rest of the company.” (TV, female, 22 y.e.)</p>

Quantitative Data

With regard to coping, the perceptions of denial or avoidance strategies registered statistically significant differences according to the number of deployments in both the daily context ($H(2, 24) = 6.664, p = .036$), and in critical events ($H(2, 24) = 7.930, p = .019$). More specifically, Dunn-Bonferroni pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values revealed mean rank score distinctions. In the use of denial or avoidance strategies in daily working context the differences found were between group 2 ($M = 9.50$) and group 1 ($M = 15.62$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = 6.125, $SE = 2.481, p = .041$), indicating that journalists with less deployments to critical scenarios tend to resort more to denial and avoidance strategies in the daily work context. In the critical event setting, differences in the denial and avoidance strategies emerged between group 1 ($M = 11.50$) and group 3 ($M = 16.30$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.800, $SE = 1.933, p = .039$) and between the latter and group 2 ($M = 11.50$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.800, $SE = 1.829, p = .026$), showing that the more frequently the journalists report critical events, the more they resort to denial and avoidance strategies. No differences were found among the three groups of journalists in terms of problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategy perceptions.

The perceived use of savoring strategies also obtained significant differences according to the number of deployments to critical events ($H(2, 24) = 8.437, p = .015$), between group 1 ($M = 10.19$) and group 3 ($M = 21.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -10.812, $SE = 3.954, p = .019$), and between the latter and group 2 ($M = 11.21$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -9.792, $SE = 3.728, p = .026$). This data suggests that the journalists with more experience in critical events tend to resort more to savoring strategies in order to deal with the (positive) stressors. As far as the specific savoring strategies are concerned, significant differences were found in four of the six dimensions. In absorption ($H(2, 23) = 7.543, p = .023$), the mean value of group 3 was significantly higher ($M = 15.60$) than the mean value of both group 1 ($M =$

11.00), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.889$, $p = .045$), and group 2 ($M = 11.00$) (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.815$, $p = .034$), indicating that the journalists who had been deployed at least 20 times to critical scenarios refer this savoring strategy more frequently. In comparison ($H(2, 23) = 7.543$, $p = .023$), significant differences were found again between group 3 ($M = 15.60$) and both group 1 ($M = 11.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.889$, $p = .045$) and group 2 ($M = 11.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.815$, $p = .034$), suggesting that the journalists with the higher number of deployments also tend to refer this savoring strategy more frequently. Further significant differences were also registered for memory building ($H(2, 22) = 7.140$, $p = .028$) between group 3 ($M = 14.90$) and group 2 ($M = 10.50$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.400, $SE = 1.773$, $p = .039$), suggesting once again that the journalists with more experience in critical events resort the most to memory building as a strategy to deal with positive occupational stressors. Finally, in sensory-perceptual sharpening, significant differences were also registered ($H(2, 23) = 7.527$, $p = .023$) between group 3 ($M = 15.60$) and group 1 ($M = 11.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.891$, $p = .045$), and between the former and group 2 ($M = 11.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = -4.600, $SE = 1.817$, $p = .034$), revealing once more that the journalists who had been deployed at least 20 times resort more to this savoring strategy.

As for the journalists' perceptions of organizational support, significant differences were found in all three main categories, but only in critical scenarios. In fact, in support given to journalists while at critical scenarios, significant differences were observed for peer support ($H(2, 24) = 6.545$, $p = .038$) between group 1 ($M = 15.50$) and group 2 ($M = 11.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = 4.500, $SE = 1.854$, $p = .046$), as well as training ($H(2, 23) = 8.684$, $p = .013$) between group 1 ($M = 15.75$) and group 2 ($M = 10.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = 5.750, $SE = 2.114$, $p = .020$), revealing that as journalists' experience in critical scenarios increases, the social support of peers and training as resources offered by the organization are less

mentioned. In non-existing support, significant differences were found in two critical scenario categories: psychological support ($H(2, 23) = 11.829, p = .003$) between group 3 ($M = 17.40$) and both group 1 ($M = 10.50$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = $-6.900, SE = 2.324, p = .009$), and group 2 ($M = 10.50$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = $-6.900, SE = 2.141, p = .004$) (i.e., non-existing psychological support in critical scenarios is acknowledged more by the journalists with a higher number of deployments to critical events); and training ($H(2, 23) = 6.188, p = .045$) between group 1 ($M = 14.81$) and group 2 ($M = 10.50$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = $4.312, SE = 1.840, p = .019$) (i.e., non-existing training is mentioned more by the journalists with fewer deployment experiences as special envoys). Finally, in perceptions of support that organizations should provide to journalists, significant differences were found in medical and psychological support in critical scenarios ($H(2, 23) = 7.026, p = .030$) between group 1 ($M = 16.12$) and group 3 ($M = 7.00$), (Dunn-Bonferroni = $9.125, SE = 3.664, p = .038$), indicating that the journalists with fewer deployments to critical scenarios suggest this measure more frequently.

Discussion

Journalism is regarded nowadays as a stressful and risky occupation in scientific literature. However, there is still a considerable lack of information in the research on the occupational stress variables of these professionals (Monteiro et al., 2016). Adopting Nelson and Simmons' (2003) holistic approach to occupational stress, the current study sets out to contribute to broadening knowledge on the occupational stress variables – coping and savoring strategies used for dealing with negative and positive stressors and organizational support - perceived by Portuguese journalists in both critical events and in the daily context of their work.

Our data supports the heuristic value of the holistic occupational stress model (Nelson & Simmons, 2003). Indeed, this model proved to be a useful guide to the study of stress variables and of the relationships between them. Also, our data further substantiates the applicability of the model beyond nurses (e.g., Simmons & Nelson, 2001) and police officers (Monteiro & Gonçalves, 2008) - the population most frequently studied - and suggests the consideration of specific variables within the category of “individual differences” of the holistic model. Using the holistic model as a theoretical frame, also allowed one to focus on positive stress variables (savoring strategies) and to go beyond the classical studies that focus merely on strategies to deal with adversity (coping strategies).

Despite having questioned the journalists on each variable under analysis in both contexts, the answers obtained were found to lean more towards critical events. This may be an indication that experiences in these settings (a criterion for participation in the study) is more salient for the interviewees who mention them, thus, emerging more frequently in their reflections on the addressed themes.

In terms of the strategies perceived by the journalists for dealing with the occupational stressors they encounter in their work, a predominance of coping over savoring strategies was observed, thus suggesting, in accordance with the model of Nelson and Simmons (2003), a preponderance of confrontation with negative stressors and distress. When the two occupational settings are compared, the coping strategies are more salient in critical scenarios, which may indicate the presence of more negative stress sources and distress than in the daily context. On the other hand, this data may simply be related to the fact that some participants find it easier to recognize the strategies they used as special envoys in critical scenarios than those employed in their daily work context.

With regard to perceptions of coping strategies, in both daily and critical event contexts (research question 1), a predominance of emotion-focused coping strategies was

noted, contradicting the data presented by Buchanan and Keats (2011), which points to journalists' greater likelihood of resorting to denial and avoidance strategies. Indeed, in both contexts under analysis, the perception of these latter coping strategies registered residual frequencies in the current study. The use of emotion-focused strategies typically occurs whenever the individual has a low control perception regarding the stressor, which indicates that not only in critical scenarios - where there is typically little control over surrounding factors - but also in their daily work context, journalists perceive little or no control in the fulfillment of their work. According to Brayne (2007), the use of emotional coping strategies may partly reflect journalists' need to build a professional wall between themselves and the people whose stories they are reporting, in order to effectively conduct their work.

