



Burnout in journalists: A systematic literature review[☆]



Jasmine B. MacDonald^{*}, Anthony J. Saliba, Gene Hodgins, Linda A. Ovington

School of Psychology, Charles Sturt University, Boorooma St., Wagga Wagga, NSW 2678, Australia

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 29 September 2015

Accepted 2 March 2016

Keywords:

Burnout
Job stress
Journalists
Work-related factors
Job satisfaction
Gender

ABSTRACT

The present study aims to provide a concise, comprehensive, and systematic review of the quantitative literature relating to the experience of burnout in journalists of various specialties and mediums. The systematic review method adopted is that prescribed by Fink (2010), which contains three main elements: Sampling the literature, screening the literature, and extracting data. Results indicate that journalists most at risk of burnout are females who are younger, with fewer years of journalism experience, working in small circulation newspapers. Editors and reporters seem to experience higher levels of burnout than those in other roles, as do journalists in non-management positions. The thorough and structured process adopted in this review provides the ability to assert with some degree of certainty what areas within the burnout and journalism literature require further consideration. This review emphasises and problematizes the large focus on male reporters in newspaper settings, settings that are becoming less significant over time. Studies have tended to focus on reporters, without providing a convincing a priori rationale. What is lacking is consideration of other role groups central to broadcast news, such as camera-operators. A range of methodological and theoretical issues and future areas of research are discussed.

© 2016 The Authors. Published by Elsevier GmbH. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>).

Contents

1. Introduction.....	35
1.1. Rationale and aim.....	35
2. Methods.....	35
2.1. Sampling the literature.....	36
2.2. Screening procedure.....	36
2.3. Data extraction.....	37
3. Review.....	37
3.1. Burnout and journalists.....	37
3.1.1. Mean scores on the MBI-HSS and MBI-GS.....	38
3.1.2. Burnout and work-related factors.....	39
3.1.3. Burnout and journalistic role.....	40
3.1.4. Burnout and circulation/market size.....	41
3.1.5. Burnout and years of experience.....	41
3.1.6. Burnout and age.....	41
3.1.7. Burnout and gender.....	41
3.1.8. Theoretical considerations of burnout in journalists.....	42
4. Conclusions and recommendations.....	42
Conflict of interest.....	43
Acknowledgements.....	43
References.....	43

[☆] This review was conducted under the provision of an Australian Postgraduate Award to the first author. However, the Australian Government were not involved in the topic selection for the research or in any other phase of the research or decision to submit for publication.

^{*} Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: jmacdonald@csu.edu.au (J.B. MacDonald), asaliba@csu.edu.au (A.J. Saliba), ghodgins@csu.edu.au (G. Hodgins), lovington@csu.edu.au (L.A. Ovington).

1. Introduction

In recent times there has been much discussion of the increasingly violent and fear driven nature of commercial news (Dworznic, 2006) and the media more generally (Furedi, 2006). The negative impact of news content on viewers has been a prominent trend within the academic domain (Newman, Shapiro, & Nelson, 2012; Smith & Wilson, 2000; Van der Molen and Bushman, 2008). There is global demand for up-to-date news, particularly when disaster strikes. However, often little consideration is given to the kinds of events and experiences journalists are exposed to in order to meet this demand. Past research and individual reports indicate that the potentially traumatic events (PTEs) journalists cover in their day-to-day work can have negative psychological implications for them, and therefore their families and the broader journalism industry. Psychological research concerning journalists has tended to focus on their exposure to PTEs and the associated individual level of trauma reactions and cognitive changes experienced, such as increased levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression symptoms (Feinstein, 2012; Simpson & Boggs, 1999; Weidman, Fehm, & Fydrich, 2008) or altered world assumptions (Pyeovich, Newman, & Daleiden, 2003).

A fundamental aspect of the work journalists do is to interact and form relationships with a wide range of people. These interactions commonly take place with victims, or friends and family of victims, experiencing some kind of news worthy crises or dilemma. Here the interest is not just on covering victims of large-scale disaster but also on general exposure to the broad spectrum of behaviours evident in society. It is not uncommon for local journalists to cover the same story more than once in some way or another over time, and therefore have ongoing contact with victims. This focus on getting the story from distressed individuals is comparable to the “relational transactions in the workplace” (Leiter, Maslach, & Schaufeli, 2001, p. 400) that play a key role in the development of burnout symptoms. Burnout is a concept that originally concerned human services personnel. The person-focused work of journalists parallels the experiences of those in the human services and is what makes journalists an important population when considering burnout. However, unlike human services personnel, journalists are not trained to make a difference directly in the lives of the people they work with, as they are there to tell the story and not to intervene. They also perform this role in an industry, and often organisational, context that individual reports have suggested is widely unaware and sometimes avoidant or stoic regarding the psychological risks of such work (Cooper, 1999; Matloff, 2004).

In addition to this high level of PTE exposure coupled with reduced perceived efficacy to bring about change, there is a range of organisational and industry factors that make journalists a population of interest when considering burnout. And whilst important work has been done to assess trauma exposure and reactions in journalists (for a review see MacDonald, Hodgins, & Saliba, 2015), it is these organisational and industry factors that are omnipresent and increase general levels of stress amongst journalists of all backgrounds and job roles and put them at risk of developing burnout. Indeed there have been a number of reports as early as the 1980s indicating that news organisations have sought psychological support services for their staff as a result of high levels of stress (Aiken, 1996; Shepard, 1999) and burnout (Wines, 1986).

As an industry, journalism has undergone a number of changes and continues to evolve. Of particular interest to the current discussion is the drive to cut costs within media organisations. This frequently means reduced staff size and therefore increased workload, as well as long and irregular hours for journalists. Unfortunately this change has also been associated with reduced income for journalists despite the greater workload and responsibilities (Radio-Television News Directors Association, 2009). Journalists

find themselves in an industry and organisational context of increased competitiveness, ongoing changes in technology and job roles, resource constraints, and constant deadlines. The result of these demands on journalists is that they have reduced capacity to perform basic self-care and work/life balance (i.e. maintaining relationships and a healthy diet, getting a good nights sleep, and exercising), further exacerbating the psychological implications of their work (Maskaly, 2008). Another issue is that recent graduates can quickly become disillusioned when they find that the values they were taught are not always fostered in real world practice contexts (Pihl-Thingvad, 2014). Journalists of varying experience levels are at risk of burnout when they have personal and professional motives for maintaining high practice standards in an environment where they have reduced levels of control, staffing support, budget, and a diminished sense of purpose (Goetz, 2002; Kalter, 1999).

A unique concern in journalism is the “product of one’s labors playing out in public and carrying real stakes” (Kalter, 1999, p. 30), including potential legal ramifications and associated costs to the individual or organisation. As such, staff experiencing symptoms of burnout are a potential liability for organisations if they are not provided appropriate support. There is also an industry trend in which many roles and services are being pushed in to freelance modes, meaning less security and organisational support, and increased isolation for journalists (Newman, 2002). Each of the factors outlined are problematic in their own respect. However, the overall prognosis for journalists becomes even dimmer when one considers the traditionally stoic and cynical newsroom culture that pervades many organisations, meaning many journalists feel that they cannot seek social support from their colleagues or management without the risk of seeming weak or fearing the loss of their job (Di Giovanni, 2009; Vorenberg, 2012). Alternatively, journalists may turn to less useful coping mechanism such as alcohol because they are socially more appropriate in the newsroom culture (MacDonald, Saliba, & Hodgins, 2015). In addition to the impact of these factors on the individual journalist, the broader journalism industry is impacted in a range of qualitative and economic ways, as job commitment declines and employee turnover increases (Reinardy, 2011a).

