HARASSING THE FOURTH ESTATE: THE PREVALENCE AND EFFECTS OF OUTSIDER-INITIATED HARASSMENT TOWARDS JOURNALISTS

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Harassment of journalists from viewers, readers, and strangers is not a new phenomenon, but one that is increasingly garnering attention by both the popular press and trade press. As such, this paper utilizes theoretical concepts of sensemaking, emotional labor, and affective events theory to analyze and interpret what type of harassment events (negative affective events) journalists experience, their emotional responses (affective reactions), and their subsequent actions (affective behaviors) and satisfaction with journalistic work (work attitudes).

Research indicated journalists experience three primary forms of harassment at work: (1) incivility and disruptive harassment, (2) sexual harassment, and (3) personally attacking harassment. Women, more visible journalists such as broadcast journalists, and some journalists of color are more likely than other journalists to experience harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers. When examining affective reactions, men—who noted limited to no experience with sexual harassment—say they experience emotions of anger when harassed. Women, however, noted emotions of anger when experiencing sexual harassment, and emotions of fear when experiencing incivility and disruptive harassment and personally attacking harassment.

Journalists' emotions, gender, and the frequency at which they experience harassment were predictors of affect-driven work behaviors such as avoiding interviewing someone, being less active on social media, and even considering leaving journalism. Younger journalists were also more likely to engage in affect-driven work behaviors. Harassment also affected journalists' work attitude of job satisfaction—specifically incivility and disruptive harassment. This type of harassment is likely to decrease job satisfaction while supervisor support and larger organizational size are likely to increase satisfaction. In sum, harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers not only affects journalists' emotions, it affects how they act and think about their work.

This research adds to literature on Affective Events Theory by highlighting work harassment from organizational outsiders (readers viewers, and strangers) as an affective event with significant affect-driven behaviors and attitudes. Furthermore, there are practical implications for practitioners discussed at the end of this paper—highlighting the need for supervisor support, empowerment, and education of journalists.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

In December 2019, NBC reporter Alex Bozarjian was covering a run in Savannah, Georgia on live television. During her on-air live shot runners were seen passing behind her—waving at the camera and making faces. Bozarjian is seen making a face of shock herself after one of the runners slapped her butt as he passed by. The video went viral on social media and Bozarjian took to Twitter, saying "To the man who smacked my butt on live TV this morning: You violated, objectified, and embarrassed me. No woman should EVER have to put up with this at work or anywhere!! Do better." The runner, who was later identified as Thomas Callaway, was charged with sexual battery. In a live interview with CBS This Morning, Bozarjian said, "I would say that the reason why maybe it caught so much fire is because the emotion is extremely relatable for women all over the world."

Indeed, harassment of this kind is garnering attention across the U.S.—and for increasingly serious reasons. In February, 2020, five White Supremacists were arrested and charged with crimes for allegedly "engaging in a campaign to intimidate and harass journalists and others" (Baker, Goldman, & MacFarquhar, 2020, n.p.). Journalists in Seattle, Washington, Tampa, Florida, and Phoenix, Arizona were among those targeted with threatening posters depicting masked figures with guns, Molotov cocktails, and threatening language. Among those targeted was Chris Ingalls, a broadcast journalist at KING 5 in Seattle. After the FBI warned him, he had to move his family out of their home. After eventually returning home, Ingalls told *The New York Times* "he received a letter in the mail that included a depiction of a person with a press badge, his personal

information and the words 'Death to Pigs'" (Baker, Goldman, & MacFarquhar, 2020, n.p.).

While not all harassment is as physical or violent as these examples, it can be just as significant, and perhaps even more impactful. In September 2017 Julie DiCaro—a columnist for CBSChicago.com—had to skip work because of threats she received on Twitter. The threats came after her reporting on an alleged sexual assault investigation involving the Chicago Blackhawks' Patrick Kane. *The Huffington Post* reports DiCaro received various tweets calling her "a joke," a "skank," and saying they know the places she goes (Spies-Gans, 2015). One tweet even stated, "you need to be hit in the head with a hockey puck by one of the Blackhawks and killed!" (Spies-Gans, 2015).

This verbal and sexual assault is nothing new to the profession. A 1994 study of sexual harassment at Indiana newspapers found 68% of women were harassed during their careers as journalists (Flatow, 1994). While a large portion of that harassment comes from coworkers, 40% of the women surveyed said it also comes from sources. In a time before social media, these numbers are expectantly higher today. A study by Chen, Pain, Chen, Mekelburg, Springer and Troger (2018) found women journalists who engage with their audiences online—a requirement of their jobs—face sexist comments, criticism, misogynistic attacks, and threats based on their gender or sexuality.

Peter Sterne and Jonathan Peters, with the Columbia Journalism Review argue, "With his near-daily denouncements of the press, the president has helped normalize abuses against journalists by ordinary people" (Sterne & Peters, 2017). In 2018 in the United States, 36 journalists were physically attacked and 5 were killed while working; 2019 saw 34 physical attacks (U.S. Press Freedom Tracker, n.d.). Sadly, these are just the

incidents that get reported. Most harassment journalists experience, even these rare instances of physical attack, often go unreported.

While the popular press acknowledges these examples of abuse spanning very public sexual harassment to private threats of violence, the industry press is also expanding their coverage of harassment of journalists, especially concerning their safety. In recent months, the Committee to Protect Journalists launched a series of articles focusing on the very subject of safety for journalists, especially women. They covered topics of solo reporting, online harassment, and the very real threats that follow journalists home. The Columbia Journalism Review posted an article entitled "The Cost of Reporting While Female." The article argues "The work of a journalist is to be accessible, discerning, and persistent. For a woman, this also makes her a target" (Petersen, 2018, n.p.). Even platforms like *Vox* are covering the ways viewers and readers harass journalists, and how that is pushing women out of the newsroom. While harassment affects journalists from all backgrounds, identities, and mediums, much of the literature so far is pointing to a very startling reality—harassment is a serious threat for journalists and noticeably disproportionately affects women.

Dissertation Outline

In light of the state of harassment and journalism in the United States, this paper seeks to understand how often and when journalists experience harassment, as well as harassment's emotional effect on journalists, their routines/behaviors, and work judgments such as job satisfaction. Building on my previous research, harassment is defined as "unwanted behaviors that are sexual, abusive, sexist, or aggressive in nature" (Miller & Lewis, 2020, p. 3). This definition includes harassment that may be violent,

threatening, verbal, physical, or even just mildly abusive in form, and recognizes that harassment may occur online and offline and may be one-time or repetitive in nature. This can include, but is not limited to: yelling, inappropriate hand gestures, rude comments, hitting, punching, touching, vandalism, inappropriate emails, etc. This area of study is particularly important as trust in the media has declined drastically (Brenan, 2019), and it appears animosity has increased simultaneously. Moreover, the rise and prevalence of social media in the reporting process has created new ways to contact and abuse journalists. While there is substantial literature on sexual harassment of reporters, little has been done to investigate how prevalent harassment outside of the newsroom is, and what effects it might have on reporters personally, and their work generally.

The research questions for this paper explore potential relationships between journalists' perceived levels of harassment, and demographic data. For example, does gender predict how often a reporter is harassed? Does a journalist's level of visibility predict the frequency in which they experience harassment? How does race play a part, if at all? Additionally, this study seeks to understand the effects of harassment on journalists. Does the amount of harassment someone experiences affect their overall job satisfaction? Does it affect their work routines and produce specific affect-driven work behaviors? This line of inquiry was answered using qualitative interviews and a quantitative survey. The qualitative interviews were used to both understand journalists' perception of harassment and evaluation of harassment, as well as to create a more informed survey instrument for the quantitative component of the study.

In addition to analyzing the qualitative interview data—searching for themes and explanatory statements—the findings were used to create a more applicable and informed

survey instrument. This inductive approach allowed the stakeholders—journalists—to guide the research and illuminate areas the research might not know to explore. One example was the prevalence of supervisor/organizational support, which emerged organically and consistently during interviews, and was eventually a statistically significant factor in predicting overall job satisfaction. This method also allowed for creation of more appropriate and accurate Likert scales and measures, such as building the measures to analyze type and frequency of harassment. The survey took respondents an average of less than 10 minutes to complete. In total, 32 journalists were interviewed, and 509 journalists were surveyed.

The conclusions drawn from findings of this research impact our understanding of the effects of harassment on U.S. journalists—both as individuals with emotions, and their work routines/behaviors that affect the work they produce. While it can be argued harassment occurs in a variety of professions, journalists are in a unique position. Because they operate as the fourth estate—an extra check and balance of the government—as well as a platform for the voiceless to speak out, they are integral to democracy. Nevertheless, we are seeing a specific shift in journalism toward an exodus of reporters from the industry (Reinardy, 2009). Simultaneously, scholars are observing a decrease in trust (Brenan, 2019), and the reports of harassment are increasingly being noticed (Edström, 2016; Chen et al., 2018; Löfgren Nilsson, & Örnebring, 2016). If harassment is pushing journalists to leave, or even simply changing how they cover stories, democracy will be what is at stake (Löfgren Nilsson, & Örnebring, 2016). Only when scholars understand the true impact of harassment towards journalists can steps be taken to mitigate its effects. The findings in this research provide insight into the cost of

harassment on journalism, as well as implications for what practitioners and newsroom supervisors can do to prevent and mitigate its effects.