Journalists' perceptions also reveal the frequent use of problem-focused coping strategies in relation to critical events, furthering the knowledge on how they cope in this context. Indeed, Heloani (2005) also referred to journalists' use of active coping strategies, however his study was restricted to a daily context. The use of problem-focused coping strategies suggests that the journalists have some perception of control over the problems with which they are confronted, even in contexts of high unpredictability, as is the case of critical event contexts. On the other hand, in critical scenarios, the frequency of references to problem-solving focused coping strategies was very close to that of the emotion-focused strategies, thus suggesting, as previously mentioned (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), that both types of coping are mutually influenced. As suggested by Skinner et al. (2003), category systems are not complete until they include ways of coping that serve both the function of rational decision making and of dealing with emotion.

Taking the number of deployments as special envoys to overseas work assignments into consideration (research question 4 – regarding coping strategies), perceptions of denial and avoidance were the only coping strategies to present statistically significant differences in

both contexts. Repeated exposure to critical events tends to reduce the use of this type of strategy in daily work, thus enabling the individual to use other strategies in his/her work routine however, conversely, it tends to increase the use of those same strategies in critical settings. Greater use of denial and avoidance strategies in critical scenarios may indicate a difficulty in these professionals' adaptation to the critical contexts to which they are deployed as special envoys, which may bring harmful after-effects to their health and well-being, especially in the medium and long term (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999).

In this study, the collected data only enabled recognition of six and not 10 of the savoring dimensions identified by Bryant and Veroff (2007), (i.e., sensory-perceptual sharpening, memory building, comparing, absorption, temporal awareness and sharing with others), Furthermore, all of them were mentioned regarding critical or hazardous events (research question 2), indicating that journalists do not acknowledge the importance of positive stress sources, nor do they optimize them in their daily work. Of the six identified savoring dimensions, four were cognitive responses and two were behavioural, thus showing journalists' higher tendency to draw on cognitive strategies rather than to expressly show their satisfaction towards the specific positive stressors of their work. The data obtained in this study are in line with recent results that support the conception of savoring as involving a cognitive meta-awareness of ongoing positive experience (Bryant et al., 2011).

The quantitative analysis (research question 4 – regarding savoring strategies) demonstrated that, overall, repeated exposure to critical events heightens the use of savoring strategies. More specifically, significant differences were observed in the four most mentioned dimensions: memory building, sensory-perceptual sharpening, comparing and absorption. Journalists' perceptions of savoring strategies therefore become more salient as they increase their deployments to critical scenarios, showing the presence of positive stress sources in these contexts and indicating their adaptation to such settings through the use of

strategies suited to these forms of professional stress. This may be one of the motives leading them to repeat the special envoy experience, as despite all the risks and threats to their physical and psychological integrity, they still perceive positive stress experiences in these scenarios.

Just as today's journalists ought to realize that being the first on a critical scene carries significant physical and psychological risks (Hight & Smyth, 2003), the media organizations also need to acknowledge that journalists are in a risky profession and subject to physical and psychological traumas and, therefore, should be responsibly involved in the promotion of their mental health and well-being. Since journalists' symptoms may emerge at both short and long-term levels, continued organizational support is essential. The present study highlights journalists' perceptions of the absence of support from their organizations and of the types of support these entities should offer their professionals, and in both cases answers related to the context of critical scenarios are predominant in comparison with journalists' daily work (research question 2). This may, in fact, indicate that journalists feel a sense of abandonment in the accomplishment of their work as special envoys to critical scenarios, where they end up being "under fire" without the "bullet-proof jacket" of the organization to protect them. The only category to reveal the perceptions of participants on effectively received support refers exclusively to critical scenarios. This category obtained a little below a quarter of the answers, which equally indicates the lack of support perceived by the journalists in these scenarios and reinforces the previous consideration.

In a global analysis of the three main dimensions, there are three types of organizational support in critical scenarios which are regarded as necessary by journalists: material, logistic, bureaucratic; psychological support; and training. The first reflects a pragmatic type of support to be provided before (e.g., support in resolving vaccines and visas), during and following (e.g., support in removing a journalist from a foreign country in

an emergency) journalists' deployment to critical scenarios in which the media organizations should be actively involved. Despite the fact that some journalists in this study perceived this type of organizational support, an almost identical number referred to its absence, which should lead organizations to reflect on and identify ways of improving this quality.

According to the reflections of the journalists under study on the types of absent support and on those they felt should be provided by the organizations, psychological support was highlighted as important in reducing stress in critical scenarios and in the daily work context. In the latter case, this was the only emphasized category. The offer of psychological support on the part of media organizations should serve to combat or even eliminate the stigma of mental health services, thus rendering the inclusion of this service in the occupational healthcare of organizations urgent. Psychological support to family members provided by the organization when journalists are in critical scenarios was another measure suggested by the participants, in line with the recommendations advanced by Osofsky et al. (2005).

As for training, the participants of this study perceived this type of organizational support as necessary and appropriate, although it was only mentioned with reference to the critical scenario context, and with emphasis on information regarding the risks involved in the profession and ways of preparing for the stress of reporting disasters and traumatic events. According to Law (2007), the use and advantage of journalists' preparation before deployment to war scenes, for the risks to which they will be exposed, the self-protection strategies to be used and the warning signs of PTSD to which they should be attentive are important contents for such training.

With regard to the quantitative analysis of perceived organizational support, based on the number of deployments to critical scenarios (research question 4 – regarding organizational support), significant differences in the perception of peer support, training and

medical and psychological support (as structured support measures) were observed. More specifically, the journalists with fewer deployments are the ones who refer to the need for and complain about the lack of the various types of support, with the exception of psychological support. As the number of deployments increases, less importance seems to be given to such types of support. On the one hand, this may indicate that these professionals have adapted to the afore-mentioned context, however, and more worryingly, it may also suggest that journalists have given up on the pursuit for organizational support in the near future, which may consequently jeopardize their health and well-being in the long term.

On the other hand, the journalists with the highest number of deployments to critical scenarios are the ones who refer more to the absence of psychological support within the scope of the organization, and emphasize its importance in the promotion of their health and well-being while also suggesting an acknowledgement of the emotional after-effects and “marks left by war”. Indeed, in critical scenarios, the journalists witness first-hand human suffering, devastation and death (Osofsky et al., 2005), so it would be rather naïve to believe that they only need to return to their daily context to put it all behind them. The journalists in this study with more deployments to critical scenarios may make use of appropriate strategies that facilitate their adaptation to the critical scenario work context, however they may equally camouflage psychological wounds caused by traumatic professional experiences, and venting out and elaborating on these experiences to a professional would be a suitable way of promoting their health and well-being.

It is our belief that this study offers a valid contribution to the understanding of journalists’ perceptions of the most used strategies for dealing with positive and negative stressors and of the organizational support provided and required in order to promote their health and well-being. It goes beyond the typical focus on negative variables and contributes to the knowledge of the perceived positive strategies used for dealing with positive stressors,

a variable observed to be understudied in the literature. Furthermore, it serves to alert media organizations to the fact that suitable preparation and support for journalists in the performance of their job, another neglected theme in the research with at-risk occupational groups, is necessary. This applies to both the daily and national news contexts as well as to deployments to critical events. Thus, the occupational health of these professionals, who are subject to a stressful and risky occupation, may be enhanced and consequently their profitability and productivity may be promoted to reciprocally benefit the work organization itself.

Limitations and future research

This study presents a number of limitations that should be taken into account when analysing the findings and considering future research studies within this scope. From the onset, the present study is restricted to Portuguese journalists, and thus presents limitations in terms of generalizing its findings to other populations. Secondly, the fact that a retrospective methodology was used, with a small sample size, may have skewed the results on individuals' perceptions of the variables under study. Participants' recollections of work experiences are influenced not only by their memory range, but mainly by their interest in talking about the issues under discussion and in revealing their private thoughts, opinions and insights to the interviewer. Hence, in some cases, depending on the importance of the topic to the journalist, or his/her identification with the issue in hand, greater elaboration or investment in the discussion of this subject may occur, consequently leading to more information for one specific category to the detriment of another. Thus, conceptually, the analysis conducted does not focus merely on the frequency of responses, but rather on the prevalence of the themes addressed as they emerged in the interview. Future studies should consider other data collection methods such as diaries, and a larger sample.