1.1. Rationale and aim

The present systematic literature review (SLR) aims to provide a concise, comprehensive, and systematic review of the quantitative literature relating to the experience of burnout in journalists as a result of a range of demographic and work-related factors. It does so by maintaining clear inclusion and exclusion criteria, as well as transparency regarding the manner in which quality of the studies sampled was assessed. In this way, the findings will provide a valuable synthesis of existing knowledge to inform future directions in burnout research and practice in journalists. It also has the capacity to raise issues and make suggestions for research and practice in other specific occupational groups. The research question is: ‘What insights can the quantitative literature provide regarding burnout as an implication of journalistic work?’ There appears to be two other review article written regarding the psychological implications of journalistic work (Aoki, Malcolm, Yamaguchi, Thorncroft, & Henderson, 2012; MacDonald, Saliba et al., 2015), however, neither consider burnout.

2. Methods

The systematic review method adopted within the present study was based on that prescribed by Fink (2010), which contains three main elements: Sampling the literature, screening the literature, and extracting data. This procedure is highly consistent with previ-

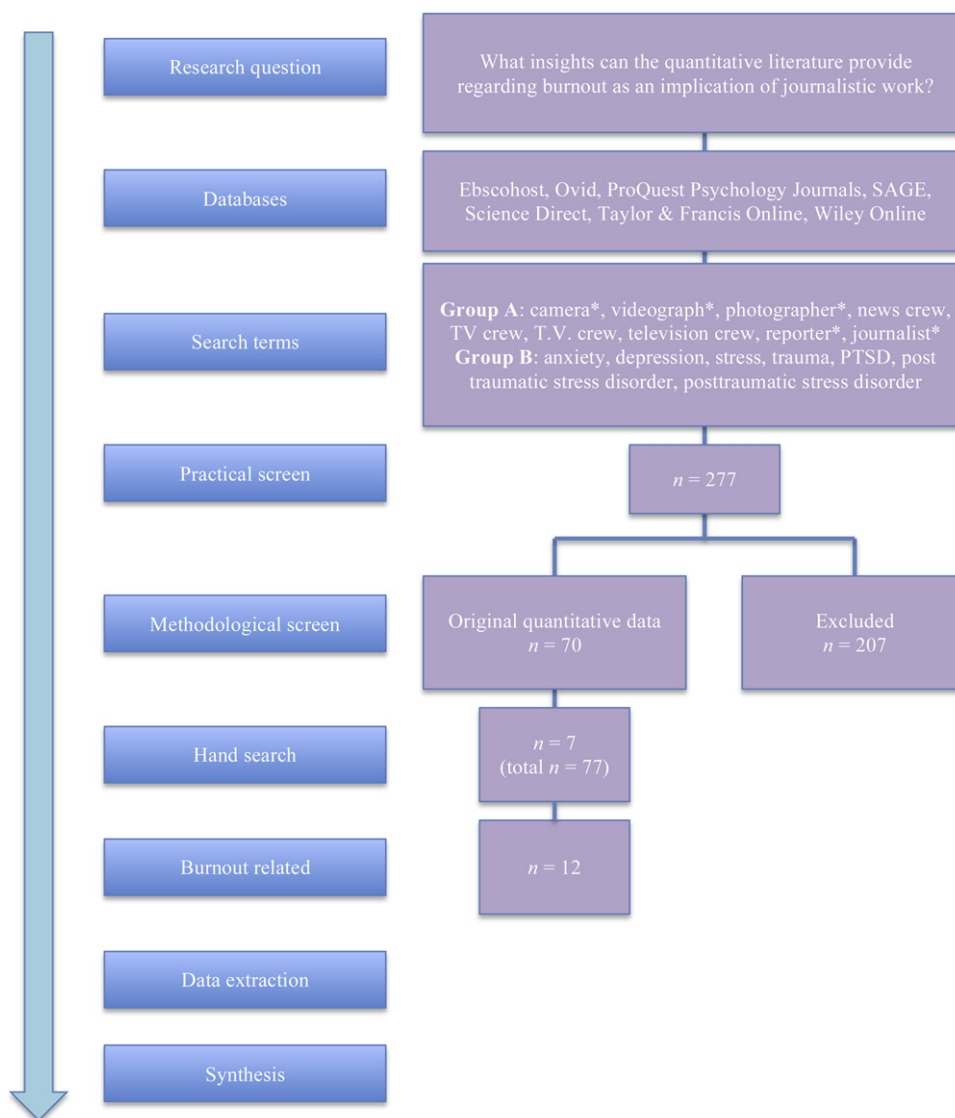


Fig. 1. Flow chart of the systematic literature review process. *Wildcard character used in search queries to obtain various extensions upon the specified root word.

ous reviews in the nexus of journalism and psychology (MacDonald, Saliba et al., 2015) and with the PRISMA checklist for systematic reviews and meta-analyses (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & The PRISMA Group, 2009). Fig. 1 is a flow chart of the steps taken throughout the procedure, beginning with the research question and concluding with the synthesis of results.

2.1. Sampling the literature

The literature was sampled in two steps. In the first step, key terms were developed and used to source appropriate studies from a range of electronic databases. This search took place between 7th January and 31st March 2013. The electronic databases utilised (listed in Fig. 1) were selected because they cover a range of journalism, communications, and social science publications, and as such are likely to contain studies relating to psychological implications of journalistic work. The search terms utilised included every combination of Group A terms paired with Group B terms (listed in Fig. 1). Search terms were originally derived theoretically, through preliminary reviewing of the literature, and from key terms associated with seminal studies. A group of professionals in the news production industry were provided with the original list of key terms and encouraged to suggest additions. This group included two televi-

sion news camera-operators, two television news reporters, and an academic journalist with experience in a range of journalistic outlets, including various print mediums and radio. The list of selected databases and key terms were then reviewed by a panel of experienced researchers and practitioners; representing the communication and creative industries, journalism, psychology, and the social sciences and humanities.

In the second step, all studies obtained through step one were used as potential sources for further sampling. A hand search of reference lists was conducted, allowing for the identification of pertinent earlier studies. In addition to this, the electronic database Scopus was used to search each author and study, allowing for the identification of other studies by relevant authors, as well as more recent literature that has referenced the studies obtained in step one. Finally, all authors were contacted and encouraged to suggest examples of their own work not identified through steps one and two.

2.2. Screening procedure

The literature was screened in two phases: a practical screen and a methodological screen (Fink, 2010). The practical screen is the initial appraisal of how useful a piece of literature might be to

Practical Screen	
Inclusion Criteria:	Exclusion Criteria:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on psychological implications for journalists • English language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus only on physical harm implications for journalists • Book reviews
Methodological Screen	
Inclusion Criteria:	Exclusion Criteria:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Original quantitative data reported 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative data reported only • Anecdotal reports • ‘Expert’ review and discussion papers • Original quantitative data reported without description of method or procedure

Fig. 2. Inclusion and exclusion criteria.

the overall review (Fink, 2010). This appraisal was based on a set of predetermined inclusion and exclusion criteria (Fig. 2). No criterion was set for year of publication because the preliminary literature review suggested that the topic is a relatively young area of study, and because maximum coverage was desirable at this point in the SLR procedure. For each document identified through the sampling procedure, the abstract was examined to determine whether the focus was on the psychological implications of working as a journalist. Where documents did not include an abstract, an electronic key term search was conducted and relevant parts of the document were reviewed to establish the context and purpose of the document. Where sources did not include an abstract and an electronic key term search was not possible, the entire document was reviewed to assess suitability. Where a mixed-methods design was adopted relevant quantitative findings are reported. Two hundred and seventy-seven documents were assessed as suitable through the practical screen for further review.

The first author conducted the databases search and practical screen. As an indication of the reliability of the practical screening process, the fourth author was provided a random sample of search results ($n=441$) and applied the practical screen according to the procedure described above. The aim was to represent each category of journalistic role (Group A terms, $n=9$), psychological symptoms (Group B terms, $n=7$), and databases ($n=7$). As such, one document was randomly selected from the list of resulting documents from each of the potential combinations of search terms and databases ($9 \times 7 \times 7=441$). Cohen’s Kappa indicated an excellent level of agreement (0.98) between reviewers.