The United States as a location to assess such harassment and abuse is vital. In 2018, 80 journalists around the world were killed according to Reporters Without Borders' annual report (Reporters Without Borders, 2018). And with the shooting of four journalists (five people total) at the *Capital Gazette* in Maryland in 2018, the U.S. is now ranked as one of the deadliest countries in the world for journalists. In 2019 the U.S. continued to drop in the rankings, making it a low 48th place (3 spots lower than the previous year) in Reporters Without Borders' 2019 Press Freedom Index. Citing President Trump's increasingly hostile rhetoric about the press, Reporters Without Borders explains, "At least one White House correspondent has hired private security for fear of their life after receiving death threats, and newsrooms throughout the country have been plagued by bomb threats and were the recipients of other potentially dangerous packages, prompting journalism organizations to reconsider the security of their staffs in a uniquely hostile environment" (Reporters Without Borders, 2019, n.p.). Therefore, while violence and aggression toward journalists is usually tracked in countries with authoritarian regimes, because these instances are arguably the most visible and extreme cases of violence toward journalists, cases of threats and various forms of harassment against journalists in more democratic countries are still pervasive (Löfgren & Örnebring, 2016).

Increasingly, the public are becoming more cynical of "journalists as the reliable and trustworthy guardians of democracy" (Brants, De Vreese, Möller & Van Praag, 2009, p. 26). These incidents of cynicism—manifested in aggression and harassment—beg the

question of what these attacks on the press mean: for trust, for reporters, and for democracy. This dissertation seeks to understand how and when reporters experience harassment, as well as how effects of harassment are manifested. Using in-depth interview, as well as quantitative survey methods, this study explores the prevalence and effects of harassment toward journalists.

These questions are explored using theoretical frameworks of affective events theory, sensemaking, and emotional labor. Affective Events Theory (AET) is the primary theory used to explore these research questions, as well as to discuss findings. The primary way to understand journalists' affective reactions (their emotional responses) to harassing events was through in-depth interviews. Interviews were also used to address how journalists interpret and make sense (sensemaking) of their emotions and their experiences with harassment from viewers, readers strangers. Within AET are components of emotional labor (a key component of AET's "work environment") and sensemaking (illuminating the space between affective reactions and affect driven work behaviors). The findings section is presented in order of when and how the data was obtained, and answers each research question specifically.

Affect events theory has a macroscopic linear framework (later depicted in a graphic) that was used to layout the discussion and conclusion section. Analysis starts with work environments and affective events, and further explores affective reactions (emotions), affect-driven work behaviors (effects), and ultimately work attitudes. The implications of these various findings are discussed in their subsequent subheading. Finally, implications for practitioners and future research are explored.

A final note: this research focuses exclusively on harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers—people external to the newsroom—toward journalists employed in U.S. TV or print newsroom. While it is not always explicitly stated, that is the focus and scope of this paper. Findings are neither generalizable to harassment from sources, coworkers, or supervisors, nor journalists of other nationalities, or who have left journalism. All statements are to be assumed to focus specifically on U.S. journalists who receive harassment from viewers, readers, and/or strangers.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Harassment

There are several debates among researchers regarding what terms to use, and how to define them, when covering tensions in the workplace (Lewis, Sheehan, & Davies, 2009). Some common terms include: incivility, toxicity, violence, aggression, mobbing, bullying, harassment—all of which range in definition and duration. Lewis, Sheehan and Davies (2009) explain, "the classification of terms such as these is not robustly established and their boundaries are blurred" (p. 283). Thus, this paper will define terms narrowly.

A 1994 study on bullying and harassment in the workplace defines the two as "repeated negative acts like insulting remarks and ridicule, verbal abuse, offensive teasing, isolation and social exclusion, or the constant degrading of one's work and efforts" (Einarsen, Raknes, and Matthiesen, 1994, p. 381). Bullying is not a series of discrete and disconnected events, rather, it involves repetition, duration, and patterning (Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers, 2009). While an act of harassment can happen once, when repeated over time it can become a form of bullying. For the purposes of this dissertation, bullying was examined in the context of harassment. Isolated and repeated incidences of insulting remarks, verbal abuse, physical intimidation, etc. are all considered harassment.

When defining harassment, scholars explain, "Extreme harassment can include homicide and physical assault, but the more common, minor instances include obscene gestures, dirty looks, threats, yelling, giving the silent treatment, and belittling" (Bowling, Beehr, & Zedeck, 2006, p. 998). Harassment can also include physical intimidation like standing too close or unwanted touching. One study looking specifically

at workplace harassment states, it "can take a variety of forms from verbal threats, ridicule and name calling to belittling an individual or subjecting them to false accusations or rumours" (Deery, Walsh, & Guest, 2011, p. 744). Broadly speaking, harassment is "interpersonal behavior aimed at intentionally harming another" (Bowling, Beehr, & Zedeck, 2006, p. 998). However, what these above definitions lack is inclusion of sexual harassment, which is not always intended to harm, but can be equally harmful. Some studies define sexual harassment as "focusing on the gender and sexuality [of the person], not the person herself" (Chen et al., 2018). This can include comments *and* touching that are sexual in nature or misogynistic speech (Edström, 2016). Therefore, this paper will herein refer to harassment as unwanted behaviors that are sexual, abusive, or aggressive. This definition includes harassment that is violent, threating, sexual, verbal, physical, or even just mildly abusive.

While this definition seems broad—classifying both violent and non-violent unwanted behavior as harassment—there is reasoning behind this. Most research into workplace harassment focuses on intra-organizational perpetrators like managers or colleagues (Deery, Walsh, & Guest, 2011). This often limits harassment to instances of verbal abuse, sexual harassment, or physical intimidation, which neglects the possibility of harassment that is physical or violent. This is likely the result of an assumption from researchers that physically violent harassment is rare within the workplace. While this is not entirely wrong, the issue is a neglect of exploration of harassment perpetrated by organizational outsiders. In fact, scholars note, "The vast majority of workplace aggression is perpetuated by members of the public, or organizational outsiders" (LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, p. 9). The issue is the definition for harassment applied to

research for inter-organizational perpetrators is now being applied to research on harassment from organizational outsiders. However, this harassment is different, both in its frequency, type, and effects (which will be discussed later). As a result, this paper defines harassment much in the way defined by Bowling, Beehr, and Zedeck (2006), including extreme and common cases.

In addition to a primary focus on research from organizational insiders, little research has been done in general on aggression and harassment in the workplace that is not linked to sexuality or gender (Einarsen, Raknes, & Matthiesen, 1994). In newswork specifically, research tends to only focus on sexual harassment inside of newsrooms (Walsh-Childers, Chance, & Herzog, 1996; Flatow, 1994; Brown & Flatow, 1997), and not while working in the field, though that trend is just starting to change (Edström, 2016; Chen et al., 2018; Löfgren Nilsson, & Örnebring, 2016).

This is particularly noteworthy—and perhaps an oversight—as many journalists noted in a 1997 study that "from their perspective they felt sources perpetrated harassment more often than coworkers" (Brown & Flatow, 1997, p. 170). This point is interesting as the data from Flatow's 1994 study revealed that of the journalists who said they were harassed, 60% said they were harassed by coworkers, and 40% said they were harassed by a source. Despite this discrepancy, the notion of harassment from sources was more significant to the reporters.

One study found that more than a quarter of the women journalists they surveyed had at one point experienced physical sexual harassment by news sources, and more than 70% of women said they had experienced nonphysical sexual harassment from news sources (Walsh-Childers, Chance, and Herzog, 1996). More than 44% of women from the

study also said that nonphysical sexual harassment happens at least sometimes (Walsh-Childers, Chance, and Herzog, 1996). Additionally, Walsh-Childers, Chance, and Herzog (1996) discovered the more time a reporter or photographer spends outside of a newsroom, the more likely they are to receive sexual harassment from a source.

A 2014 study revealed roughly 65% of women working in media experienced acts of "intimidation, threats and abuse" in relation to their work, and more than 20% of women said they experienced physical violence in relation to their work (Barton & Storm, 2014). The most frequent acts of physical violence were pushing, shoving, and assault with an object or weapon. Not surprisingly, a majority of these physical acts happened while in the field (45.5%) or on the street (26%) while covering rallies, protests, or other public events. Only 18% of these assaults occurred in the office. This point is notable in this paper as it will seek to explore harassment from outside the newsroom and not what takes place internally.