A further limiting factor is that only journalists with experience in critical events, selected by a snowball process, were interviewed, thus contributing to a self-selection bias of the sample. Future studies, even when geared towards daily occupational stress, should compare journalists with and without experience in critical events, despite the fact that in the study by Backholm and Björkqvist (2012b), no differences were found regarding the severity of psychological distress symptoms between journalists working on the incident (whether directly or indirectly) and a control group (working with “neutral” issues).

As far as exposure to potentially traumatic situations is concerned, the fact that only situations in a professional context were addressed may have limited the answers of the participant and, hence, the findings. Therefore, further studies should be conducted to also include the possibility of personal traumatic experiences and the magnitude of the worst reported critical event, as stressed by other authors (i.e., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010, 2012b).

Since journalists are not a homogenous group, their differences (e.g., reporter, broadcaster, camera editor, photojournalists) should be considered in future studies. By the same token, differences among journalists on the basis of their years of experience, the media organization at which they work (i.e., press, TV, radio) and gender should be analysed in samples with a higher number of participants.

The use of a non-parametric test for the study of the differences in frequency of the coping strategies, savoring strategies and perceived organizational support, according to the number of deployments, in addition to the scarcity of journalists in each of the three groups, compromises the soundness of the inferences made. However, given the sparseness of studies on the impact of exposure to critical events, and the difficulty in accessing a larger sample of Portuguese journalists with more diversified experiences, we regard our analyses as

exploratory. Furthermore, we stress the need for future studies with larger groups of journalists so that it is possible to use parametric statistics and obtain more robust inferences.

Finally, this study only reflects the perceptions of the interviewed journalists regarding the coping and savoring strategies they use, and the support provided by their media organizations in both daily and critical event work settings. These points of view may alert organizations so that suitable preparation and support is made available to journalists in the performance of their work. Nevertheless, future research should evaluate whether these participants' opinions are feasible and effective cues for intervention. Only with that empirical information will it be possible to define the direction to follow in prevention measures, both with regard to domestic news and critical event settings.

Practical implications

- This research illustrates how journalists' stress variables (coping strategies, savoring strategies and organizational support) are related to the journalists' work context (domestic news/critical scenarios) and to the number of deployments to a critical event.
- Media organizations should have a more active role in preparing and supporting journalists for their work in both contexts, helping them to deal (cope or savor) with the stressors they face and to develop adequate or healthy strategies according to their (increased) experience in critical events.
- The number of deployments to critical events has a relation with the strategies used by journalists to deal with work stressors and with the organizational support they perceived, therefore this variable should be carefully regarded by media organizations in order to promote a healthy adaptation of its professionals to either their daily work or to critical scenarios.

PARTE III

O STRESS OCUPACIONAL DOS JORNALISTAS - CONCLUSÕES

Capítulo 5

Conclusão e Discussão

Este capítulo incide na análise dos três estudos realizados e nos seus contributos para o objetivo geral deste projeto, que consistiu em identificar, caracterizar e comparar as variáveis de stress profissional dos jornalistas no seu contexto diário de trabalho e em cenários críticos de dimensão mundial, acedendo às perceções destes profissionais sobre as mesmas. Os capítulos anteriores apresentaram, de forma detalhada e isolada, os resultados de cada um dos estudos. Neste capítulo pretende-se analisar, de modo integrado e sistematizado, aqueles que são os principais resultados e contributos e dissertar sobre o significado e relevância dos mesmos. Também neste capítulo serão identificadas as limitações comuns aos estudos desenvolvidos, bem como algumas questões que seria importante ver desenvolvidas em estudos futuros. O capítulo encerra com as principais implicações teóricas e práticas derivadas dos estudos realizados.

Estudos até 2015 sobre Stress Ocupacional em Jornalistas

Sendo o objetivo deste projeto identificar e caracterizar as variáveis de stress ocupacional dos jornalistas, numa perspetiva comparativa entre os dois contextos profissionais em que se inserem, era essencial, como ponto de partida, conhecer as variáveis mais estudadas, as abordagens conceptuais e os modelos teóricos que serviram de base a tais estudos e os seus principais resultados. Desse modo foi possível organizar o conhecimento, mesmo que escasso, já existente sobre o tema e, conseqüentemente, avançar na investigação científica. A revisão de literatura sistemática realizada (estudo 1) permitiu, exatamente, conhecer o que tem sido investigado no âmbito do stress ocupacional em jornalistas, e identificar limitações importantes a serem atendidas em estudos futuros e que se tornam por

isso “inovadores”. Por exemplo, dos 28 estudos analisados na revisão de literatura sistemática foi possível constatar que nenhum deles se orientou por um modelo teórico de stress nem contextualizou o estudo no âmbito do stress ocupacional. Esta limitação, a ser evitada, ajudou a delinear os dois estudos de carácter exploratório ao contemplar como base de referência teórica e conceptual o modelo holístico de stress ocupacional de Nelson e Simmons (2003), um modelo reconhecido na literatura sobre stress ocupacional.

Um outro resultado do estudo 1 revelou que a maioria dos estudos (15) analisa as consequências e os impactos da profissão na saúde dos jornalistas, negligenciado a análise de outras variáveis igualmente importantes no stress ocupacional, tais como as fontes de stress ou exigências profissionais, reações emocionais (positiva ou negativas) ao stress, estratégias para lidar com as exigências profissionais, diferenças individuais, entre outras. O modelo holístico de stress, escolhido como quadro conceptual de referência, dada a sua abordagem compreensiva do stress ocupacional, contempla as diferentes variáveis que estão presentes antes, durante e após uma situação de stress.

Uma outra limitação na literatura sobre stress ocupacional em jornalistas, identificada no estudo 1, remete para o facto de nenhum dos 28 estudos analisados abordarem o stress dos jornalistas numa perspetiva positiva, mas meramente psicopatológica e de distress. Mais concretamente, a maioria dos estudos incidiu no impacto (negativo) do stress ocupacional na saúde e bem-estar dos indivíduos. Alguns estudos analisaram possíveis fontes de stress ocupacional (negativas). Apenas um estudo incidiu de modo específico na análise das estratégias de coping. Nenhum estudo analisou as reações emocionais dos jornalistas, quer negativas, quer positivas, estratégias que usam para lidar com as reações positivas, nem impactos positivos.

Assim, a inclusão do modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003) nos estudos 2 e 3 teve uma dupla missão ao superar as limitações identificadas: 1) servir de suporte teórico no âmbito do

stress ocupacional, permitindo também delinear o *design* metodológico dos estudos empíricos ao conceptualizar as diversas variáveis associadas ao stress ocupacional; 2) atender à perspectiva positiva de stress, reconhecida nos últimos anos como podendo co-ocorrer com a clássica perspectiva de distress.

Relativamente às sete variáveis conceptualizadas pelo modelo holístico de stress, todas de elevada relevância, o estudo 2 centrou-se nas exigências profissionais ou fontes de stress, reações emocionais (negativas ou positivas) e impactos na saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas, e o estudo 3 incidiu nas estratégias de coping e de savoring. A variável das diferenças individuais foi atendida em ambos os estudos. No estudo 3 foi incluída a variável de suporte organizacional que, apesar de não ser representada explicitamente no modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003), serviu de orientação à criação do mesmo dada a perspectiva preventiva e de gestão de stress em que o modelo assenta (Quick & Quick, 1984).