The methodological screen was then applied to each of the 277 documents, incorporating a second round of inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Fig. 2). This phase of screening was primarily concerned with identifying empirical research studies that produced original quantitative data and described the research design and methods utilised. Whilst qualitative studies and anecdotal reports are highly relevant and useful in understanding the broader topic, the underlying assumptions differ, making the application of a single set of quality assessment criteria across methodologically diverse literature inappropriate. In addition, to be included in the present review each article was required to provide findings and

a discussion specifically relevant to the experience of burnout in journalists. As Fig. 1 shows, 77 documents matched the methodological criterion for inclusion. Finally, of the 77 documents that passed the methodological screen, only 12 related to journalists and burnout. The present SLR focuses on those 12 documents.

2.3. Data extraction

A template was developed with a series of categories that were completed for each article sampled in the present review. The template categories were tested against each article and evolved through the extraction process to reflect the content and specifics of this particular area of research. The completed series of templates constituted a database from which patterns in data could be identified, as well as areas that are yet to be explored.

3. Review

Each of the studies discussed adopted a cross-sectional design except in the case of Richardsen and Martinussen (2005), which adopted a longitudinal design. It is noteworthy that Reinardy was the author of seven of the 12 articles reviewed. Some of these articles by Reinardy (2009, 2011a) appear to be based on samples taken from the same database of responses. It is unclear as to what extent the samples of other studies by Reinardy overlap. Reinardy has predominantly assessed burnout in U.S. newspaper journalists. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings. Three of the 12 studies sampled focused on sports journalists. All studies sampled are marked with an asterisk in the reference list.

3.1. Burnout and journalists

Table 1 provides an overview of the studies relating to burnout in journalists. As Table shows, studies in this area were most likely to have been conducted in U.S., predominantly in newspaper settings, and compared reporters’ experiences of burnout to other journalistic roles. Burnout scales were being developed in the early 1980s (Leiter et al., 2001); however, Endres conducted what seems to have been the earliest study to consider levels of burnout in journalists

Table 1
Summary of studies assessing burnout in journalist samples.

Study	Country	Data collection	Sample	<i>n</i>	Male <i>n</i> (%)	Female <i>n</i> (%)	Media outlet	Measure
Endres (1988)	U.S.	Paper-based survey	Reporters, copy editors, non-supervisory editors, photographers, and editorial writers	252	158 (62.7)	94 (37.3)	Newspaper	Single item
Cook and Banks (1993)	U.S.	Survey (unspecified format)	Reporters and copy editors	110	Unspecified	Unspecified	Newspaper	MBI-HSS
Cook et al. (1993)	U.S.	Paper-based survey	Reporters and copy editors	120	Unspecified	Unspecified	Newspaper	MBI-HSS
Richardson and Martinussen (2005)	Norway	Paper-based survey	Journalists	93	55 (59.1)	38 (40.9)	Unspecified	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2006)	U.S.	Paper-based and online survey	Sports writers, editors, and desk personnel	236	203 (86.0)	33 (14.0)	Newspaper	MBI-HSS
Reinardy (2008)	U.S.	Online survey	Sports editors	184	Unspecified	Unspecified	Newspaper	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2009)	U.S.	Online survey	Journalists	715	412 (57.6)	303 (42.4)	Newspaper	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2011a)	U.S.	Online survey	Reporters, news editors, executive/managing editors, copy editors/designers, and photographers	770	443 (57.5)	327 (42.5)	Newspaper	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2012b)	U.S.	Online survey	Sportscasters	272	Unspecified	Unspecified	Broadcast	MBI-GS
Jung and Kim (2012)	Korea	Paper-based survey	Reporters and general staff	395	277 (70.1)	118 (29.9)	Newspaper	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2013a)	U.S.	Online survey	Reporters, producers, news directors, camera-operators, anchors, news editors, online/social media staff, sports staff, and meteorologists	887	399 (45.0)	488 (55.0)	Broadcast	MBI-GS
Reinardy (2013b)	U.S.	Online survey	Reporters, managers, news editors, and photographers	2159	1317 (61)	842 (39)	Newspaper	MBI-GS

Note:

1. Some articles provided gender percentages only and rounded decimals. As such, the *n* figures provided are a close approximation in some cases.
2. MBI-HSS = Maslach Burnout Inventory—Human Services Survey.
3. MBI-GS = Maslach Burnout Inventory—General Survey.

in 1988. Endres did not use a psychometric scale; rather participants were asked if they had experienced burnout as a result of their work. Thirty-six per cent of the sample indicated that they had experienced burnout at some point in their career, providing the first estimated prevalence rate of burnout for this cohort. The difficulty with simply asking if participants experience burnout is that each individual responding may have a unique understanding of what burnout entails, understandings that may not align across participants or with the focus of the research. Such questioning has good face validity, but poor reliability and validity. However, for the purpose of exploring burnout and putting it on the research radar for journalists, this questioning whilst limited was appropriate.

Aside from Endres (1988), all other studies assessing burnout in journalists used one of two versions of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI). Maslach and colleagues conducted a number of research projects between 1976 and 1980 that, along with the work of Freudenberger (1974), lead to the development of the first MBI presented by Maslach and Jackson (1981). Schaufeli and van Dierendonck (2000) describe the MBI as being used to measure burnout in over 90% of empirical articles published on the construct. The MBI has evolved over time and there are now three versions of the scale: Human Services Survey (MBI-HSS; Maslach & Jackson, 1981), Educators Survey (MBI-ES; Maslach & Jackson, 1986), and the General Survey (MBI-GS; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). The first two versions of the scale (MBI-HSS and MBI-ES) were developed to assess burnout in the human services and teachers working closely with 'clients' of their organisations. However, as people became more aware and interested in the concept of burnout, the demand for its application within broader organisational contexts became apparent. As a result, the MBI-GS was developed. Research concerning journalists and burnout has utilised the MBI-HSS and MBI-GS. The MBI-HSS contains 22 items across three subscales: Emotional exhaustion (EE), depersonalisation (DEP), and personal accomplishment (PA). The MBI-GS consists of 16 items across three subscales that are equivalent to those of the

MBI-HSS: Exhaustion (Ex), cynicism (Cy), and professional efficacy (Pe).

3.1.1. Mean scores on the MBI-HSS and MBI-GS

Three studies used the MBI-HSS to measure levels of burnout amongst journalist samples. Because the scale was developed to assess burnout in the human services, Reinardy (2006, p. 407) reworded items to relate to journalists "general feelings toward people". Changing the wording of items reduces the ability to compare across studies. According to the MBI-HSS suggested cut-offs (Maslach & Jackson, 1986), the overall sample of sports journalists indicated high levels of PA, moderate levels of EE and DEP (Table 2). Cook and Banks (1993) and Cook, Banks, and Turner (1993) also used the MBI-HSS to measure burnout, although no descriptive statistics were reported making comparison of mean burnout levels across studies impossible. The latter two studies primarily focus on correlation analyses for a range of variables, which are discussed in the following sections.

Eight studies used the MBI-GS and all except Reinardy (2009) reported overall mean scores that can be located in Table 2. The cut-offs generally applied when considering responses on the MBI-GS (Schaufeli et al., 1996) can also be located in Table 2. Six studies (Reinardy, 2008, 2011a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b; Richardson & Martinussen, 2005) can be discussed according to the suggested cut-offs for the overall sample. All six found journalists to be experiencing average levels of Ex. This corresponds with the moderate levels of EE on the MBI-HSS reported by Reinardy (2006), despite the change in item wording. Categorisation for Cy and Pe is less clear. For Cy, Richardson and Martinussen (2005) and Reinardy (2008, 2012b, 2013a) reported moderate levels. This corresponds with the moderate levels of DEP on the MBI-HSS reported by Reinardy (2006). However, Reinardy (2011a, 2013b) reported high levels of Cy. For Pe, Richardson and Martinussen (2005) and Reinardy (2011a, 2013b) reported moderate levels, whilst Reinardy (2008, 2012b, 2013a) reported high levels. Reinardy (2006) also reported high levels of PA using the MBI-HSS. Inconsistent find-

Table 2
MBI-HSS and MBI-GS mean scores for overall sample.