Bowie (2002) notes there are four different types of workplace violence: intrusive violence, consumer violence, relationship violence, and organizational violence. Intrusive violence, according to Bowie, involves external perpetrators with no legitimate relationship to the workplace who commit criminal acts, sabotage, or terrorism. Consumer violence involves "aggressive acts by customers or clients, voluntary or otherwise of a service, business or institution" (Bowie, 2002, p. 3). Relationship violence involves acts by current or former employees associated with an organization. This could include both employees or those related to a current or former employee—such as a spouse. Organizational violence "involves organizations knowingly placing their workers in dangerous or violent situations or allowing a climate of bullying or harassment to

thrive in the workplace" (Bowie, 2002, p. 3). This study focuses on what Bowie refers to as intrusive violence and consumer violence.

Trust

In July 2017, media outlets from across the country were enraged after President Trump tweeted a video of himself performing in a WWE professional wrestling match. Trump edited the video to show a superimposed image of the CNN logo over the face of his opponent. Trump can be seen pushing the "CNN avatar" to the ground and punching him repeatedly (Nakamura, 2017). Journalists from across the country argued that Trump was promoting violence against reporters. And the Twitter assaults have not stopped. Trump consistently takes to Twitter to call journalist the "true enemy of the people." It is therefore unsurprising that the rhetoric of the Trump era frequently vilifies journalists and sews sentiments of distrust (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017).

This is notable as journalists have historically enjoyed "a prominent and influential status in society as the 'fourth estate'" (Willnat & Weaver, 2014, p. 3). At one point in history *CBS Evening News* anchor Walter Cronkite was among the most trusted people in America (Ladd, 2011). However, that status is changing. Not only do roughly 60% of journalists say the profession is heading in the wrong direction (Willnat & Weaver, 2014), but only 41% of Americans say they have a "great deal" or even "fair amount" of trust in the media to "report the news fully, accurately and fairly" (Brenan, 2019). That number is down from 72% in 1976, when public trust hit a record high. And while that number is up from the 32% of trust seen in 2016, the percentage of Americans who trust the media has edged down since 2018 (Brenan, 2019).

One cause is that despite studies to the contrary, many American news consumers still believe U.S. news media have political bias and can therefore not be trusted (Lee, 2010). Some are pointing to President Trump, saying his criticism of the media has fueled distrust, especially among Republicans (Swift, 2016). In 2019, only 15% of Republicans said they had trust and confidence in the media (Brenan, 2019). One study revealed the more a news consumer trusts the government to do what is right, the more likely they are to trust media (Lee, 2010). However, Americans are not just losing trust in the media. The Pew Research Center reports Americans are showing reduced trust in government, elected officials, and fellow citizens (Rainie &Perrin, 2019).

Trust in politicians has also been on the decline, in part because of how they are covered in the media (Patterson, 1994). This reality is a spiral of sorts. Ladd (2011) explains, "Declining media trust is a contributing factor to the polarization of the American political system (while also being a partial consequence of it)" (p. 7). For example, during the 2016 presidential primary, only 11% of news coverage looked at "substantive concerns" like policy issues or leadership skills (Patterson, 2016). The remainder of the news utilized strategic coverage. This coverage, usually framed with cynicism, questions candidates' motivations and portrays them as "self-interested actors whose issue positions are politically expedient" (Valentino, Beckmann & Buhr, 2001, p. 93). The result is an increase in cynicism and decrease in trust. And the distrust of media is not limited to party lines.

Agenda-setting theory predicts the media do not tell people what to think, instead they tell them what to think about, and how to think about it (McCombs, 2004). In strategic and game-frame coverage, the *what* are the politicians (not the policies) and the

how is with negativity. Over time, "News emphasizing the game aspect of politics and stressing politicians' motivations for their actions may evoke political cynicism and negative perceptions of political campaigns" (de Vreese, 2004, p. 192). However, the politicians are not the only ones to lose out. As Lee (2010) points out, there is a connection between trust in politicians and the government, and trust in the media. While strategic coverage translates to more cynicism, it is "not only in terms of politics, politicians, and policy but also vis-à-vis the messengers themselves, the journalists as the reliable and trustworthy guardians of democracy" (Brants, De Vreese, Möller & Van Praag, 2009, p. 26). Because the game frame analyzes politicians with skepticism, audiences take the same approach when analyzing the journalists. One reason is journalists' "savviness," where reporters suggest to audiences they are on the inside of the political world seeing what audiences cannot (Rosen, 2011). However, if that world so easily corrupts politicians, audiences assume it could also corrupt journalists.

While it is likely today's historic low levels of trust have connections to the current administration, trust in the media has been declining for years and "Now, only about a third of the U.S. has any trust in the Fourth Estate, a stunning development for an institution designed to inform the public" (Gallup, 2016, n.p.). The result is a loss of information as people start to resist information received from institutional news outlets in favor of partisan news sources that reinforce their existing views (Ladd, 2011). This confirmation bias leaves people less informed as they rely on their predispositions to form beliefs.

A study that examined leadership roles in an organization found trust to be a significant factor on worker deviance. Erkutlu and Chafra (2013) found leader-follower

relationships that foster trust-based work environments are more likely to decrease the prevalence of workplace deviance. While workplace deviance is not associated with harassment, the finding that trust levels affect one's actions toward another is a salient finding for this study. Could these low levels of trust from the public regarding journalists be a primary factor in the deviant behavior directed toward journalists?

Effects

The effects of harassment towards journalists are two-fold: (1) it can affect the individual and (2) it can affect the work they produce. In examining the individual journalist, several studies looking at workplace harassment broadly found effects. For example, Lapierre, Spector & Leck (2005) argue both sexual and non-sexual harassment would have negative effects related to one's job, psychological well-being, and physical heath.

One study found that verbal harassment from outsiders is associated with higher burnout and increases an employee's likelihood to report intentions to quit their job (Deery, Walsh, & Guest, 2011). Whether sexual in nature or verbal in form, studies have shown harassment at work is positively associated with strain, anxiety, depression, burnout, frustration, negative emotions at work, and physical symptoms (Bowling, Beehr, & Zedeck, 2006). It is negatively associated with positive emotions at work, self-esteem, life satisfaction, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment (Bowling, Beehr, & Zedeck, 2006).

In interviews and open ended survey questions, many journalists said sexual harassment creates added pressure that prevents them from creating their best work (Flatow, 1994). A study by Schneider, Swan, and Fitzgerald (1997) found low level but

frequent types of sexual harassment in the workplace can negatively affect working women's psychological well-being, job attitudes, and work behaviors. Thus, "Harassment apparently does not have to be particularly egregious to result in negative consequences" (Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997, p. 412). In fact, because sexual harassment is considered illegal, "victims may view sexual aggression as a more severe breach of social norms than nonsexual aggression" (Lapierre, Spector, & Leck, 2005, p. 157).

The myth of the impartial and always-objective reporter is coming to a close (Beam & Spratt, 2009). It is becoming clear that harassment and trauma over time are having effects on reporters. And these effects go beyond the individual journalist. Löfgren and Örnebring (2016) found in their study of Swedish journalists that more than a quarter of journalists said they avoided covering certain topics or groups out of fear of abuse or threats (harassment). This is a clear disruption of daily practices and routines. Furthermore, 1 in 10 journalists who received harassment considered leaving the profession. Löfgren and Örnebring (2016) argue threats and abuse of journalists appear to work as they scare some journalists and prevent them from writing about certain topics or groups. What's more, frequency of threats has an effect on fear and on thoughts about leaving the profession (Löfgren & Örnebring, 2016).

The cost of bullying can also be financial and emotional (Lewis, Sheehan, & Davies, 2009). The quality of one's relationships at work are positively associated with self-reported mental health (Rydstedt, Stansfeld, Head, & Woodley-Jones, 2012). Employees who experience or witness workplace bullying are more likely to report higher levels of stress (Brewer & Whiteside, 2012). Specifically, bullying that is dismissive of an individual and their work significantly predicts levels of stress (Brewer

& Whiteside, 2012). In an era where a reporter's work is called fake and their trustworthiness is reaching record lows, there are likely effects.

However, one does not need to be the direct victim of harassment or aggression to be affected. Witnessing personal attacks and threats is also a predictor of physical and psychological symptoms of stress (Brewer & Whiteside, 2012). Bowie, (2002) also refers to the concept of "vicarious trauma" or "secondary violence," which is the effect of working with clients or consumers who have faced violence themselves. This is particularly salient in "care and control" professions like police, lawyers, social workers, rape counselors and journalists (Bowie, 2002), and has its own set of unique issues. There is still much to learn about how exposure to violent or traumatic events can affect journalists and their work (Beam and Spratt, 2009).

The impact could also involve organizational dysfunction, where individuals look to leave an organization or avoid meetings/situations where bullying behaviors are likely to occur (Lewis, Sheehan, & Davies, 2009). This could have a direct impact on democracy and the marketplace of ideas. As previously noted by the Freedom Press Tracker, a large majority of bullying and harassment occurs at protests. If reporters avoid these situations out of fear of bullying or harassment, they may lose coverage or even cease to be covered. Furthermore, if journalists who experience harassment leave their jobs or even the journalism industry as a whole, that directly affects the information the public receives. In a democratic system in which the media are responsible for informing voters of current events, elections, and the information they need to live their lives (Patterson, 1994), a change in how journalists work, and even an exodus of journalists from the industry, would be detrimental to the information quality citizens receive.