Com a revisão de literatura realizada (estudo 1) foi possível constatar que os estudos com jornalistas incidiram apenas num tipo de jornalistas (jornalistas no contexto diário vs. enviados especiais em cenários críticos), e não compararam nem diferenciaram os dois contextos ocupacionais e respetivas variáveis de stress ocupacional. Dos 28 estudos, 24 assentaram no contexto diário dos jornalistas. Apenas quatro estudos incidiram em jornalistas em cenários críticos, sendo três em contexto de guerra (Feinstein et al., 2002; Feinstein & Nicolson, 2005; Levaot et al., 2013) e um em cenário de catástrofe natural (Weidman et al., 2008). O estudo de Feinstein e colegas (2002) foi o único a comparar jornalistas com e sem experiência em eventos críticos de grande proporção, nomeadamente, cenários de guerra. Para ultrapassarmos esta limitação, e pelos motivos já referidos anteriormente sobre a importância de conhecermos as similitudes e as diferenças nas perceções dos jornalistas sobre as variáveis de stress ocupacional, optamos por atender em ambos os estudos seguintes aos

dois contextos ocupacionais dos jornalistas, recolhendo dados junto de jornalistas com experiência profissional em ambos.

Quanto à metodologia tipicamente utilizada nas investigações com jornalistas, o estudo 1 revelou que apenas uma (Buchanan & Keats, 2011) recorreu exclusivamente a metodologia qualitativa e quatro conciliaram esta metodologia com medidas quantitativas (Backholm & Björkqvist, 2012b; Feinstein et al., 2002; Heloani, 2005; Mackay, 2012). Apesar de se ter verificado uma predominância de metodologia quantitativa considerou-se importante a realização de mais estudos numa abordagem qualitativa no sentido de alargar a compreensão do stress ocupacional dos jornalistas, quer numa perspetiva intraindividual, quer numa perspetiva de processo.

Stress Ocupacional dos Jornalistas segundo o Modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003)

Stressores

No estudo 1 foi possível concluir que nos cenários críticos só surgem stressores associados ao desempenho da função (mencionados em dois estudos), não tendo sido identificados stressores organizacionais. Nos estudos que incidem sobre o contexto diário surgem quer stressores organizacionais, quer stressores associados ao desempenho da função, sendo que há mais evidências dos primeiros (9 estudos apresentam stressores organizacionais em contexto diário) do que dos segundos (5 estudos apresentam stressores associados ao desempenho da função em contexto diário). Alguns dos stressores organizacionais mais comuns nos jornalistas em contexto diário foram: excesso de horas de trabalho, deadlines, o conflito entre o tempo dedicado ao trabalho e à família, competição entre colegas da mesma entidade e entre jornalistas de outras organizações, conflitos com os superiores e falta de apoio por parte destes. Os stressores associados ao desempenho da função identificados nos cenários críticos foram apenas três: perigo e risco à integridade física e emocional dos

jornalistas, pressão dos militares quando os jornalistas os acompanham (*embedded*), o dilema entre continuar a noticiar o evento ou parar para prestar apoio à vítima.

Os resultados do estudo 2 revelam que os participantes referiram mais fontes de stress para cenários críticos do que para o contexto diário de trabalho. Neste último contexto, os jornalistas percecionam mais stressores organizacionais do que associados ao desempenho da função, o que vai ao encontro do estudo 1. Um dado muito importante no estudo 2 relativamente às fontes de stress nos cenários críticos, e inexistente em estudos anteriores nesse mesmo contexto, foi a distribuição dos stressores por três momentos distintos: antes da partida para o evento crítico, durante o período em que noticiam o evento, e após o regresso a Portugal. O primeiro e terceiro momento obtiveram uma expressividade muito residual. No primeiro momento, a única exigência profissional referida exemplifica um stressor associado ao desempenho da função, pois remete para a preparação do jornalista para partir e chegar ao epicentro do evento crítico de grandes proporções. No terceiro momento, após o regresso a Portugal, foram mencionadas três exigências profissionais, sendo duas exemplificativas de stressores associados ao desempenho da função (dificuldades na adaptação à vida diária e consciência dos riscos vividos) e uma elucidativa de um stressor organizacional (falta de reconhecimento por parte dos superiores). Durante o período em que os jornalistas noticiam o evento crítico, as exigências profissionais referidas pelos jornalistas indicam uma primazia dos stressores associados ao desempenho da função. Não obstante, foram mencionados stressores organizacionais neste contexto, um dado adicional aos revelados pelos estudos anteriores, analisados na revisão sistemática de literatura (estudo 1).

Em suma, os jornalistas percecionam mais stressores organizacionais no seu contexto diário de trabalho e mais stressores associados ao desempenho da função em eventos críticos. Estes dados do estudo 2 vão ao encontro de dados obtidos com outros first responders em que os stressores associados ao desempenho da função estão mais associados a situações de stress

agudo e os stressores organizacionais estão mais relacionados com situações de stress crónico (e.g., Anshel et al., 1997; Brown, Fielding, & Grover, 1999; Dick, 2000). Numa outra perspetiva, é possível considerar que dada a natureza dos stressores organizacionais, estes são mais influenciados e controlados pelas organizações, ao passo que alguns dos stressores associados ao desempenho da função identificados parecem depender de características de funcionamento psicológico e estrutural do indivíduo. Ainda sobre o facto dos diferentes stressores (organizacionais e associados ao desempenho da função) serem percecionados de forma mais evidente consoante o contexto (diário e cenários críticos, respetivamente), é uma evidência que vai ao encontro dos dados obtidos no estudo 1 sobre stressores.

Em função do número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma), verificaram-se diferenças significativas em duas das fontes de stress identificadas apenas nesse contexto. Antes da partida para o cenário crítico – preparação e após o regresso a Portugal – dificuldades na adaptação à vida diária. A exposição repetida a cenários críticos tende a salientar estas fontes de stress, ambas associadas ao desempenho da função, intensificando o stress associado aos preparativos da partida e dificultando a adaptação e o retomar de assuntos pessoais e profissionais pendentes após o regresso.

Reações emocionais

No estudo 2, no cômputo geral, as referências a respostas emocionais positivas ou de eustress foram muito mais frequentes do que as respostas emocionais negativas ou de distress. A ausência de estudos sobre respostas emocionais positivas pode levar, erradamente, à consideração de que o stress é meramente negativo e causador de mal-estar, mas na verdade o afeto positivo e o negativo, o eustress e o distress, podem coocorrer (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000, 2004; Simmons & Nelson, 2001) no mesmo episódio stressante.

O facto de terem sido mencionadas mais reações emocionais positivas ou de eustress do que de distress quando, no caso das fontes de stress, as respostas foram sempre de valência negativa poderá dever-se a que, quando questionados sobre o que lhes causa stress, os participantes tenham partido do pressuposto de que stress é negativo e tenham, por isso, respondido nessa direção. Todavia, após ser introduzida a distinção entre eustress e distress, e quando questionados sobre o que sentem perante essas fontes de stress os participantes conseguiram identificar reações emocionais positivas e negativas, com predominância das primeiras.

Numa análise por contextos, verifica-se que as respostas emocionais, quer negativas quer positivas, foram mais mencionadas em cenários críticos do que no contexto diário de trabalho. Nos cenários críticos as respostas de eustress foram as mais frequentemente percebidas pelos jornalistas e deram origem a quatro categorias, designadamente, realização profissional, desenvolvimento pessoal e profissional, adrenalina, e enriquecimento espiritual. No contexto diário dos participantes as respostas de eustress foram muito menos frequentes e incidiram apenas na categoria desenvolvimento pessoal e profissional. Neste contexto, a percepção do distress obteve a maior frequência de respostas. De referir que as respostas de distress referidas não deram origem a diferentes categorias de respostas.