MBI-HSS ^b			
Study	EE <i>M (SD)</i>	DEP <i>M (SD)</i>	PA <i>M (SD)</i>
Reinardy (2006)	20.29 (10.09)	8.68 (5.99)	29.39 (6.50)
MBI-GS ^c			
Study	Ex <i>M (SD)</i>	Cy <i>M (SD)</i>	Pe <i>M (SD)</i>
Richardsen and Martinussen (2005)	2.62 (1.47)	2.00 (1.56)	4.57 (0.91)
Reinardy (2008)	2.45 (1.27)	1.82 (1.34)	5.33 (0.58)
Reinardy (2011a)	2.93 (1.47)	2.63 (1.63)	4.90 (0.84)
Jung and Kim (2012) ^a	3.12 (0.75)	2.78 (0.68)	2.50 (0.55)
Reinardy (2012b)	2.32 (1.40)	2.01 (1.45)	5.30 (0.58)
Reinardy (2013a)	2.62 (1.50)	2.03 (1.55)	5.26 (0.70)
Reinardy (2013b)	2.77 (1.41)	2.34 (1.50)	4.94 (0.80)

^a Jung and Kim (2012) utilised a 5-point Likert, as opposed to the 7-point Likert used in the other studies.

^b MBI-HSS suggested cut-offs (Maslach & Jackson, 1986): Emotional Exhaustion (EE): Low = ≤ 16. Moderate = 17–26. High = ≥ 27. Depersonalisation (DEP): Low = ≤ 6. Moderate = 7–12. High = ≥ 13. Personal Accomplishment (PA): Low = ≥ 39. Moderate = 32–38. High = ≤ 31.

^c MBI-GS suggested cut-offs (Schaufeli et al., 1996): Exhaustion (Ex): Low = ≤ 2.00. Moderate = 2.01–3.19. High = ≥ 3.20. Cynicism (Cy): Low = ≤ 1.00. Moderate = 1.01–2.19. High = ≥ 2.20. Professional Efficacy (Pe): Low = ≤ 4.00. Moderate = 4.01–4.99. High = ≥ 5.00.

ings may be the result of differences in the samples concerning the roles of the journalists sampled. Section 3.1.3 details the differences identified across journalistic roles in relation to the three burnout subscales.

Jung and Kim (2012) adopted the MBI-GS, however, rather than utilising a seven-point Likert scale as in the original, a five-point Likert was implemented. The MBI-GS was translated into Korean, however, no details of the translation procedure were provided. Such a change makes interpretation and direct comparison of means across studies challenging and applying suggested cut-offs problematic. Levels of exhaustion were found to be higher than levels of cynicism and professional efficacy (Jung & Kim, 2012; Table 2).

3.1.2. Burnout and work-related factors

Burnout is associated with negative outcomes for individuals and organisations. Jung and Kim (2012) highlight the point that burnout has been considered a key factor in determining employee turnover in various organisational settings. As such, they performed two sets of regression analyses, both using the three subscales of burnout as independent variables. The first regression analysis utilised levels of organisational commitment as the dependent variable (DV). The results indicated that higher levels of Cy (significant predictor – sig. hereafter) and Ex (n.s.), and lower levels of Pe (sig.) were associated with reduced levels of organisational commitment. In the overall model, burnout explained 33.8% (sig.) of the variability in organisational commitment (Jung & Kim, 2012). The second regression analysis utilised turnover intention as the DV. The results indicated that greater intention to leave the organisation was associated with higher levels of Cy and Ex, and lower levels of Pe (all three sig.). In this overall model, burnout explained 37.1% (sig.) of the variability in turnover intention (Jung & Kim, 2012).

An earlier study by Reinardy (2011a) found similar results. Participants indicating stronger intentions to leave the journalism industry scored significantly higher on Ex and Cy, and significantly lower on Pe. These findings are not surprising, but they do suggest a link between burnout scores and the industry problem of employee turnover (Reinardy, 2011a), hence highlighting the importance of researching and addressing the psychological aspects of journalistic work. They also compel researchers and industry practitioners alike to consider a potential profile of those journalists who might

be most at risk. A number of studies have gone beyond measuring levels of burnout and have tried to discern whether various work-related factors, such as income and work-family conflict are associated with levels of burnout. Such studies are useful in that they have the potential to provide insight and context to the broader picture and highlight possible risk factors for journalists. Each burnout subscale is considered below in turn in relation to a range of means, correlational, and regression analyses assessing work-related factors in various studies concerning journalist samples.

3.1.2.1. Emotional exhaustion (EE and Ex). Reinardy (2012a, 2011b, 2010, 2007) has conducted numerous studies concerning levels of job satisfaction amongst U.S. newspaper and TV (Reinardy, 2014; Reinardy & Crawford, 2011) journalists. However, only his work considering the relationship between burnout and job satisfaction in journalists will be discussed. Reinardy (2008) hypothesised that increased levels of job satisfaction would be associated with reduced levels of burnout. Job satisfaction was measured using the satisfaction subscale from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire. Multiple regression analyses indicated that job satisfaction was a significant negative predictor of Ex. Other studies have also found increased levels of Ex to be significantly associated with reduced job satisfaction in journalists (Cook et al., 1993; Jung & Kim, 2012; Reinardy, 2013b).

Another two factors associated with EE are perceived organisational support and work-family conflict. Reinardy (2008) measured both factors. It was hypothesised that increased levels of perceived organisational support would be associated with reduced levels of burnout. Perceived organisational support was measured using the Perceived Organizational Support (POS) scale. Multiple regression analyses indicated that perceived organisational support was not significantly associated with exhaustion. However, Reinardy (2013a) found that broadcast journalists experiencing low levels of organisational support had significantly greater levels of Ex.

Reinardy (2008) also hypothesised that sports editors experiencing increased work-life conflict and role overload would be more likely to experience burnout. Work-life conflict was measured using the Work-Family Conflict (WFC) scale, whereas Reinardy (2008) is not explicit regarding the measure adopted for role overload. Multiple regression analyses indicated that WFC and role overload together accounted for approximately 25% of the variance in Ex (sig.), and both were significant positive predictors. These findings are comparable to those reported for sportscasters (Reinardy, 2012b). Similarly, broadcast journalists with greater levels of role overload were found to have significantly greater levels of Ex (Reinardy, 2013a).

Other work-related factors found to be significantly associated with increased levels of Ex include increased job demands (Reinardy, 2012b), reduced income (Cook & Banks, 1993; Jung & Kim, 2012), increased workload or work pressure and reduced sense of autonomy (Cook et al., 1993; Jung & Kim, 2012), reduced capacity for innovation (Jung & Kim, 2012), and low levels of morale (Reinardy, 2013b), involvement, peer cohesion, task orientation, and physical comfort (Cook et al., 1993).

3.1.2.2. Cynicism and depersonalisation (Cy and DEP). As in the case of Ex, high levels of Cy and DEP have been found to be significantly associated with low levels of job satisfaction in journalists (Cook et al., 1993; Reinardy, 2008, 2013b). Jung and Kim (2012) assessed five areas of job satisfaction (the work itself, supervisors, co-workers, salary, and opportunity for promotion) and found that low levels in each of them were associated with increased Cy. Dissatisfaction with the work itself and with co-workers were the most important variables in terms of job satisfaction (Jung & Kim, 2012). Higher levels of Cy and DEP have also been found to be significantly

associated with reduced capacity for innovation (Jung & Kim, 2012) and autonomy in the workplace (Cook et al., 1993; Jung and Kim, 2012), low levels of perceived organisational support (Reinardy, 2008, 2012b, 2013a), as well as low levels of involvement, peer cohesion, task orientation, and physical comfort in the workplace (Cook et al., 1993). Reinardy (2008) found that together WFC and role overload accounted for approximately 11% of the variance in cynicism (sig.). Individually, role overload was not found to be a significant predictor, whilst WFC was. Similarly, broadcast journalists with greater levels of role overload were found to have significantly greater levels of Cy (Reinardy, 2013a). Other factors associated with higher levels of cynicism include low levels of trust and morale (Reinardy, 2013b). In a study of sportscasters, changes in the way sports are covered within the organisation were also found to be a significant positive predictor of Cy (Reinardy, 2012b).