Therefore, it is vital researchers understand how journalists are harassed, which journalism voices are experiencing harassment, and how it affects them.

While it is clear harassment and aggression have negative effects, those effects can vary. After one has experienced unwanted interpersonal behaviors, victims "try to determine the level of aversiveness or severity of the unwanted behavior by referring to existing social norms, […] try to determine the cause(s) of the unwanted behavior, and […] assess the likelihood that such an unpleasant event would reoccur in their work environment" (Lapierre, Spector, Leck, & Barling, 2005, p. 157). The negative impact of harassment—or workplace aggression—will differ depending on this sensemaking process and the perceptions victims develop (Lapierre, Spector, Leck, & Barling, 2005).

Additionally, one's relationship to the perpetrator of harassment can have a difference on the sensemaking process. Deery, Walsh, and Guest (2011) suggest because one's relationship with outsiders are not as strong as those with managers or coworkers, they will be more likely to suppress any negative emotions. This is not to say there are minimal effects of outsider harassment, rather, their effects may differ. In fact, their study of nurses found harassment perpetrated by patients or relatives had a higher effect on job burnout than harassment perpetrated by managers or colleagues because of the emotional suppression required. It is worth noting that Grandey, Kern, and Frone (2007) also found verbal abuse from organizational outsiders predicts emotional exhaustion significantly more than insider verbal abuse, because it requires significantly higher emotional labor.

While there are a variety of effects harassment can have, depending on harassment type and perpetrator, there are a variety of ways in which one copes with the harassment. It is common for people to cope with harassment by: avoiding the harasser or

harassing context; enduring the harassment; denying harassment is happening; denying seriousness or effects of the harassment; seeking social support from others; confronting the harasser (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008). It is most common for people to avoid the harasser, and the rarest for them to confront the harasser when coping. Specifically looking at journalists, there are three common ways they tend to cope with harassment: they avoid certain stories or beats that might put them in contact with a harasser; seek information and comfort from other reporters who might have experienced similar issues; leave journalism entirely (Barton & Storm, 2014).

All three of these coping mechanisms can affect not only the types of stories that are produced, but also democracy. For example, Sterne and Peters (2017) point out protests are one of the riskiest events to cover as a journalist. If reporters start to avoid these events out of fear of harassment, there is potential those voices and events will not be seen or heard. That could directly hurt democracy and leave the public without valuable information. Additionally, if journalists cope with harassment by simply leaving the industry altogether, the toll on democracy could be even more dire.

Ethical Considerations

There are a variety of ethical codes journalists look to when conducting their work. Organizations like the National Press Photographer's Association (NPPA), The Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA), and the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), are just a few of the professional groups that produce such codes. Perhaps the most well known is the SPJ's code, which hinges on four primary tenets: seek truth and report it, minimize harm, act independently, and be accountable and transparent. While these tenets are relatively universal in form throughout the various

codes, they can sometimes conflict with each other—causing journalists to make often difficult moral choices in their work. While these difficult moral choices can involve whether to publish graphic images (Ward, 2009; Wischmann, 1987), when to aggressively seek truth while minimizing harm (Deuze, 2005), and even when to take an adversarial stance (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017)—they also encompass how journalists respond to harassment.

As illustrated in the previous sections, harassment can have varying effects on both the individual and the routines/product of the individuals. While many questions arise about what this means for the professional, the profession, and democracy, there are several questions raised about the ethical implications of this harassment. Firstly, what does this mean for democracy if research suggests—for example—that journalists in Sweden are scared to cover certain groups or topics because of the potential for harassment (Löfgren & Örnebring, 2016). What's more, a 2018 study found some journalists "shifted how they told a story to head off harassment" (Chen et al., 2018, p. 10). This, the researchers suggest, is their way of balancing their journalistic job with protection from abuse.

While most journalism ethical codes are thorough in their assertion of how journalists should report on others and treat others, little information is provided on how journalists should treat themselves—both when covering themselves and minimizing their own potential to face harm. To be specific, the SPJ code of ethics suggests journalists should "give voice to the voiceless" but also "avoid conflicts of interest." However, in instances where journalists are facing abuse—and themselves becoming the voiceless—how do they go about covering those issues without having conflicting

interests? This reality perhaps became the most salient in 2017 when NBC news was faced with covering harassment inside its own newsrooms as allegations about anchor Matt Lauer came forward. Moreover, there is harassment from those *outside* the newsroom that is rarely addressed. Ellen Meny—a local TV news reporter in Eugene, Oregon at the time—wrote in a Vox article that "local TV news has a harassment problem—from people who watch the news" and no one is talking about it publicly (Meny, 2017). While she notes many women journalists discuss the issue privately in closed Facebook groups or through private messages, the issue rarely gets "covered" on traditional platforms. Therefore, questions arise as to what journalists should do when facing these situations where they must be a voice for the voiceless—themselves—but also act independently.

In a 2013 survey, journalists were asked about a variety of ethically wrought journalism practices and whether they could ever be condoned. In every category—nine in total—the acceptance of the practices decreased from the 2002 study (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). Willnat et al. (2017) suggest the overall decline in approval of ethically questionable journalistic practices (aggressive reporting) is likely related to a desire to regain public trust. Therefore, could the desire among journalists to regain trust by strictly adhering to journalistic ethical norms prevent them from covering, or even consider covering, abuses?

A second ethical consideration is in journalists' service. The SPJ code of ethics—in pursuit of independence—suggests "The highest and primary obligation of ethical journalism is to serve the public." However, what does this mean when the public one hopes to serve, is also the one journalists must protect themselves from? To readdress the

findings of Chen et al. (2018) and Löfgren and Örnebring (2016), to avoid harassment, journalists at times will change how they report a story (take a more positive angle) or even avoid reporting on certain topics or people altogether. However, by minimizing how and what one reports, are they fully "serving the public" by "seeking truth and reporting it"? Furthermore, who is their ethical obligation to first—themselves or the public?

Job Satisfaction

There are several factors that affect job satisfaction. For example, news workers are more satisfied with their work if they think their organization cares about journalistic quality, and if they perceive that quality to be getting better (Beam, 2006). However, organizational goals are not the most pressing factor on job satisfaction among journalists. The most satisfied journalist is one who feels they have significant autonomy in their work, as well as feels their organization does a great job informing the public (Beam, 2006). Nevertheless, journalists' professional autonomy has been under attack in recent years due to growing commercialization of news, high profit expectations, the introduction of new media technologies, and likely the eroding of financial health of many news organizations (Beam, Weaver, and Brownlee, 2009). In 1982 roughly 60% of journalists said they had "almost complete freedom" in selecting their stories, compared to 33.6% in 2013 (Willnat and Weaver, 2014).

Personal autonomy isn't the only concern as job satisfaction is down in general among journalists. Many would agree "Journalism has always been a stressful profession—a superheated combination of intense competition, deadline pressure, long hours, and low pay, with the product of one's labor played out in public and carrying real stakes" (Kalter, 1999, p. 30). Nonetheless, many trade publications note job satisfaction

among journalists is dropping steeply (Beam, 2006; Kalter, 1999; Willnat and Weaver, 2014).

Beam (2006) says this pessimistic view of job satisfaction is not as desperate as it might seem. He notes that 84% of journalists say they are "fairly" or "very" satisfied with their present jobs (Beam, 2006). Thus, there are still more journalists who are satisfied with their work than those who are unsatisfied (Beam & Spratt, 2009). What is striking is the increasing rate of those who are unsatisfied. A 2014 study conducted 8 years after Beam's revealed about one-fourth of journalists report they're "very" or "somewhat" *dissatisfied* with their jobs (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). The reality is job satisfaction is declining for reporters, as 33.3% of journalists in 2002 said they were "very satisfied" with their job, compared to 23.3% in 2013 (Willnat and Weaver, 2014). With no research looking specifically at journalists' experience with harassment and its connection to overall job satisfaction, this dissertation will explore that gap in literature.

Gender Disparity

Nearly 25 years ago Flatow (1994) argued "Women, in general, are second-class citizens in this society, and their sexuality has always been used to keep them in that position" (p. 42). And Flatow's assessment is slow to change as social norms continue to affect the way women are treated, assessed, and expected to act—especially in terms of harassment. In 2000 Engstrom and Ferri noted that one of the highest ranked hindrances women TV anchors experience is an over emphasis on their physical appearance. This is notable when compared to men anchors, who outline a lack of professional networks and support was highest rated for work hindrances (Engstrom & Ferri, 2000). These findings show a severe reality for women journalists—that they face continued and persistent

emphasis on their physical appearance and that this reality is not changing. In a survey of U.S. TV news anchors, Finneman and Jenkins (2018) found 87.5% of women anchors received criticism on or about their appearance, compared to only 57% of men. However, it is worth noting the men respondents said the criticism is rare, compared to the frequency experienced by women respondents. Indeed, in present studies of journalistic work comparing journalists' experiences to those outlined by Engstrom and Ferri back in 2000, scholars have found that social media's rise has created opportunities for journalists to connect with audiences, which has "largely reinforced the status quo in terms of viewers' expectations of gender performances, rather than resulted in changes" (Finneman & Jenkins, 2018, p. 486). Finneman, Thomas, and Jenkins (2019) build on these findings—asserting women still experience severe "inequality in the form of public harassment that can affect women's health, well-being, and professional lives" (p. 157).