O facto de em cenários críticos o eustress percebido ter sido muito mais frequente do que o distress e de ter sido mais frequente e diferenciado do que no contexto diário é de extrema importância. À semelhança de estudos de Fenstein (cf. Fenstein, 2004) e de Novak e Davidson (2013), as respostas de eustress podem expressar a satisfação das motivações prevalentes nestes indivíduos nos cenários críticos. Tal como Nelson e Simmons (2003) consideraram, o *engagement* é um dos primeiros indicadores de eustress e, portanto, profissionais cujos trabalhos providenciem reações de eustress numa base frequente têm maior probabilidade de se envolverem mais (*engaged*) no trabalho, de estarem mais

motivados para realizar a sua função, mais satisfeitos com o seu trabalho e melhor preparados para evitar/lidar com sintomas de burnout e outros impactos negativos do seu trabalho. Uma outra possível explicação para a predominância de respostas de eustress, em específico nos cenários críticos, pode ser uma melhor preparação biológica destes indivíduos para profissões perigosas e de risco, levando-os a escolher o drama e a excitação de um campo de batalha em detrimento de um trabalho rotineiro das 9h às 17h (Feinstein, 2004). Uma vez que os jornalistas percecionam muito eustress nos cenários críticos, e porque é nesse contexto que se sentem verdadeiramente jornalistas e atribuem significado ao seu trabalho, é expectável que considerem receber benefícios destas experiências profissionais, apesar de todos os riscos e perigos que enfrentam. Serão estes benefícios (i.e., eustress) que, mesmo perante a destruição, a morte e o caos, motivam os jornalistas a ir novamente para outros eventos dantescos. Caso contrário, seria de esperar que recusassem tais propostas ou as respostas de distress seriam muito mais elevadas do que as de eustress em cenários críticos.

Em função do número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma), verificaram-se diferenças significativas nas respostas de distress nos eventos críticos, mostrando que perante um maior número de incursões os jornalistas tendem a percecionar menos distress nesses contextos. Possivelmente, após a realização de trabalhos como enviados especiais, mais os jornalistas se sentem habituados ou até integrados nesses contextos e mais vivenciam emoções positivas, internalizando estas experiências de aprendizagem de forma a ficarem melhor preparados para trabalhos futuros da mesma natureza.

Estratégias de coping

Através do estudo 1 foi possível constatar que só dois estudos incidiram especificamente nesta variável, tendo sido possível retirar informação sobre estratégias de

coping que os jornalistas utilizam para lidar com stressores ocupacionais de outros cinco estudos. De forma geral, encontrou-se uma predominância de estratégias de coping de negação e evitamento, consideradas como mal-adaptativas, especialmente quando usadas de modo consistente (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999). Quanto à procura de suporte social após exposição a eventos traumáticos, os jornalistas tendem a recorrer mais às suas famílias do que aos seus superiores e pares, e mostram-se relutantes em procurar ajuda na organização por problemas relacionados com os eventos críticos que testemunham (Greenberg, Gould, Langston, & Brayne, 2009). Na revisão de literatura de Osofsky e colegas (2005), os correspondentes de guerra percebem a socialização e a sensação de companheirismo como uma forma eficaz de reduzir os níveis de stress vividos. Comportamentos como consumos de álcool ou de outras substâncias são parte desses momentos de socialização e são considerados como formas de lidar com o stress extremo, sendo aceitáveis culturalmente pelos jornalistas. Em tais casos, apesar destes comportamentos poderem ser momentaneamente eficazes, este tipo de suporte social pode ter implicações adversas com o tempo.

No estudo 3 foi possível constatar que as percepções dos participantes sobre estratégias de coping foram muito mais salientes do que as percepções de estratégias de savoring e foram mencionadas mais do dobro das vezes nos cenários críticos do que no contexto diário. Face aos resultados sobre respostas emocionais de stress obtidas no estudo 2 (em cenários críticos as respostas de eustress são muito mais frequentes que as de distress, e a situação contrária ocorre no contexto diário de trabalho), seria de esperar mais estratégias de savoring do que de coping nos cenários críticos (o que não aconteceu) e situação inversa no contexto diário (tal como se verificou). O facto das estratégias de coping serem mais salientes em ambos os cenários pode simplesmente estar relacionado com a maior facilidade dos participantes em reconhecerem as estratégias que utilizam para lidar com situações negativas do que as que

usam perante situações positivas, fazendo eco do habitual enviesamento negativo já referido a propósito das fontes de stress.

As respostas dos participantes distribuíram-se pelos três tipos de coping em análise, sendo que em ambos os contextos, as estratégias de coping mais mencionadas pelos jornalistas para lidar com as fontes de stress negativo foram as estratégias focadas nas emoções, seguidas das estratégias focadas no problema e, por último, com uma expressividade residual, estratégias de negação e evitamento. Estes dados são contrários àqueles obtidos por Buchanan e Keats (2011) que evidenciam o predomínio de estratégias de coping de negação e evitamento. O facto dos participantes recorrerem com primazia a estratégias de coping focadas nas emoções, nos dois contextos, revela que percecionam pouco ou nenhum controlo na realização do seu trabalho. Segundo Brayne (2007), o uso de estratégias de coping emocional pode, em parte, refletir a necessidade dos jornalistas em construírem uma parede profissional entre si e as pessoas cujas histórias relatam, de modo a conseguirem eficazmente concretizar o seu trabalho. Os resultados aqui obtidos revelam também o recurso a estratégias de coping focadas no problema nos cenários críticos, aumentando assim o conhecimento sobre a gestão do stress dos jornalistas nesse contexto. Um dos poucos estudos (Heloani, 2005) que menciona o coping ativo (uma estratégia deste tipo de coping) cingia-se ao contexto diário de trabalho dos jornalistas. O uso de estratégias de coping focado no problema sugere que os jornalistas têm alguma perceção de controlo sobre os seus problemas, mesmo em contextos de elevada imprevisibilidade como os eventos críticos. Neste contexto, as estratégias de coping focadas nas emoções e as estratégias focadas no problema obtiveram uma frequência idêntica, sugerindo tal como mencionado por Lazarus e Folkman (1984) que ambos os tipos de coping são mutuamente influenciados. Tal como sugerido por Skinner e colegas (2003), os sistemas de categorias não estão completos até se

incluïrem modos de coping que sirvam quer a função racional de tomada de decisão quer a gestão de emoções.

Em função do número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma), verificaram-se diferenças significativas apenas nas estratégias de coping de negação e evitamento, quer no contexto diário, quer em eventos críticos. No contexto diário as diferenças obtidas indicaram que os jornalistas com mais incursões tendem a recorrer menos a estratégias de negação e evitamento, possibilitando-lhes o uso de outras estratégias nesse contexto. Em eventos críticos, as diferenças significativas obtidas revelam que são os jornalistas com maior número de incursões que tendem a recorrer mais a estratégias de negação e evitamento, indicando desse modo uma dificuldade na adaptação destes profissionais a cenários críticos, o que, conseqüentemente, pode prejudicar a sua saúde e bem-estar, especialmente a médio e longo prazo (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1999).

Estratégias de savoring

A revisão sistemática de literatura (estudo 1) mostrou a inexistência de estudos sobre savoring nos jornalistas, pelo que o estudo 3 ao analisar tal variável não só tenta ultrapassar tal limitação como constitui um estudo inovador. Como mencionado pelos participantes no estudo 2, é no contexto dos cenários críticos que se sentem verdadeiramente jornalistas e atribuem significado ao seu trabalho, pelo que seja de antecipar que ocorram nesses cenários emoções positivas de stress ou eustress face às quais os jornalistas utilizem estratégias de savoring de modo a regulá-las. No estudo 3, tal como referido anteriormente, as estratégias de savoring foram muito menos mencionadas que as estratégias de coping e apenas em cenários críticos, revelando que os jornalistas não reconhecem a importância de fontes de stress positivas nem as otimizam no seu trabalho diário. Das dez estratégias de savoring, as respostas dos participantes distribuíram-se apenas por seis: perspicácia sensorial-percetiva e

construção de memórias, comparação e absorção, consciência temporal e partilha. Destas seis dimensões, quatro remetem para respostas cognitivas e duas para respostas comportamentais, evidenciando a maior tendência dos jornalistas para estratégias cognitivas do que para a expressão aberta da sua satisfação perante os stressores positivos específicos. Estes dados são consonantes com resultados que suportam a conceptualização de savoring como envolvendo uma meta-consciência cognitiva de uma experiência positiva contínua (Bryant et al., 2011).