3.1.2.3. Professional efficacy and personal accomplishment (Pe and PA). In contrast to Ex and Cy, job satisfaction has been found to be a significant positive predictor of Pe and PA (Cook et al., 1993; Reinardy, 2008, 2012b, 2013b). Jung and Kim (2012) assessed five areas of job satisfaction (the work itself, supervisors, co-workers, salary, and opportunity for promotion) and found that low levels of Pe were significantly associated with lower levels of satisfaction with the work itself, supervisors, and their salary. Other variables significantly positively associated with Pe include organisational support (Reinardy, 2013a), involvement, peer cohesion, supervisors' support, autonomy, task orientation, and clarity in the workplace (Reinardy, 2008). Finally, Reinardy reported that in relation to professional efficacy, neither WFC or role overload were found to be significant predictors (Reinardy, 2008), but levels of trust and morale were (Reinardy, 2013b). Dissimilarly, Reinardy (2013a) found that broadcast journalists with low levels of role overload had significantly greater Pe.

3.1.3. Burnout and journalistic role

The findings discussed in Sections 3.1.3.–3.1.7. further our capacity to build a profile of those journalists who might be most at risk of burnout symptoms. Six studies assessed potential differences in levels of burnout between various journalistic roles. Cook and Banks (1993) and Cook et al. (1993) compared newspaper reporters to copy editors using the MBI-HSS. Reinardy (2006) compared newspaper sports writers, sports editors, and sports desk personnel using the MBI-HSS. Jung and Kim (2012) used the MBI-GS to compare newspaper reporters to general staff, whereas Reinardy (2011a) used the MBI-GS to compare newspaper reporters, news editors, executive/managing editors, copy editors/designers, and photographers. Finally, Reinardy (2013a) used the MBI-GS to compare broadcast producers, anchors, and reporters. None of these studies provided an a priori rationale as to why a difference in the experience of burnout might be expected across roles, and only two provided some kind of discussion of why differences were found (Cook et al., 1993; Reinardy, 2006).

In Cook and Banks' (1993) study, a series of ANCOVA were performed to compare the three burnout scales to the role of journalists, using years of experience as the covariate because of its significant relationship with the burnout scales during preliminary analysis. Copy editors were found to have significantly higher levels of EE and DEP when compared to reporters. Comparably, Cook et al. (1993) also found that copy editors had significantly higher levels of EE and DEP when compared to reporters. Neither study found a significant difference between copy editors and reporters for PA. Cook and Banks (1993) went a step further by assessing differences within role groups. General assignment reporters were found to have significantly higher levels of EE than beat reporters. Copy editors who only performed copy editing tasks were found to

have significantly higher levels of PA than those copy editors who were also required to perform layout and design duties.

Cook et al. (1993) aimed to extend upon Cook and Banks' (1993) work by adopting an established measure of work environment factors so as to relate them to levels of burnout. The scale adopted was the Work Environment Scale (WES) which consists of 10 nine-item scales that assess: Involvement, peer cohesion, supervisor's support, autonomy, task orientation, work pressure, clarity, control, innovation, and physical comfort. Job satisfaction was also considered. Reporters were found to have significantly higher job satisfaction levels. In terms of work environment, reporters were found to have significantly lower levels of control but higher scores on the scales of involvement, autonomy, innovation, and physical comfort. Cook et al. (1993, p. 132) suggest that "This comes at a time when changing technologies and media competition are placing more responsibilities on copy editors as newspaper managers search for market survival."

Jung and Kim (2012) assessed differences based on role for the burnout subscales. The results indicated a significant difference for only one subscale; reporters had significantly higher Ex scores than general staff. With all results taken in to account, it would appear as though copy editors experience the highest levels of exhaustion, followed by reporters, and then general staff. The inclusion of the WES (Cook et al., 1993) is advantageous because it suggests variables that contribute to the experience of burnout: Involvement, autonomy, innovation, and physical comfort. By identifying variables such as these, the potential for practical interventions and organisation decisions to reduce burnout levels is improved.

Reinardy (2006) assessed mean differences for burnout across three role groups: Sports writers, sports editors, and sports desk personnel. Whilst editors scored higher than writers and desk personnel on PA, no significant differences were found. The three groups all reported moderate levels of PA. Editors had significantly higher levels of EE and DEP than writers and desk personnel. The three groups reported moderated levels of EE or DEP. These results correspond with the previously described studies comparing editors to writers/reporters. Reinardy (2006, p. 408) suggests "Desk personnel might have a lower rate of burnout because they do not travel, are not away from their families as often as sports writers, and have more uniform hours than either sports writers or editors."

Reinardy (2011a) used ANOVA to compare journalists across five roles: Reporters, news editors, executive/managing editors, copy editors/designers, and photographers. Unlike the previously mentioned studies reporting that copy editors have significantly higher levels of exhaustion and DEP and Cy than reporters, Reinardy (2011a) found no differences in Ex across the five roles. Copy editors/page designers scored significantly higher levels of Cy than executive/managing editors, but not significantly higher than reporters (Reinardy, 2011a). Where the previous studies found no differences between reporters and copy editors for Pe and PA, Reinardy (2011a) found that reporters experienced significantly lower levels of Pe than both news editors and executive/managing editors. Such results lead Reinardy (2011a) to explore differences between journalists in management positions and those not in management positions through *t*-tests. Managers were found to experience higher levels of Pe and lower levels of Cy than non-managers. The differences on both Pe and Cy were significant, however, a category difference in terms of the cut-off scores employed was only present for Pe. "While both groups are experiencing high levels of cynicism, non-managers report only moderate rates of efficacy compared to managers' high rates of efficacy" (p. 42). This is important because Pe and PA function as a kind of buffer against the development of Ex/EE and Cy/DEP.

Reinardy (2013a, p. 32) sampled a range of broadcast journalism roles; "executive producer, producer, news director/assignment editor, shooting/editing, reporter, anchor,

news editor, online/social media, sports, meteorologist, and anchor/reporter/producer". Reinardy reported that no significant differences were found across the roles. However, mean scores were only provided for three roles (producers, anchors, and reporters). Producers were found to have higher levels of Ex, Cy, and Pe when compared to anchors and reporters (all roles had high levels of Ex and Cy, and moderate levels of Pe).

3.1.4. *Burnout and circulation/market size*

When considering the experiences and psychological well-being of journalists working in a newspaper setting, researchers have asserted that the size of the newspaper is likely to have an impact. One way of operationalising size is to compare journalists based on the circulation size of their newspaper. Circulation size is the number of newspapers that are distributed daily. Correlation analysis indicates that journalists working at newspapers with smaller circulation sizes have greater levels of EE (Cook & Banks, 1993) and PA (Cook et al., 1993). Cook and Banks (1993, p. 114) highlight the fact that "Previous research on other professions has indicated that job role ambiguity or multiple job assignments have been associated with high levels of job burnout. It would appear the larger daily newspapers had more clear-cut work assignments in regard to both reporter and copy editor positions." This echoes the findings mentioned in the previous section that general assignment reporters were found to have significantly higher levels of EE than beat reporters, and that copy editors who only performed copy editing tasks were found to have significantly higher levels of PA than those copy editors who were also required to perform layout and design duties. It may be the case that this increased ambiguity and the demand on journalists to complete many diverse tasks and roles at smaller newspapers leads to a greater sense of PA when they are successful in meeting or exceeding these demands.