Beyond an emphasis on physical appearance, women journalists face a unique double bind compared to men. Chen et al. (2018) explain, "If they excel at their jobs, they are seen as getting special favors because of their gender or sexuality. If they fail, their mistakes are viewed as an indictment of women in general" (p. 8). A 2016 survey of journalists found 68% of women journalists said they had experienced sexual harassment (Harris, Mosdell, & Griffiths, 2016). Contrarily, 8% of men journalists said they had experienced sexual harassment (Harris, Mosdell, & Griffiths, 2016).

Not surprisingly, Reinardy (2009) notes the advancements of women in journalism lag behind the overall advancements of women in the U.S. workforce. In newsrooms women continually make up a smaller proportion of the workforce (37.5%) compared to the U.S. average (46.9%) (Willnat and Weaver, 2014). Additionally,

retention of women in journalism continues to be a problem, as they tend to on average leave the profession much earlier than men (Willnat and Weaver, 2014). Indeed, for the age group of 25 years or younger, 55.1% of journalists are women. By the age group of 35-44 years old, women make up only 31.5% of U.S. journalists (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). A possible reason is stress, which can lead to burnout. While most reporters work under an element of stress, "The stress for women is compounded by family issues, sexism, discrimination and the proverbial glass ceiling that limits professional prosperity" (Reinardy, 2009, p. 43). Of women journalists who are 27 years old or younger, roughly 75% said they plan to or don't know if they will leave newspaper journalism. About 30% said they plan to leave newspaper journalism (Reinardy, 2009). Reinardy's 2009 study shows women have notably different experiences from men in terms of burnout and life issues that influence burnout in journalism.

There are significant differences in the way men and women journalists perceive organizational support, role overload and job demands (Reinardy, 2009). Men indicated higher levels of Perceived Organizational Support (POS) compared to women. They also indicated less role overload and job demand compared to women (Reinardy, 2009). As a result, it is perhaps less surprising to learn that 22.4% of women journalists had experienced some form of *physical* sexual harassment during their careers compared to 6.6% of men (Flatow, 1994). And this issue is common online as well. One study revealed that one-third of women journalists received sexist comments in which "bitch, slut, and whore" were common incentives, and 15% had received sexually violent threats, where rape or genital mutilation, for example, were threatened (Löfgren & Örnebring,

2016). That is nearly three out of every 20 women journalists receiving sexualized threats.

These differences between men and women's experiences with harassment are perhaps not surprising, but the disparity in effects are. Because women experience sexual harassment more often than men, they are significantly more likely to experience decreased job satisfaction (Piotrkowski, 1998). What's more, the differences between men and women extend beyond sexual harassment. Scholars found nonsexual workplace aggression has a stronger negative correlation with women's job satisfaction than it does with men (Lapierre, Spector, and Leck, 2005). Thus, even non-sexual harassment has a greater effect on women than men, despite frequency (Lapierre, Spector, and Leck, 2005).

Normalization

When referencing online harassment experiences—"which ranges from annoying to threatening and illegal"—many women "normalize the harassment and adopt self-censoring strategies" (Chadha, Steiner, Vitak, & Ashktorab, 2020, p. 250). To a large degree women accept online harassment as normal (Chadha, Steiner, Vitak, & Ashktorab, 2020). In journalism, there is a trend of normalizing and "shrugging off" viewer criticisms because they are part of the job, no matter how abusive (Finneman & Jenkins, 2018, p. 489). This is especially true of harassment that is offline. Miller and Lewis (2020) note for women TV journalists "harassment is a normalized, regular occurrence. Journalists noted that harassment occurred monthly, weekly, and even daily, and that it occurred physically, verbally, in-person, and often online" (p. 8).

Intersectionality and Race

While gender is a key factor in examining and understanding harassment, there is a strong need for the lens of intersectionality. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (2017) notes "Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects" (n.p.). Indeed, her seminal work in 1991 outlining the importance of intersectionality argues it is not enough to study just gender, race, or class, but scholars must acknowledge the unique experiences of people who sit at intersections of oppression and systematic repression (Crenshaw, 1991). In essence, "Intersectionality focuses awareness on people and experiences—hence on social forces and dynamics—that, in monocular vision, are overlooked. Intersectionality fills out the Venn diagram at points of overlap where convergence has been neglected, training its sights where vectors of inequality intersect at crossroads that have previously been at best sped through" (MacKinnon, 2013, p. 1020).

In understanding harassment of journalists, there are multiple identities present in the "Venn diagram" of analysis to be considered. As the literature has demonstrated, gender is a key factor, however, race also plays an important part. As Crenshaw (1991) points out, intersectionality is more than analysis of multiple identities, rather, it is analysis of multiple and overlapping systems of oppression. And while studies on harassment of journalists have consistently focused on gender as a factor, few acknowledge race (see e.g. Chen et al., 2018). Willnat, Weaver, and Wilhoit (2017) show U.S. newsrooms have consistently been behind national averages for representation of historically marginalized racial groups. For example, only 4.1% of journalists in U.S. newsrooms are African American, compared to 13% of the U.S. population (Willnat,

Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). Similarly, Hispanic journalists make up only 3.2% of newsrooms, compared to 15.7% of the U.S. population (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). This imbalance of racial makeup is even worse at newspapers—where 22% of TV newsrooms staff are minorities, only 9.2% of staff at daily newspapers and 7.6% of staff at weekly newspapers are minorities (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). With such notable imbalance in racial representations in newsrooms, it is vital studies of harassment—especially of women—consider the intersectionality of race and gender.

While gender, race, and class are key variables in examination through an intersectional lens, the very identity one has as a journalist must also be considered. A 2016 study on gender, risk and journalism found "It is not possible to say with certainty whether women journalists are targeted because they are women or because they are journalists" (Harris, Mosdell, & Griffiths, 2016, p. 903). Furthermore, the rhetoric of the Trump era calls against journalists and their continual vilification by the president (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017) yields greater concern for understanding how identities of race, gender, and class intersect with that of being a journalist.

Theoretical Frameworks

In past research the workplace was viewed as "a rational environment, where emotions would get in the way of sound judgement" (Grandey, 2000, p. 95). As a result, most literature on workplaces neglects individual's emotions. Furthermore, in journalism specifically journalists were viewed as objective observers of events who do not become participants, but interact objectively. As such, the study of emotion in journalism was largely ignored for decades (Thomson, 2018). Nevertheless, the myth of the impartial and always-objective reporter is coming to a close (Beam and Spratt, 2009). Coverage of

traumatic events and the experience of harassment illustrate journalists are affected by their environments and their work (Bowie, 2002; Beam and Spratt, 2009; Löfgren & Örnebring, 2016). What's more, research on workplace performance is starting to explore how emotions are managed by employees to improve work outcomes.

This research paper seeks to better understand journalists at the individual level by examining their process around, experiences with, and conceptions of harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers. Thus, the theoretical foundations of this research rely on concepts that explore and seek understanding of the individual, i.e. journalists. Much research devoted to journalists has been minimal in theory and more descriptive (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). In fact, most research on emotionality and affect in media work focuses on the output of news, in addition to the consumption and use of news (Siapera, 2019).

To better understand news content and the factors affecting its creation, Shoemaker and Reese (2014) propose a hierarchy of influences model. The model is comprised of five levels of influence: social systems, social institutions, organizations, routines, and individuals (in order from macro to micro). Shoemaker and Reese (2014) suggest the work of Weaver and Wilhoit and others sets a strong standard for researching journalists at the individual level—as this research will do. Within the individual level there are four factors to consider: "backgrounds and experiences of the communicator (e.g., gender, ethnicity, education, sexual orientation); current attitudes, values, and beliefs of the communicator; background factors, roles, and experiences associated with the professional context of the communicator; and the relative power of the communicator within the organization" (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014, p. 209).

Using theoretical concepts of sensemaking, emotional labor, and affective events theory, this research will examine journalists at the individual level, as outlined by the theoretical concept of a hierarchy of influences set forth by Shoemaker and Reese (2014).

Sensemaking

Sensemaking is a process through which people seek understanding when the current state of affairs are different from what is expected (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Maitlis & Christianson, 2014). The unexpected events are usually novel, ambiguous or simply confusing (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014). First, sensemaking occurs when situations are turned into words and salient categories (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Second, the organizing process is embodied in written and oral texts. Third, action is taken—whether it be reading, writing, conversing, or editing—that serves as a way to shape conduct (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). The result is sensemaking as a process, which is continually ongoing and subtle.