Em função do número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma), foi possível constatar que o recurso a estratégias de savoring é percecionado de forma diferenciada, sugerindo que os jornalistas com mais experiência em cenários críticos tendem a recorrer mais a este tipo de estratégias de modo a lidar com os stressores (positivos). Estas diferenças foram verificadas em quatro das seis estratégias identificadas: absorção, comparação, construção de memórias e perspicácia sensorial-percetiva, evidenciando assim a presença de fontes de stress positivas nestes contextos e indicando a adaptação dos jornalistas a tais contextos através do uso de estratégias adequadas a este tipo de stress ocupacional. Este pode ser um dos motivos que leva os jornalistas a repetirem as experiências como enviados especiais para cenários críticos, pois apesar de todos os riscos e ameaças à sua integridade física e psicológica, percecionam experiências de stress positivo nesses cenários.

Impactos do stress ocupacional na saúde e bem-estar

Da revisão sistemática de literatura (estudo 1) foi possível constatar que a variável mais estudada nos jornalistas remete para os impactos das fontes de stress ocupacional na sua saúde e bem-estar, sendo esses impactos sempre negativos. Dos 28 estudos em análise, 23 incidiram na sintomatologia e psicopatologia, com especial destaque para PTSD (em ambos os contextos) e para o burnout (apenas no contexto diário). Outros impactos identificados, mas com pouca expressividade foram as consequências físicas (no contexto diário) e as

consequências na família e contexto pessoal (nos dois contextos ocupacionais). De referir que dos 28 estudos analisados, 13 foram sujeitos a uma meta-análise para estudar a relação entre a exposição ao trauma e sintomas de PTSD, tendo sido verificado um efeito pequeno a moderado. A ausência de estudos sobre impactos positivos na saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas reforça a importância que é dada, ainda atualmente, à psicopatologia.

No estudo 2 verificou-se que os impactos do stress ocupacional foram mais elevados nos cenários críticos do que no contexto diário e foram percebidos maioritariamente como negativos, remetendo para categorias como impacto individual, bem-estar e saúde mental, burnout, saúde física e contexto familiar em ambos os contextos e, no caso dos cenários críticos, também para PTSD e relações com pares. Com exceção da categoria bem-estar e saúde mental, todas as outras categorias comuns a ambos os contextos tiveram uma expressividade diferente entre os dois contextos ocupacionais. Por exemplo, enquanto no contexto diário, burnout foi a categoria mais mencionada, nos cenários críticos esta categoria teve uma expressividade reduzida. Quanto às consequências positivas, o contexto social foi a categoria que surgiu nos dois contextos profissionais dos jornalistas, sendo que nos cenários críticos as respostas dos participantes permitiram ainda a categorização de dimensões como conhecimento aumentado, experiência profissional, autonomia e motivação. Como referido, em ambos os contextos ocupacionais, os impactos positivos foram menos mencionados que os negativos, mas não obstante, tornaram-se assim nas primeiras evidências de que também existem na profissão jornalística. O facto de existir uma predominância de impactos negativos, e apesar da elevada referência a respostas de eustress, sobretudo em cenários críticos, pode-se considerar que os jornalistas tendem a perceber o impacto de tais experiências como sendo especialmente prejudiciais à sua saúde e bem-estar, indicando um desfasamento entre respostas emocionais e impactos percebidos. Possivelmente, quando questionados sobre as consequências do seu trabalho na sua vida pessoal e profissional, tenha

ocorrido o mesmo enviesamento de pensamento já mencionado para as fontes de stress, e os impactos negativos tenham sido mais salientes do que os positivos.

Em função do número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma), verificaram-se diferenças significativas apenas nas duas dimensões de burnout identificadas no contexto diário, nomeadamente na dimensão de cinismo e na dimensão de exaustão emocional, revelando que os jornalistas com maior número de incursões têm maior tendência para mencionar sintomas de burnout. Ou seja, quanto mais os jornalistas são expostos ao trauma, mais tendem a desvalorizar a “rotina” diária profissional e a reduzir a empatia perante os outros na realização das suas tarefas (cinismo aumentado), levando os jornalistas a relativizar o seu trabalho diário e simultaneamente a protegerem-se da exaustão emocional associada (exaustão emocional reduzida).

A Importância do Suporte Organizacional para a Promoção da Saúde Ocupacional

No estudo 3, o facto das perceções dos jornalistas sobre o suporte organizacional distribuírem-se por três categorias (suporte dado aos jornalistas enquanto estão nos cenários críticos; suporte inexistente; suporte que as organizações deveriam fornecer aos jornalistas), e sempre com predominância de respostas para os cenários críticos, é informação relevante a ser tida em consideração nas medidas preventivas a cargo das entidades. Estes dados podem espelhar uma sensação de abandono na realização do seu trabalho como enviados especiais para cenários onde estão “debaixo de fogo” e sem o “colete à prova de bala” fornecido pela organização. A única categoria a revelar as perceções dos participantes sobre o suporte recebido refere-se exclusivamente aos cenários críticos. Esta categoria obteve um pouco menos de ¼ das respostas, o que pode revelar igualmente a falta de suporte percebido pelos jornalistas nestes cenários e reforça a consideração anterior. Numa análise global das três categorias definidas, verificam-se três tipos de suporte organizacional em cenários críticos

considerados como necessários pelos participantes: apoio material, logístico e burocrático; apoio psicológico; e formação. O primeiro reflete um tipo pragmático de apoio a ser fornecido pela organização antes (e.g., apoio para tratar das vacinas e dos visas), durante e após o trabalho (e.g., apoio em retirar o jornalista do cenário crítico em caso de emergência) realizado no evento crítico. Apesar de alguns participantes perceberem este tipo de suporte organizacional, um número quase idêntico referiu a sua ausência, o que deve levar as organizações a refletir e a identificar formas de melhorar esta condição. O apoio psicológico, mencionado também para o contexto diário, foi mencionado como necessário para reduzir o stress dos profissionais. Cabe às organizações a realização de esforços para combater ou até eliminar o estigma de serviços de saúde mental, disponibilizando assim este serviço aos seus profissionais. O apoio psicológico disponibilizado pela organização aos familiares dos jornalistas quando estes são destacados para cenários críticos foi outra medida sugerida pelos participantes, o que vai ao encontro de recomendações avançadas por Osofsky e colegas (2005). Quanto à formação, as respostas obtidas no estudo 3 sugerem programas formativos com informação sobre os riscos envolvidos na profissão e formas dos jornalistas se prepararem para o stress de noticiar desastres e acontecimentos traumáticos. Law (2007) sugere ainda temas como a vantagem dos jornalistas se prepararem antes de serem destacados como enviados especiais para cenários de guerra, a preparação para os riscos a que vão ser expostos, as estratégias de autoproteção a serem usadas e os sinais de aviso de PTSD a que devem estar atentos.