Reinardy (2006) divided participants in to two categories according to circulation size: $\leq 200,000$ and $\geq 200,001$. Journalists with smaller circulations scored only slightly higher on PA than those with greater circulations. The difference between means was greater for EE and DEP, those with smaller circulations again scoring higher than those with greater circulations. The two groups did not differ in categorisation according to MBI cut-offs. Statistical analysis to assess significance of differences was not conducted. The findings for EE and PA are consistent with the correlation studies by Cook and Banks (1993) and Cook et al. (1993). In a later study, Reinardy (2011a) divided participants in to three groups according to circulation size: Small $\leq 38,000$, medium = 38,001–190,000, and large $\geq 190,001$. The results indicated that those in the small circulation size group were more exhausted than those in the large group; however, no differences were found for PA or DEP. The results for EE are consistent with the studies mentioned above, but this time a significant difference was indicated. This may be because the sample was divided in to three groups, as opposed to two as in the 2006 study, making the difference in circulation size larger when comparing the small to the large group.

Reinardy (2013a) was the only study to assess levels of burnout for broadcast journalists working across various market sizes; 1–25, 26–50, 51–100. The results indicated a non-linear pattern in which the smallest and the largest market size groups scored higher than the mid-range group on all three burnout subscales. Similar to the newspaper research outlined above, broadcast journalists in the smallest market size had the highest Ex score (all three groups had high levels of Ex). However, the largest market size group had higher levels of Cy (all had high levels of Cy) and Pe (all had moderate levels of Pe).

3.1.5. *Burnout and years of experience*

Cook and Banks (1993) found that the fewer years of experience, the greater the level of EE for the journalist. They also found that

those with fewer years of experience had greater levels of DEP. In Reinardy's (2006) study participants were broken into two categories according to their years of experience in the industry: ≤ 15 years and ≥ 16 years. Journalists with fewer years of experience scored only slightly higher on EE and PA than those with greater experience. The difference between means was greater for DEP, those with less experience again scoring higher than those with more experience. The EE and DEP results are consistent with those of Cook and Banks (1993), however Reinardy did not assess the level of significance in differences between means and the two age groups did not differ in categorisation according to MBI cut-offs. In a later study Reinardy (2008) divided participants in to two years of experience categories. This time the groups were determined by a much shorter cut-off: ≤ 6 years and ≥ 7 years. No significant differences were found across the two groups for any of the burnout subscales. It is noteworthy that no theoretical reason is given for the categories adopted in either of the studies by Reinardy (2006, 2008).

3.1.6. *Burnout and age*

The age of journalists has been shown to be negatively correlated with levels of EE (Cook & Banks, 1993; Cook et al., 1993), and with levels of DEP (Cook & Banks, 1993). Reinardy (2006) divided participants in to two age categories: ≤ 40 years and ≥ 41 years. Younger journalists scored only slightly lower on PA than older journalists. The difference between means was greater for EE and DEP, with younger journalists scoring higher than older journalists. The two groups did not differ in categorisation according to MBI cut-offs, however the overall trend of younger journalists having higher levels of EE and DEP than older journalists is consistent with the correlations reported above, and with the findings reported in Reinardy (2013b). Similarly, Reinardy's (2011a) analysis based on three age groups (≤ 34 , 35–48, and ≥ 49) indicated that participants in the first two groups were more exhausted than those in the oldest group. Again, managers and non-managers were compared, this time taking age in to account. Older managers were less affected by burnout than any other group and younger managers were most affected by burnout (Reinardy, 2011a), suggesting an age by role effect.

In discussing their findings, Cook and Banks (1993) and Cook et al. (1993) suggest two possible reasons why older journalists might experience significantly lower levels of burnout when compared to younger journalists. Firstly, as journalists mature they develop greater coping skills to manage their stress. Second, it may be that the older cohort are those who have survived the industry, with those who are more susceptible to burnout symptoms having changed professions earlier in their careers. These points seem to be dependent on the idea that older journalists have necessarily been journalists for a long period of time and are perhaps better suited to explain why those with greater years of experience have significantly lower levels of burnout. It may be that some individuals have had a career change and become journalists later in life, so are older with fewer years of experience. Because there is a likely correlation between years of experience and age, one should be controlled when measuring the other.

3.1.7. *Burnout and gender*

The relationship between gender and burnout has been described in five studies, although it is likely to have been considered more widely with non-significant differences not being reported. Cook and Banks (1993) reported no association between exhaustion and gender. Whilst three studies by Reinardy reported that males and females experienced moderate levels of Ex, two of the studies found that women scored significantly higher than males (Reinardy, 2009, 2013b) and the other found the opposite (Reinardy, 2013a). This difference in findings might be the result of

two of the studies being based in newspaper settings and the other being based in a broadcast setting. In relation to Cy and DEP, Cook and Banks (1993) found no association between DEP and gender. Although, Jung and Kim (2012) reported that higher levels of Cy were significantly associated with gender; females scoring higher than males. Similarly, Reinardy (2013a) found that females scored higher on Cy than males, and other studies have found this trend in mean differences to be statistically significant (Reinardy, 2009, 2013b). A range of studies have reported the trend that male gender is associated with higher levels of Pe and PA, often finding the results to be statistically significant (Cook & Banks, 1993; Jung & Kim, 2012; Reinardy, 2009, 2013b). Only one study of broadcast journalists has reported higher levels of Pe amongst women when compared to men (Reinardy, 2013a). Although the difference was not statistically significant this trend is noteworthy.

Any assessment of gender differences should be made tentatively because of the nature of the gender split across journalist samples. It is frequently the case that males make up the majority of journalist samples, in other cases gender is taken for granted and not reported. Table 1 displays the respective gender splits for articles included in this review. Anecdotally, this male majority sampling has been defended by claims that males make up the majority of journalists. This argument is problematic in that sampling methods adopted in this area of research historically have not been randomised or stratified, and no population samples or data appear to have been made public for comparison in terms of a representative gender split.

3.1.8. Theoretical considerations of burnout in journalists

In terms of the development of our theoretical understanding of burnout, only Reinardy has applied a theoretical framework to the research of burnout in journalists. This section provides a chronological discussion of the development of burnout theory in journalist samples. As previously stated, Endres (1988) did not use an established scale and no a priori or post hoc consideration of theory was provided. Endres (1988, p. 9) justified this in the statement: “No definition of the concept [burnout] was given to respondents because, as scholars have pointed out, there are many different interpretations of the phenomenon.” Similarly, in the studies by Cook and Banks (1993) and Cook et al. (1993), concerns of practice were the focus, not theory. The two studies provided a profile of those most likely to be at-risk of burnout based on demographic variables. Prominence was given to the asserted association between burnout and job attrition. As such, the MBI subscales were defined but the theoretical relationship between them was not discussed and only subscale mean scores were provided. Richardsen and Martinussen (2005) contributed to theory in that they tested the psychometric properties of the MBI-GS and confirmed the three-factor model and psychometric properties of the scale when used with a journalist sample.

In Reinardy (2006), the focus of analysis was on the comparison of the burnout subscales across demographic variables. However, the theoretical relationship between the three subscales was offered; burnout is the result of high levels of EE and DEP in conjunction with low levels of PA (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). Suggested cut-off scores were also used in considering the findings. Although the sample had moderate levels of EE and DEP, they also had high levels of PA, and PA is associated with job satisfaction. Reinardy (2008) reported the same pattern in the three subscales. Additionally, Reinardy (2008) measured organisational support, WFC and role overload but an overarching theoretical rationale was not put forward. Reinardy (2009) involved a similar approach to Reinardy (2008), with the inclusion of gender comparisons on the three burnout subscales. Reinardy (2009) also discusses the relationship across the subscales but cautions that some studies have found that PA develops independently from EE and DEP (Lee

& Ashforth, 1996). Reinardy (2009, p. 53) suggests that their findings might support the latter proposition: “While women in this study did not experience any more cynicism than did men, there were significant differences on the other two MBI-GS subscales”. In Reinardy (2011a), the only assertion made in relation to theory is that Pe may not act as a buffer to the development of burnout because the sample had moderate levels of Ex and Pe, but high levels of Cy.