Maitlis and Christianson (2014) describe sensemaking as a social process where environments are interpreted through interactions with others in the group. This suggests sensemaking unfolds in a social context of other actors (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Sensemaking has important implications for identity. How we identify ourselves as organizational actors affects the ways in which we enact and interpret, which consequentially affects how outsiders view us and how they treat us (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). This notion has profound implications for journalists. As journalists vow to adhere to a set of ethical standards (e.g. the Society for Professional Journalists Code of Ethics), professional roles, and very public work, they create an identity that affects how outsiders view them and treat them. Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld (2005) suggest

"who we are lies importantly in the hands of others, which means our categories for sensemaking lie in their hands" (p. 416). Thus, if an outsider's image of an actor (journalist) changes, the actor's identity is destabilized and they increase their receptiveness to new meanings. For journalists, a change in public perception could change how they identify themselves and make sense of who they are. When it comes to sensemaking, the stakes "are high when issues of identity are involved. When people face an unsettling difference, that difference often translates into questions such as who are we, what are we doing, what matters, and why does it matter? These are not trivial questions" (Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld, 2005, p. 416). In essence, sensemaking is an ongoing, retrospective, process of creating images that rationalize what people are doing (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005).

Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld (2005) explain, "answers to the question 'what's the story?' emerge from retrospect, connections with past experience, and dialogue among people who act on behalf of larger social units. Answers to the question 'now what?' emerge from presumptions about the future, articulation concurrent with action, and projects that become increasingly clear as they unfold" (p. 413). It is no coincidence that roughly 60% of journalists say the profession is heading in the wrong direction as they work to grapple with shrinking newsrooms and drastically declining trust from the public they claim to serve (Willnat and Weaver, 2014).

It is important to note sensemaking looks at plausibility over accuracy, thus sensemaking is not a search for truth, but a search for continual understanding of an "emerging story" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 415). In sensemaking, "People do not need to perceive the current situation or problems accurately to solve them; they

can act effectively simply by making sense of circumstances in ways that appear to move toward general long-term goals" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 415). This suggests sensemaking as a tool to minimize cognitive dissonance is enough to make it effective in negotiating actions, and moving forward. Therefore, a journalist's understanding of *why* they are being harassed or bullied may not be accurate, but it will still help them to move forward in taking action. Understanding how journalists make sense of harassment will shed light on why they respond the way they do—helping to inform future research into techniques to mitigate effects.

Affective Events Theory

At the heart of Affective Events Theory (AET) is the premise that affective responses to work events subsequently determine attitudes and behaviors at work (Carlson, Kacmar, Zivnuska, Ferguson, & Whitten, 2011). AET moves away from examination of features of an environment, and looks "towards events as proximal causes of affective reactions" (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 11). As such, AET explains the role emotions and evaluative judgment have in mediating the relationship between one's workplace experiences and their workplace behaviors. Emotions are defined as "intense feelings that are directed at someone or something," which are different from moods which are less intense and lack contextual stimulus (Langton & Robbins, 2007, p. 51).

Most literature on emotions agrees there are common ways to group and organize emotions into families. In examining emotions there are both primary and secondary emotions. For many scholars, "Primary emotions refer to fundamental or basic emotions and secondary emotions are emotional states derived from a combination of these primary emotions" (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 20). Weiss and Cropanzano (1996)

suggest there are six primary emotions: anger, fear, joy, love, sadness, and surprise. Five of these six primary emotions have identifiable "subclusters." Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) suggest anger includes disgust, envy, exasperation, irritation, rage, and torment. Fear includes alarm and anxiety. Joy includes cheerfulness, contentment, enthrallment, optimism, pride, relief, and zest. Love includes affection, longing, and lust. Sadness includes disappointment, neglect, sadness, shame, suffering, and sympathy. Surprise had no subclusters. This list, as outlined by Weiss and Cropanzano (1996), was created by combining categories from evolutionary and cognitive appraisal research.

AET links these emotions and feelings associated with specific work events to job performance, job satisfaction, and work behaviors. It is important to note there is a key difference between events and features. In journalism, low pay, long hours, and tight deadlines are all features that can hinder satisfaction. However, these are not events that create emotion. Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) argue "an emotion is a reaction to an event" (p. 18). Therefore, these emotions must have event or object specificity—meaning they are tied to a specific instance and not general. One is either angry about something

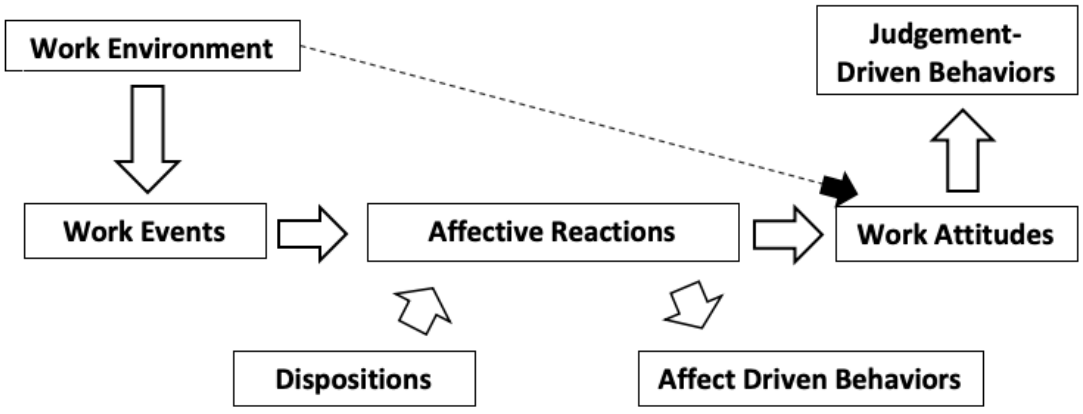

Figure 1: Affective Events Theory based on Weiss and Cropanzano (1996)

or happy with someone, these emotions are not general, rather the *experience* is fundamental. In this study the *experience* of harassment is a primary unit of analysis.

Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) note "things happen to people in work settings and people often react emotionally to these events. These affective experiences have a direct influence on behaviors and attitudes" (p. 11). Therefore, they argue that the presence of specific emotions have potential to predict specific behaviors (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). This is not to say environment is inconsequential, rather, it makes affective events more or less likely. However, the affective events are most important in analysis. To study harassment using affective events theory, one must identify the affective event—i.e. harassment—*and* the emotional response to that work event.

Affective events theory looks at environmental factors, as well as affective events, to understand judgement driven behaviors, affect-driven behaviors, and work attitudes. According to AET, the first level of analysis is environmental factors of a job, such as pay, hours, supervisor support, and even emotional labor requirements. From there, judgment driven behaviors (such as quitting) and work attitudes (such as job satisfaction or commitment) could be influenced. The theory primarily examines work events' influence on affective reactions (which are positive or negative emotions), and how those affective reactions influence affect-driven behaviors and work attitudes. While one's work environment has potential to influence work attitudes such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment and loyalty, work events that create affective emotional reactions can equally influence work attitudes and subsequently affect-driven behaviors.

In understanding harassment's role in journalists' work, this paper uses affective events theory as a foundation for examining journalists' work environments, harassment

as a work event, and their subsequent affective emotional reactions, affect driven behaviors, and work attitudes through survey and in-depth interviews.

Emotional Labor

The concept of managing or modifying emotions as part of one's work role is termed emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labor is a component of the work environment in AET. Hochschild (1983) explains, "This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p. 6). Grandey (2000) defines emotional labor even more broadly as the process of regulating both feelings *and/or* expressions to achieve organizational goals. Thus, one's outward feelings can involve faking, enhancing, or suppressing inner emotions to alter one's outward emotional expressions (Grandey, 2000). This suggests emotions can be falsely displayed externally, or even altered internally, to change one's external appearance.

These levels of emotional management are performed through surface acting and deep acting (Grandey, 2000). According to Van Gelderen, Konijn, and Bakker (2017), surface acting is the changing of one's outer expression of emotion without necessarily changing one's inner emotions. This could manifest as "faking" or "suppressing" one's emotions. Scholars assert, "the regulation technique of surface acting may result in the awareness of an inward state of imbalance between how one actually feels and how one displays this feeling" (Van Gelderen, Konijn, & Bakker, 2017, p. 854). Contrarily, deep acting refers to a cognitive change in which emotions are felt in order to alter how one displays their emotions (Van Gelderen, Konijn, & Bakker, 2017). Therefore, deep acting

is a cognitive change in how one feels below the surface to alter one's above-the-surface emotions.

Emotional labor is not to be considered only in service industries where food is delivered or cash registers are staffed (Pugliesi, 1999). The work of flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983), police officers (Van Gelderen, Konijn, & Bakker, 2017), nurses (O'Brien, 1994), and even therapists or judges (Grandey, 2000) are also examined for their emotional labor requirements. While some studies have started to examine the role of emotion management in journalism specifically (e.g. Thomson, 2018), only recently have scholars begun to examine the relationship between harassment and emotional labor (Miller & Lewis, 2020).