Verificaram-se diferenças significativas consoante o número de incursões a cenários críticos (exposição ao trauma) nas três categorias, mas apenas nos cenários críticos. Assim, no suporte dado aos jornalistas em cenários críticos, as diferenças significativas verificaram-se no apoio por parte dos pares e na formação, indicando que à medida que a experiência dos jornalistas em cenários críticos aumenta, o apoio dos pares e a formação como recursos

oferecidos pela organização são menos mencionados. Por um lado, isto pode indicar a adaptação dos jornalistas a tais cenários e daí atribuírem menor importância aos mesmos. Por outro, estes dados podem também evidenciar a desistência dos participantes em mostrar à organização a necessidade de tais formas de suporte, pondo em risco a própria saúde e bem-estar a longo prazo. No suporte inexistente, verificaram-se diferenças significativas no suporte psicológico e formação. No primeiro caso, as diferenças obtidas revelam que esta forma de suporte é mais reconhecida pelos jornalistas com maior número de incursões em cenários críticos. Tal dado enfatiza a importância desta forma de suporte na promoção da saúde e do bem-estar dos profissionais, reconhecendo também os efeitos emocionais a as “feridas de guerra” causadas pela experiência profissional em cenários críticos. Neste contexto os jornalistas lidam com a morte, o caos, a destruição, o sofrimento humano, pelo que seria ingênuo considerar-se que bastaria o regresso a casa e à rotina diária para superar esses horrores vividos. No caso da formação, as diferenças significativas encontradas mostram que são os jornalistas com menor número de incursões os que mais mencionam este modo de suporte organizacional. Quanto ao suporte que as organizações deveriam disponibilizar aos jornalistas, foram encontradas diferenças significativas no apoio médico e psicológico, indicando que os jornalistas com menos experiência em cenários críticos sugerem esta medida mais frequentemente. Os participantes neste estudo com maior número de incursões podem fazer uso de estratégias apropriadas que facilitam a sua adaptação a cenários críticos, contudo, podem também camuflar feridas psicológicas provocadas por experiências profissionais, pelo que ventilar e elaborar sobre tais experiências a um profissional seria um modo adequado de promoção da sua saúde e bem-estar.

Limitações e Pistas para Estudos Futuros

Apreciar os resultados dos estudos em conjunto, implica também ter em mente um conjunto de limitações e de considerações metodológicas comuns aos mesmos.

Apesar de se ter questionado os jornalistas em cada variável para ambos os contextos ocupacionais, as respostas obtidas para stressores, respostas emocionais, estratégias (de coping e de savoring), impactos e suporte organizacional tenderam mais para os cenários críticos do que para o contexto diário. Isto pode ser revelador de que a experiência profissional em cenários críticos (um critério para a participação nos estudos realizados) é mais saliente para os entrevistados que a mencionaram, surgindo, conseqüentemente, com maior regularidade nas suas reflexões sobre os temas abordados.

A metodologia retrospectiva e a amostra de pequena dimensão pode ter enviesado os resultados obtidos sobre as percepções dos indivíduos perante as variáveis em análise. As respostas dos participantes sobre as suas experiências profissionais são influenciadas pela sua memória mas também pelo seu interesse em falar sobre o assunto e pela sua abertura em partilhar as suas reflexões sobre o mesmo com o entrevistador. Assim, a importância do tópico em discussão para o entrevistado e a sua maior ou menor identificação com o assunto, irão influenciar a sua capacidade de elaboração ou de investimento na discussão de um determinado tópico em detrimento de outro. Conceptualmente, a análise realizada não foca apenas a frequência das respostas mas a prevalência dos temas abordados à medida que surgem na entrevista. Sugere-se para estudos futuros que os participantes tenham tido uma experiência recente em cenários críticos (entre um a três meses), para potenciar a memória da mesma e diminuir o possível enviesamento associado ao uso de metodologia retrospectiva.

Enquanto estudos qualitativos, baseados em entrevistas semiestruturadas, os resultados assentam nas respetivas análises de conteúdo, podendo, portanto, estar enviesados pela subjetividade do entrevistador e dos juizes. Contudo, evidência contraditória durante a

entrevista e durante a análise qualitativa foi tida em consideração para reduzir o mais possível esta limitação.

Poderia ter sido útil a realização de focus group visto tratar-se de um estudo exploratório sobre um contexto do qual ainda pouco se conhece e, através dessa metodologia que implica a interação entre os participantes, ser possível gerar discussões produtivas sobre as variáveis em análise e um debate em brainstorming. Desse modo, teria sido um complemento à informação recolhida nas entrevistas individuais realizadas.

Quanto à exposição a situações traumáticas, o facto de terem sido apenas consideradas em contexto profissional pode ter limitado as respostas dos participantes, pelo que estudos futuros deverão incluir a possibilidade de experiências traumáticas a nível pessoal e a magnitude do pior evento crítico noticiado, à semelhança de outros estudos (e.g., Backholm & Björkqvist, 2010; 2012b). Nos estudos 2 e 3 os participantes foram jornalistas com experiência em cenários críticos, seleccionados através de um processo de bola de neve, o que pode ter contribuir para um enviesamento na autosselecção da amostra. Estudos futuros, mesmo que centrados apenas no contexto diário, deverão comparar jornalistas com e sem experiência em eventos críticos, apesar de no estudo de Backholm e Björkqvist (2012b) não se terem verificado diferenças relativamente à severidade de sintomas de distress psicológico entre os jornalistas que trabalharam no incidente crítico (direta ou indiretamente) e um grupo de controlo (jornalistas que trabalhavam temas “neutros”).

Como se constatou através do estudo 1, existe uma predominância de estudos sobre a variável impactos, pelo que é necessária mais investigação científica sobre as outras variáveis de stress ocupacional (stressores, reações emocionais, estratégias), bem como mais estudos que incidam no lado positivo do stress e, se possível, na identificação de stressores específicos a cada reação emocional e respetivo impacto. É igualmente importante perceber a reação emocional causada por cada fonte de stress, uma vez que nos dados aqui obtidos se

constatou que fontes de stress negativas e reações emocionais positivas podem estar associadas. Do mesmo modo, é necessário analisar a relação entre reações emocionais e impactos pois, como se verificou, apesar de ser percecionado mais eustress do que distress, os impactos mencionados pelos jornalistas foram maioritariamente negativos.

Uma vez que os estudos aqui apresentados são restritos a jornalistas Portugueses, não é possível generalizar os dados a outros grupos. Como os jornalistas são um grupo heterogéneo, as suas diferenças (repórter, repórter de imagem, fotojornalista, editor, jornalistas freelancers...) devem ser consideradas em estudos futuros. Da mesma forma, as diferenças entre os jornalistas na base dos seus anos de experiência, da organização de comunicação social para a qual trabalham (imprensa, televisão, rádio) e género devem ser analisadas em amostras com um maior número de participantes. Relativamente às diferenças de género, por exemplo, a fonte de stress conflito trabalho-família nas jornalistas, sobretudo se forem esposas e mães, pode ter um peso mais significativo do que nos jornalistas, maridos e pais, dados os papéis de género que perduram na sociedade atual. Para uma análise mais aprofundada das estratégias de coping seria importante diferenciar as estratégias usadas por jornalistas de países ocidentais e as jornalistas de países do médio oriente onde muitos desafios de género se colocam, dada a cultura e os costumes locais. O uso de amostras maiores permitirá o recurso a testes paramétricos e a realização de outras inferências estatísticas. Não obstante, considera-se relevante a realização de mais estudos com metodologia qualitativa bem como outros métodos de recolha de dados (e.g., diários). De igual modo, seria muito benéfico a realização de estudos longitudinais, sobretudo no que concerne a participação em cenários críticos, podendo acompanhar as perceções dos jornalistas antes, durante e após a realização do trabalho. Deste modo, sugerem-se também estudos que analisem de modo aprofundado as situações de stress agudo (exposição a evento potencialmente traumático) e as situações de stress crónico (trabalho diário).