Reinardy (2012b, 2013b) uses Hobfoll's (1989) Conservation of Resources Theory (COR theory) to assess a range of work-related factors and their association with burnout. Reinardy (2012b) argues that resources such as organisational support and job satisfaction are being depleted through high levels of job demands, role overload and WFC, therefore resulting in greater levels of Ex and Cy amongst journalists. Likewise, the findings of Reinardy (2013b) suggest that participants with greater levels of burnout symptoms had reduced levels of resources such as trust, morale and job satisfaction. The theoretical implications are that increased job demands and stressors result in greater levels of Ex and that lower levels of job resources result in the increased tendency towards Cy as a method of coping and associated reduction in levels of Pe (Reinardy, 2013b). Whilst Jung and Kim (2012) assessed similar variables and found similar results to Reinardy (2012b), no theoretical discussion was provided. contribution to burnout research in journalists was the exploration of such factors in a Korean sample. Finally, Reinardy (2013a) applied Organizational Development Theory (Gade, 2004) to provide insight in to his burnout findings. Reinardy (2013a) concluded that higher levels of organisational support and changes at work result in greater levels of burnout in broadcast journalists, theoretically drawing attention to the role that change in newsrooms can have upon burnout in journalists.

4. Conclusions and recommendations

The present review aimed to provide a concise, comprehensive, and systematic review of the quantitative literature relating to the experience of burnout in journalists due to a range of demographic and work-related factors. Based on the findings of the present review, a profile of the kind of journalist most likely to be at risk of burnout and therefore to have low levels of job commitment can be constructed: Journalists most at risk of burnout are young females with fewer years of journalism experience, working in small circulation size newspapers. Editors and reporters seem to experience higher levels of burnout than those in other roles, as do journalists in non-management positions. Other work-related factors associated with levels of burnout include increased work-family conflict and workload, reduced capacity for innovation and autonomy in the workplace, low levels of perceived organisational support, income, involvement, peer cohesion, task orientation, and physical comfort in the workplace. Low levels of job satisfaction variables (the work itself, supervisors, co-workers, salary, and opportunity for promotion) have also been associated with higher levels of burnout.

The present review is the first of its kind to focus on burnout in journalists and the findings provide a valuable synthesis of existing knowledge to inform future directions in journalism practice and burnout research. The thorough and structured process adopted to identify articles means that all articles within this study's scope were reviewed; hence it is possible to assert with some degree of certainty what areas within the burnout and journalism literature require further consideration. However, there are some limitations to be considered. Conference papers and theses were not included in the present review, nor was research reported in languages other than English. Since the time of sampling articles for this review there may have been research published that is not

included. Although, authors of the articles sampled presently were contacted and hence more recent articles included.

Since burnout as a construct primarily concerns emotional and interpersonal stressors, it is interesting that the burnout studies reviewed presently have not offered strong conclusions regarding the nature of journalistic relationships with sources, victims, family and friends of victims and associated burnout levels. Although, the results of the present review seem to indicate that organisational and industry stressors common across journalists are more important in determining levels of burnout symptoms as compared to the content of the assignments an individual generally covers. For example, three of the 12 studies included in the present review focused on sports journalists, whilst the remainder utilised general journalist samples where specialties were not reported. This difference in sampling is a potential methodological issue. However, the results of the present review indicate that the studies with sports journalist samples have comparable findings to those studies using general journalist samples. In general, the psychological literature concerning journalists utilises samples of individuals from various roles and often undefined specialties. Even when comparing journalists who only cover news, theoretically there is the concern that journalists who cover political news will have different everyday journalism practices to those who cover crime/police beats or economics, etc. Further complicating the issue is the fact that in the event of big breaking news stories, particularly in smaller news organisations, an all-hands-on-deck approach is often adopted where journalists who usually cover sports, fashion, or other topics are called upon to help cover the crisis (Shepard, 1999).

This review emphasises the large focus on newspaper settings in research measuring burnout in journalists. In particular, studies have tended to compare reporters to other roles, without providing a convincing a priori rationale. Newspapers, as a journalism medium, are becoming less significant over time as the demand for up-to-the-minute news has increased along with advances in telecommunications. As stated by Reinardy (2006, p. 33), “Newspaper journalism is in a state of crisis...Plummeting circulation, declining revenues, new technology, convergence, conglomerate ownership, and layoffs paint a bleak picture for anyone pursuing a career in newspapers”. This process has increased the imperative on visual elements of news, elements that are arguably best conveyed through broadcast news outlets on TV and the Internet. Although all the studies reviewed have been insightful and contribute to our understanding of burnout in journalist samples, the fact that nine out of the 12 studies utilised newspaper settings limits the future applicability of their findings in the context of declining print media and booming broadcast and internet media.

This review found that only two studies have considered burnout in broadcast journalists (Reinardy, 2012b, 2013a). What is lacking is consideration of other role groups central to broadcast journalism, such as camera-operators. Another potentially rewarding area of further development in the journalism and burnout (and psychopathology more broadly) research is that of the experiences of female journalists. It is frequently the case that males make up the majority of journalist samples, in other cases gender is taken for granted and not reported. Regardless of whether the gender splits currently adopted within journalist samples accurately reflect the nature of the industry, researchers, managers within news organisations and journalists themselves need to know about the experiences of women. It may be that gender splits vary by role, with women being underrepresented in technical roles such as camera-operators, but being more visible in roles such as reporters. A potential limitation is that studies with a specific focus on gender differences may be published in journals with a similar focus and so would not be identified in reviews sampling through journalism and psychology databases. Burke and Matthiesen (2009) is

one such study; the authors reported comparable findings to that of Reinardy (2009).

There are a number of relevant factors that have been identified within the broader burnout literature yet to be studied in journalist samples. Some of these include: The link between burnout and negative physical health implications indicative of prolonged stress; the association between burnout and personality factors (especially neuroticism, external locus of control, and hardiness); and the congruence between the individual's values and that of their employing organisation (Leiter et al., 2001). The latter point is particularly relevant because ideology is a key motivator to work as a journalist and research has shown that discrepancy between the individuals ideals for their work and actual organisational practices can result in reduced job commitment (Pihl-Thingvad, 2014). Whilst organisational changes have been discussed as potential causes of burnout amongst journalists, this has not been empirically measured. Individual cultural background is also likely to impact on levels of burnout and to depend on the setting, but has not been considered in journalist samples. Work-related factors have been covered well, with key factors such as work overload and perceived social support being explored. Findings relating to demographic variables considered relevant in journalist samples such as age and years of experience reflect those reported in the broader burnout literature, whilst factors shown to be important in the broader literature (marital status and level of education) have not been assessed in journalists (Leiter et al., 2001).

A range of methodological issues have also been identified, aside from the male focus of samples and the newspaper focus for media context. It is necessary for researchers to report descriptive statistics in their results and to implement established scales without altering the phrasing of items or the range of potential responses, or at least not without conducting validation exercises. These points are important to ensure the reliability and validity of scales, to compare across studies, and to be able to implement country appropriate cut-offs when assessing levels of risk. Finally, the mean scores of journalist samples should be discussed in relation to the mean scores of other reference groups such as the general population or similar high-stress professions, not stated out of the context of general levels of burnout.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge Timothy MacDonald and Bryce Thomas for performing database searches to locate articles for the second review of the practical screen. We would also like to acknowledge the authors of articles reviewed who took the time and effort to respond and provide details of other related works to be included.