Thus far, emotional labor research finds surface acting has a significant negative relationship to employee wellbeing (Van Gelderen, Konijn, & Bakker, 2017). Emotional labor also increases perceptions of job stress, decreases overall job satisfaction, and increases distress (Pugliesi, 1999). Grandey, Kern, and Frone (2007) found the management of negative emotions contributes significantly to emotional exhaustion. What's more, emotional labor in journalism has clear differences between men and women (Thomson, 2018). Thomson (2018) found women visual journalists experience the regulation of emotions long past the production process compared to men. In fact, Hochschild (1983) notes in the U.S. nearly half of all employed women hold jobs requiring emotional labor. This suggests women are more likely to do emotion work, and to manage emotions even after the workday is through. While emotion at work can both effect attrition and burnout, it can also affect news content (Thomson, 2018).

In an Australian study with nurses, Hayward and Tuckey (2011) found nine different emotion regulation strategies. These various strategies were used to "manipulate the nature, intensity, and/or duration of anticipated and evolving emotions" (Hayward & Tuckey, 2011, p. 1510-1511). They include: (1) Direct situation modification, (2) expression, (3) refocusing, (4) rumination, (5) acceptance, (6) positive reappraisal, (7) perspective taking, (8) emotional boundaries, and (9) expressive suppression (Hayward & Tuckey, 2011). These nine strategies include the management of one's own emotions, and that of others. A 2020 study by Miller and Lewis found women broadcast journalists employed at local television stations in U.S. complete a significant amount of emotional labor in their work that is largely unpaid as they deal with harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers. More so, they use several of the emotion regulation techniques outlined by Hayward and Tuckey (2011).

CHAPTER III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation explores the following research questions. Heavily grounded in Affective Events Theory, and using sensemaking and emotional labor as theoretical frameworks, the following research questions examine harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers, as an affective event in journalism work. Through interviews that seek to understand the harassment events, examination of affective emotional responses to harassment events are also identified and studied. These affective events and emotional responses are then contextualized through examination on their effect on work attitudes (specifically job satisfaction) and behaviors. RQ2 specifically seeks understanding of who receives harassment most, and what that harassment looks like.

RQ1a: What affective emotional reactions do journalists experience when receiving harassment from viewers, readers, or strangers?

RQ1b: How do journalists interpret and make sense of the harassment they receive?

RQ2: Does **(a)** gender, **(b)** visibility, **(c)** ethnicity, or **(d)** medium have a relationship with the frequency of harassment a journalist will experience from readers, viewers, or strangers?

RQ3: Does **(a)** type of harassment experienced , **(b)** age, **(c)** gender, **(d)** income, **(e)** perceived supervisor support, and **(f)** newsroom size predict work attitudes (i.e. overall job satisfaction)?

RQ4: Does **(a)** type or frequency of harassment, **(b)** gender, **(c)** age, or **(d)** medium predict work behaviors?

CHAPTER IV. METHODS

The purpose of this study is to understand how journalists experience harassment, how it is interpreted, and whether it influences their journalistic process. This entails exploration of the current climate of harassment of journalists from a variety of mediums and identities. Furthermore, this study analyzes how harassment contributes, if at all, to overall job satisfaction and work behaviors. To address the multiple facets of this study, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods was utilized.

Harassment of journalists from those external to the newsroom is a phenomenon only recently seen in scholarly research. Qualitative interviews are common for many such studies to explore concepts of the lived experience of journalists and understand emotional and physical reactions to various harassment related work events (e.g. Miller & Lewis, 2019; Pain & Chen, 2019; Chen et al., 2018;). Meanwhile, techniques utilized in surveys of journalists are common to explore wider trends related to harassment in journalism and establish more generalizable conclusions based on demographic data (e.g. Finneman and Jenkin, 2018; Löfgren Nilsson & Örnebring, 2016).

This dissertation seeks to address five sets of research questions. In this chapter I will describe how I explore answering each set of questions: (1) How often are journalists harassed by sources and strangers? Is visibility associated with type or frequency of harassment? Do men and women experience harassment differently? (2) Is there a correlation between how often a reporter is harassed and their gender? Is there a correlation between how often a reporter is harassed based on the media platform for which they work? Is there a correlation between how often a TV reporter is harassed and his/her network affiliation? Is there a correlation between how often a reporter is harassed

and how many years they have worked in their news market? (3) Does the amount of harassment someone experiences correlate to their overall job satisfaction? (4) What emotional reaction or effect do journalists experience from harassment events? Do emotional reactions to harassment events correlate to specific work behaviors? (5) Does harassment affect how journalists do their work?

This chapter will proceed to discuss the study's research methodology and address the following: (a) rationalization for mixed-method design both paradigmatically and practically, (b) overview of interview sampling and analysis, (c) overview of survey sampling and instrument creation, (d) ethical considerations and best practice recommendations.

Rational for Mixing Methods

This study utilizes both in-depth interviews and quantitative survey of journalists working in the U.S. Traditionally, in-depth interviews have been associated with the constructivist/qualitative paradigm, while surveys are often associated with the positivist/quantitative paradigm. However, in Greene's 2007 book *Mixed Methods for Social Inquiry,* she argues that paradigms can be rigid and combative, but mental models are less so. Mental models "include basic philosophical assumptions (ontology, epistemology, methodology) but also include inquirer stances, values, beliefs, disciplinary understandings, past experiences, and practical wisdom" making most mental models dialogic (Green, 2007, p. 53). Researchers are usually willing to connect and have conversations in a way that opens up for the possibility of mixed methods. Greene argues strongly against the purist argument that paradigms are founded in mutually exclusive premises, arguing paradigms are not the foundation on which social

inquirers (researchers) study but more broadly mental models. She suggests focusing less on dichotomous paradigm attributes, like subjectivism versus objectivism, and more on less stringent differences like insider versus outsider. Lindlof and Taylor (2011), in fact, argue the emic and etic lenses work best when put together. An emic lens argues for researching within a group, using their understanding to explain cultural phenomenon. An etic lens tries to look at society from the outside, using the researcher's own knowledge and theory base to explain phenomena. However, these lenses are not mutually exclusive. Metaphorically, the etic and emic lens can work well together to form a binocular of sorts that examines a phenomenon from multiple vantage points. As such, this study utilizes a mixed method design as "A mixed methods way of thinking rests on assumptions that there are multiple legitimate approaches to social inquiry and that any given approach to social inquiry is inevitably partial" (Greene, 2007, p. 20).

Sequential Mixed Method

Loosen and Schmidt (2016) suggest "Through combining methods, the aim is to overcome the particular limitations of each method and in this way to compensate for their respective blind spots" (p. 564). Greene (2007) echoes the argument, suggesting "A mixed methods way of thinking is thus generative and open, seeking richer, deeper, better understanding of important facets of our infinitely complex social world" (p. 20). Because surveys can be difficult to create without prior knowledge, research, and background on the topic—something for which this research area is lacking—the combination of qualitative in-depth interviews will be used to inductively inform a quantitative survey, as well as draw rich data inaccessible in a survey alone. Qualitative interviews are a common technique for understanding the life-worlds of informants

(McCracken, 1988). In fact, in better understanding affective events, interviews are keen on understanding initial appraisal of events to then further analysis of the event's consequences, attributions, coping potential, and more, meaning secondary appraisals are what result in true emotions like anger or sadness. In these secondary appraisals, "specific cues from the environment and the person are evaluated and discrete emotional responses elicited" (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996, p. 33). Journalists' responses in interviews will not only inform how questions are asked—influencing scales and choices—but will also influence *what* questions are asked in the survey. This allows for stakeholders to help guide the research in a collaborative way (Campbell & Lassiter, 2014), while also gathering rich qualitative data.

Loosen and Schmidt (2016) refer to this mixed method design as one of support, where one method is used to support the other; in this case the interviews support the survey. This process falls under what Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) consider sequential mixed method design. Instead of conducting the two methods simultaneously, they are conducted sequentially to allow for one to potentially influence the other. In this design, research data are analyzed separately (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

In the spirit of Campbell and Lassiter (2014) this approach would also benefit respondents by allowing them to collaborate on what and how questions are asking in the survey. Not only would collaboration in creating a survey benefit the survey's accuracy and validity, but it would allow respondents to address misunderstandings or subjective interpretations. Collaboration is a key way for those involved to feel empowered and increase accuracy (Campbell & Lassiter 2014), while also helping to ensure they are not further marginalized (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Interviews

A 2009 study on workplace harassment found "the most useful evidence comes from the rich qualitative accounts of organisational participants" (Lewis, Sheehan & Davies, 2009, p. 281). Qualitative data, while rich in explanatory narratives, also yields understanding into the way respondents think about the world around them. Lindlof and Taylor (2011) argue interviews provide insights into "how people express their views, how they construe their actions, how they conceptualize their life worlds, etc." (p. 179). As a result, this study employed the use of qualitative in-depth interviews to understand the breadth and depth of how journalists think about and experience harassment. The study utilized a standardized, semi-structured interview process, where specific questions were asked of all interviewees, but conversations were also allowed to flow naturally.