Uma última sugestão para trabalhos futuros consiste em estudos que comparem organizações que coloquem em prática as intervenções sugeridas e que sejam implementadas atendendo à informação recolhida pelos dados aqui apresentados com organizações que não as aplicam, de modo a compreender devidamente se as opiniões dos participantes são sugestões viáveis e eficazes para intervenções preventivas para a promoção da saúde e bem-estar dos jornalistas. Seriam importante futuramente estudos aplicados que permitam comparar jornalistas que recebam formação em gestão do stress, atendendo aos stressores mais comuns ao seu contexto ocupacional e estratégias de coping mais apropriadas, com aqueles que não recebam tal formação. Uma outra possibilidade seria comparar jornalistas com e sem acesso a programas de apoio psicológico na sua organização, seja no contexto diário no âmbito da prevenção do burnout, seja a ajudá-los a lidar com as relações familiares quando vão como enviados especiais para um evento crítico, seja a prepará-los para lidar com a exposição ao trauma (em ambos os contextos). Apenas com essa informação empírica será possível definir direções adequadas para construir, implementar e avaliar a eficácia de intervenções específicas em jornalistas, tal como ocorre com outros first responders (e.g., Dowling, Moynihan, Genet, & Lewis, 2006).

Implicações

Dos dados obtidos nos estudos realizados e aqui apresentados emerge um conjunto de implicações, teóricas e práticas, que devem ser tidas em conta quando se pretende estudar e intervir no stress ocupacional dos jornalistas.

Implicações teóricas

O uso de um quadro referencial teórico que dá coerência e robustez à análise sobre os dados obtidos é crucial para se avançar na investigação científica. Os estudos 2 e 3

permitiram reforçar o valor heurístico do modelo de stress ocupacional de Nelson e Simmons (2003), aplicando-o a jornalistas, e indo assim além dos tradicionais first responders (Monteiro & Gonçalves, 2008; Simmons & Nelson, 2001).

Recorrendo ao modelo de Nelson e Simmons (2003) como quadro teórico de referência foi possível focar no stress positivo (em termos de reações emocionais, estratégias para lidar com stressores e impactos) e ir além dos estudos clássicos que abordam apenas a adversidade e o negativo.

Os dados obtidos ilustram como variáveis de stress (stressores, reações emocionais, estratégias para lidar com o stress, impactos e suporte organizacional) se relacionam com o contexto ocupacional dos jornalistas (diário vs. eventos críticos) e com o número de incursões em cenários críticos. Esta última variável foi incluída na categoria do modelo “diferenças individuais” e analisada nos estudos 2 e 3, tendo um papel significativo no stress ocupacional dos jornalistas. Estudos futuros podem dar continuidade a esta opção conceptual de modo a explorar o impacto do número de incursões em cada um das outras variáveis de stress ocupacional enquanto característica individual do jornalista.

Relativamente aos stressores, constatou-se num primeiro momento, de análise de literatura, que existem stressores organizacionais (e.g., conflito trabalho-família) e stressores associados ao desempenho da função (exposição ao trauma) comuns nos dois contextos. Num segundo momento, de estudo empírico sobre os stressores nos cenários críticos, obteve-se uma maior clareza sobre as fontes de stress que os jornalistas percebem enfrentar nesse contexto, uma vez que se constatou que são sempre negativas e distintas consoante o momento da realização do trabalho (antes de partirem para cenários críticos, enquanto estão no epicentro da notícia, e após regressarem a Portugal). Assim, é possível considerar o processo de stress dos jornalistas como sendo faseado e, dependendo do momento em que se

encontram, estes profissionais podem beneficiar de apoio específico e diferenciado por parte da organização.

O facto das respostas emocionais positivas ou de eustress a fontes de stress serem quatro vezes superiores às negativas ou de distress, é de particular relevância. Relativamente aos contextos ocupacionais, o eustress percebido foi muito mais frequente e diferenciado em cenários críticos, do que no contexto diário. Pode-se assim afirmar que não só os jornalistas tendem a perceber mais reações emocionais positivas ao stress na realização do seu trabalho como isso acontece, sobretudo, nos cenários críticos. Apesar dos riscos que possam correr, os jornalistas sentem-se “mais vivos” e realizados quando estão em contexto de desastre, humano ou natural, do que numa reportagem do quotidiano.

Em termos das estratégias percebidas pelos jornalistas para lidarem com os stressores ocupacionais, verificou-se uma predominância de estratégias de coping em detrimento das estratégias de savoring, sugerindo desse modo, e de acordo com o postulado pelo modelo de Nelson e Simons (2003), uma preponderância do confronto com stressores negativos, o que vai ao encontro do estudo 1 e 2 se atendermos ao facto de que os stressores identificados foram de teor negativo. Ao comparar-se os dois contextos ocupacionais, as estratégias de coping são mais salientes nos cenários críticos, o que pode indicar, novamente, a presença significativa de fontes de stress negativo neste contexto.

Apesar dos jornalistas perceberem, no cômputo geral, mais momentos de eustress do que distress na realização do seu trabalho, percebem que sofrem mais impactos negativos do que positivos na sua saúde e bem-estar. Não obstante, foram identificados impactos positivos e que devem ser valorizados.

Os jornalistas consideram ser pouco ou nada apoiados pela entidade a que pertencem, tendo dado contribuições válidas para o papel das organizações em termos do suporte que devem prestar aos seus trabalhadores. As sugestões feitas alertam as organizações para o

facto de que é necessário preparar e apoiar adequadamente os jornalistas no desempenho do seu trabalho, um tema, à semelhança dos outros, negligenciado na investigação com este grupo profissional de elevado nível de stress. Isto aplica-se aos dois contextos.

Implicações práticas

O facto dos stressores organizacionais serem mais influenciados e controlados pelas organizações, e os stressores associados ao desempenho da função dependerem mais de características de funcionamento psicológico e estrutural do indivíduo, é informação que se pode verificar muito útil nos processos de recrutamento e seleção dos jornalistas. De igual modo, os dados obtidos sobre stressores são muito relevantes para a criação de programas de prevenção de stress, de formação e intervenção, bem como para a promoção do bem-estar destes profissionais.

Os dados obtidos sobre as respostas emocionais (mais eustress percebido do que distress, sobretudo em cenários críticos) podem alertar as organizações para o facto de ser necessária uma maior atenção a estes assuntos de modo a disponibilizarem aos seus profissionais, de forma estruturada e adequada, programas de preparação e suporte à realização do seu trabalho, contribuindo conseqüentemente, para a melhoria da eficácia e qualidade do trabalho jornalístico.

A predominância de impactos negativos percebidos pelos jornalistas alerta as organizações para uma maior aposta na saúde ocupacional dos seus trabalhadores. Existem também impactos positivos, os quais devem ser atendidos e reforçados por parte das organizações de modo a potenciar a qualidade e rentabilidade dos profissionais na realização do seu trabalho.

As organizações devem ter um papel mais ativo na preparação dos seus profissionais e no apoio que lhes disponibilizam, em ambos os contextos ocupacionais, ajudando-os a lidar

(cope ou savor) com os stressores ocupacionais, a desenvolver estratégias adequadas e saudáveis à medida que aumenta a sua experiência em eventos críticos, e a prevenir os impactos negativos. O suporte das organizações pode ser realizado sobretudo através do apoio material, logístico e burocrático; apoio psicológico; formação. Estas formas de apoio ganham especial relevo em cenários críticos, mas também no contexto de trabalho diário dos jornalistas.

Por fim, na área do stress ocupacional há ainda muito para ser feito de modo a promover a saúde e o bem-estar dos jornalistas, profissionais sujeitos a uma ocupação stressante e de risco. As organizações de comunicação social devem ter um papel mais ativo nesse objetivo pois ao garantirem o bem-estar dos seus trabalhadores, asseguram a qualidade e produtividade do trabalho destes, beneficiando reciprocamente a própria organização. A elaboração de intervenções eficazes para a prevenção do stress profissional, de modo a evitar custos individuais e organizacionais, deve assentar em dados científicos como aqueles que foram apresentados neste trabalho.

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