References

- *Cook, B. B., & Banks, S. R. (1993). Predictors of job burnout in reporters and copy editors. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70(1), 108–117.
- *Cook, B. B., Banks, S. R., & Turner, R. J. (1993). The effects of work environment on burnout in the newsroom. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 14(3 & 4), 123–136.
- *Endres, F. A. (1988). Stress in the newsroom at Ohio Dailies. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 10(1), 1–14.
- *Jung, J., & Kim, Y. (2012). Causes of newspaper firm employee burnout in Korea and its impact on organizational commitment and turnover intention. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(17), 3636–3651.
- *Reinardy, S. (2006). It's Gametime: the Maslach Burnout Inventory measures burnout of sports journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 83(2), 397–412.
- *Reinardy, S. (2008). Survey measures burnout In newspaper sports editors. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 29(2), 40–54.

- *Reinardy, S. (2009). Female journalists more likely to leave newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 30(3), 42–57.
- *Reinardy, S. (2011). Newspaper Journalism in Crisis: burnout on the rise, eroding young journalists' career commitment. *Journalism*, 12(1), 33–50.
- *Reinardy, S. (2012). TV Sportscasters 1, burnout 0: resources sideline the job stressors of sports broadcasters. *Journal of Sports Media*, 7(1), 89–107.
- *Reinardy, S. (2013a). Boom or bust? U.S. television news industry is booming but burnout looms for some. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 10(3), 23–40.
- *Reinardy, S. (2013b). Depleted resources causing burnout among newspaper layoff survivors. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 34(3), 6–21.
- *Richardson, A. M., & Martinussen, M. (2005). Factorial validity and consistency of the MBI-GS across occupational groups in Norway. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 12(3), 289–297.
- Aiken, C. (1996). Reporters are victims, too. *Neiman Reports*, 50(3), 30–32 (Fal).
- Aoki, Y., Malcolm, E., Yamaguchi, S., Thornicroft, G., & Henderson, C. (2012). Mental illness among journalists: a systematic review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 59(4), 377–390.
- Burke, R. J., & Matthiesen, S. B. (2009). Workaholism among norwegian journalists: gender differences. *Equal Opportunities International*, 28(6), 452–464.
- Cooper, A. (1999). Dealing with the trauma of covering war. *Neiman Reports*, 53(2), 24–26 (Summer).
- Di Giovanni, J. (2009). Why now I walk away from danger. *British Journalism Review*, 20(2), 27–35.
- Dworznic, G. (2006). Journalism and trauma: how reporters and photographers make sense of what they see. *Journalism Studies*, 7(4), 534–553.
- Feinstein, A. (2012). Mexican Journalists: an investigation of their emotional health. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(4), 480–483.
- Fink, A. (2010). *Conducting research literature reviews: from the internet to paper* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Freudenberger, H. J. (1974). Staff burn-out. *Journal of Social Issues*, 30(1), 159–165.
- Furedi, F. (2006). *The culture of fear revisited*. London: Continuum.
- Gade, P. J. (2004). Newspapers and organizational development: management and journalist perceptions of newsroom cultural change. *Journalism Communication Monographs*, 6(1), 5–55.
- Goetz, B. (2002). Remember who you are. *News Photographer*, 57(2), 13–15.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: a new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist*, 44(3), 513–524.
- Kalter, J. (1999). The workplace burnout. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 38(2), 30–33.
- Lee, R. T., & Ashforth, B. E. (1996). A meta-analytic examination of the correlates of the three dimensions of job burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(2), 123–133.
- Leiter, M. P., Maslach, C., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2001). Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52(1), 397–422.
- MacDonald, J. B., Hodgins, G., & Saliba, A. J. (2015). Trauma exposure and reactions in journalists: a systematic literature review. *Dangerous journalism conference: Journalism Education and Research Association of Australia*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285120343_Trauma_Exposure_and_Reactions_in_Journalists_A_systematic_literature_review
- MacDonald, J. B., Saliba, A. J., & Hodgins, G. (2015). Journalists and substance use: a systematic literature review. *Substance Abuse*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08897077.2015.1101732>
- Maskaly, M. (2008). Life balance is the key to avoiding burnout. *The Quill*, 96(1), p29.
- Maslach, C. (1976). Burned-out. *Journal of Human Behavior*, 5, 16–22.
- Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 2, 99–113.
- Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1986). *Maslach Burnout Inventory Manual* (2nd ed.). Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Maslach, C., Jackson, S. E., & Leiter, M. P. (1996). *The Maslach Burnout Inventory* (3rd ed.). Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Matloff, J. (2004). Scathing memory. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 43(4), 19–21.
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D. G., & The PRISMA Group. (2009). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: the PRISMA statement. *PLoS Medicine*, 6(6) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed1000097>
- Newman, E. (2002). The bridge between sorrow and knowledge: journalists and traumatic stress. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *Sharing the Front Line and the Back Hills: peacekeepers, humanitarian aid workers and the media in the midst of crisis* (pp. 316–322). Amityville: Baywood Publishing Company Inc.
- Newman, E., Shapiro, B., & Nelson, S. (2012). Journalism and media during disasters. In Y. Neria, S. Galea, & F. H. Norris (Eds.), *Mental health and disasters* (pp. 291–301). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pihl-Thingvad, S. (2014). Professional ideals and daily practice in journalism. *Journalism*, 5(1), 1–20.
- Pyevich, C. M., Newman, E., & Daleiden, E. (2003). The relationship among cognitive schemas, job-related traumatic exposure, and posttraumatic stress disorder in journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 16(4), 325–328.
- Radio-Television News Directors Association. (2009). *Television News Jobs and Salaries Decline As Amount of News Increases*. RTNDA/Hofstra University Survey Shows. Retrieved 11.12.15, from Benton Foundation: <https://www.benton.org/node/24490> (April 20)
- Reinardy, S. (2007). Satisfaction vs. sacrifice: sports editors assess the influences of life issues on job satisfaction. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84(1), 105–121.
- Reinardy, S. (2010). Downsizing effects on personnel: the case of layoff survivors in U.S. newspapers. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 7(4), 1–19.
- Reinardy, S. (2011). Journalism's layoff survivors tap resources to remain satisfied. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 19(5), 285–298.
- Reinardy, S. (2012). Job security, satisfaction influence work commitment. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 33(1), 54–70.
- Reinardy, S. (2014). Autonomy and perceptions of work quality drive the satisfaction of TV news workers. *Journalism Practice*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2014.882481>
- Reinardy, S., & Crawford, J. (2011). Feeling the love: sportscasters score big with job satisfaction. *Journal of Sports Media*, 6(2), 23–42.
- Schaufeli, W. B., Leiter, M. P., Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1996). The MBI-general survey. In C. Maslach, S. E. Jackson, & M. P. Leiter (Eds.), *Maslach Burnout Inventory Manual*. Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Schaufeli, W. B., & van Dierendonck, D. (2000). *UBOS-Utrechtse Burnout Schaal: Handleiding [UBOS-Utrechtse Burnout Scale: Manual]*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Shepard, A. C. (1999). Covering the big one. *American Journalism Review*, 21(6), 22–29.
- Simpson, R. A., & Boggs, J. G. (1999). An exploratory study of traumatic stress among newspaper journalists. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 1, 1–25.
- Smith, S. L., & Wilson, B. J. (2000). Children's reactions to a television news story: the impact of video footage and proximity of the crime. *Communication Research*, 27(5), 641–673.
- Van der Molen, J. H., & Bushman, B. J. (2008). Children's direct fright and worry reactions to violence in fiction and news television programs. *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 153(3), 420–424.
- Vorenberg, S. (2012). Reporters know first Hand the torment of PTSD. *The Columbian*.
- Weidman, A., Fehm, L., & Fydrich, T. (2008). Covering the tsunami disaster: subsequent post-traumatic and depressive symptoms and associated social factors. *Stress and Health*, 24(2), 129–135.
- Wines, M. (1986). Burnout in the newsroom: are reporters hooked on stress? *Washington Journalism Review*, 35–38.