Interview Sample

In total, 32 in-depth interviews were conducted with journalists currently working in the field in the Unites States. Respondents were gathered using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is well-suited for analyzing social networks and locating hard-to-recruit populations (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Former or current journalists known to the researcher were contacted and asked to share contact information of other journalists they thought might be interested in being interviewed. If the contact was a current journalist employed in print or broadcast, they were sometimes also interviewed. At the end of each interview, journalists were asked if they had anyone they knew who might also be willing to be interviewed. This question at the conclusion of each interview perpetuated the snowball until response saturation was reached and there was a large enough mix of men and women, as well as print and broadcast journalists.

Of the 32 people interviewed, 20 worked in print and 12 worked in broadcast, with half of the journalists identifying as women, and the other half as men. Respondents' ages ranged from 23 years-old to 71 years-old, with a median age of 36. Years of experience in journalism ranged from one to 48, with a median of eight years of experience. In total, only five people in the study self-identified as persons of color: two people identified as black, two people identified as Asian, and one person identified as Latinx. All interviews were conducted in April and May of 2019.

Interview Design and Procedure

In the interviews respondents were first asked about their background in journalism to help set the stage and allow respondents to become familiar with the interviewer. They were asked questions about their visibility as a journalist, job title, and daily work. Because definitions of harassment can vary widely, all interviewees were read the following statement:

> For this research I am interested in speaking with journalists who have experienced harassment from people *outside* the newsroom. So, sources, strangers, viewers or readers. Harassment has a variety of forms. "Extreme harassment can include homicide and physical assault, but the more common, minor instances include obscene gestures, dirty looks, threats, yelling, giving the silent treatment, and belittling." Harassment can also be sexual. This can include unwanted touching, or comments that focus on the gender and sexuality of the person, not the person themselves.

Interviewees were then asked if they had ever experienced harassment. If they had, they were then asked to provide some notable examples that they could remember. From there, the line of questioning progressed to access how the interviewee felt in the moment the harassment was happening, and after the harassment had ended when they were able to reflect. They were sometimes asked probing questions, such as "did you feel angry or scared, or sad, or surprised?" This was repeated for the various instances of harassment

mentioned by each interviewee. They were also asked to explain how they responded, if they told a supervisor, what actions did they want to take, versus what actions did they actually take?

From inquiry as to the look and feel of harassment, the interviews examined possible effects of harassment. Journalists were asked if they have ever changed the way they work because of harassment. Because many journalists feel emotionally invested in journalism's mission of objectivity they can be reluctant to admit they are not infallible flies on the wall. Therefore, some examples from literature were provided to journalists to illustrate how some journalists' work is affected. For example, some journalists in a study by Löfgren, Nilsson and Örnebring (2016) report fear of harassment has caused them to avoid reporting on certain stories. Interviewees were asked if they have ever avoided certain stories or sources to prevent possible harassment.

The interview proceeded with questions about the journalist's satisfaction with their work. They were asked if they would choose a different field if they could, or if they see themselves in the field in five years. They were asked to give examples and explain their thoughts on what makes the job positive and/or negative at times. The last question asked—used to unearth any missed details—is if there is anything they think is important for the researcher to know that they did not ask. This is where respondents emphasized points or ideas most salient to them, and pointed to anything the researcher might have missed. Three areas emerged early on in the interviews from this question: (1) gender is a factor and women receive harassment far worse and differently than men, (2) race is a key issue in type and frequency of harassment, (3) support from one's supervisors or organization makes a difference in how harassment is assessed. Questions about gender,

race, and organizational support were worked into future interviews as necessary and included in the subsequent survey.

Interviews were conducted by phone and took an average of 30 minutes. McCracken (1988) argues it is important informants feel they can talk openly without being judged or facing repercussions. By holding the interviews over the phone in isolated places chosen by the respondents, it is more likely the journalists would speak freely to researchers about the reality of their work and the choices they make. Additionally, audio from all interviews was recorded for professional transcription by Rev.com and the transcriptions were checked randomly against the audio recordings for accuracy. This ensured interview data was precise and accurate.

Interview Data Analysis

Interviews were analyzed using the constant comparison method where data points are analyzed and assigned to categories (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Analysis took place during and after data collection– utilizing an inductive approach (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Categories were then refined as the researcher noted themes and categorized data accordingly. Key themes emerged in analyzing emotion, gender, and personal reactions to harassment. A theme of examining organizational support also emerged, leading to the formation of a follow-up survey question on the topic.

Survey

While the in-depth interviews were utilized to describe and examine the experiences of journalists in relation to harassment, and the possible emotional affect it lends to, an *analytical survey* was used to "describe and explain *why* situations exist" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 179). This type of survey allowed the researcher to: (1)

reach a wide spread of journalists to make larger—more generalizable—claims about the nature of harassment in their work, and (2) to identify demographic information and analyze that in a large scale sample.

Survey Sample

The sample for the survey is representative of print and broadcast journalists in the United States employed at commercial television stations and local newspapers. The sample was drawn by randomly selecting 52 television news markets in the U.S., which is approximately one quarter of all markets (there are 210 total). Within these markets, available contact information for journalists was obtained from all commercial television stations in that market, as well as the largest newspaper serving that market. Stations were identified using the Nielsen rating page (Media Tracks Communication, 2019). Most markets tended to have three television stations and one large flagship newspaper—as most large cities do not have multiple newspapers. By first identifying the market, then the organization within the market, this was the most appropriate systematic way to find a random spread of journalists both demographically and geographically (see e.g. Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). This Technique was done instead of searching for a large database of journalists, which can at times be incomplete (Liu & Lo, 2018; Örnebring & Mellado, 2018).

The names and emails of journalists were selected from data obtained through the individual websites of television stations and newspapers. The sample of emails was constructed by manually searching the "about" or "contact" web pages of each news organization (e.g. see McIntyre, Dahmen, & Abdenour, 2016; Dahmen, Abdenour, McIntyre, & Noga-Styron, 2018) mentioned on the Nielsen rating page, and the

newspaper with the largest circulation in that market according to Editor and Publisher (2019). Emails were collected for reporters (sports and news), anchors, producers, photographers, columnists, content producers, and writers. Publishers, production managers, web developers, editors, copy editors, page designers, floor directors, news directors, and station managers were not included in the study as their names and/or likenesses are not often publicly visible (McIntyre, Dahmen, & Abdenour, 2016). Furthermore, these positions do not typically interact with the public or story sources (organizational outsiders) and do not often experience harassment, as interviews indicated.

A total of 3,567 email addresses were compiled into Qualtrics the quantitative survey, similar to the list of 3,500 journalists compiled for the 2013 study by Willnat, Weaver and Wilhoit (2017). Respondents were given three weeks to complete the survey, with two reminders sent via email. If the survey was not completed in the first week, a follow-up email was sent to remind them of the survey five days later, with a third reminder sent a week later. To increase the response rate, an incentive was provided. Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014) suggest incentives help to increase response rates, arguing "such incentives reduce *nonresponse bias* by pulling in respondents who otherwise might not answer the questionnaire" (p. 239-240). Respondents who completed the survey could enter a raffle for a chance to win one of two $100 Amazon gift card or a chance to make a $100 donation in their name to the Committee to Protect Journalists. The respondents could enter the raffle by providing their email, which was not attached to the completed survey to ensure anonymity. By allowing journalists to "opt-in" to the survey, there was the elimination of perceived financial remuneration for completing a

task, making the incentive feel more like a perk than payment (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2014).

The choice to provide an alternate incentive of a $100 donation was included for journalists who might worry about a conflict of interest. The SPJ code of ethics explains, "journalists should: avoid conflicts of interests, real or perceived" (SPJ, 2014). While this survey was anonymous and confidential, many journalists are used to turning down incentives and perceived "gifts." Thus, by allowing journalists to "opt in" to the drawing, or even provide a donation style incentive, the aim was to deter any non-responses due to a perceived conflict of interest, while still providing an incentive to participate. In total, 509 journalists fully completed the survey, making the response rate 14.3%. This was deemed an acceptable rate, given that some web surveys have had response rates as low as 4.3 percent (Örnebring & Mellado, 2018).

Survey Design and Procedures

The survey was designed to ask questions that cannot be gathered from interviews alone, as well as build on the data obtained through interviews, in order to draw larger more generalizable conclusions about the state of harassment in journalism from those external to the newsroom. Specifically, the interviews made two large impacts on the survey instrument. Firstly, in the interviews, producers and editors did not recall experiencing much harassment. Thus, the survey focused specifically on journalists with an on-air presence or a byline. Secondly, the interviews showed harassment from organizational outsiders originates significantly more often from strangers and readers/viewers than from sources. Thus, the survey focuses exclusively on understanding harassment from strangers over sources. Lastly, data drawn from the

interviews were used to construct many of the research questions and scales. These contributions will be discussed later.

The survey took respondents an average of eight minutes to complete and contained 30 questions. This duration was long enough to gather the data required for the study, but short enough to entice a busy journalist to participate. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) suggest "long questionnaires cause fatigue, respondent mortality, and low completion rates. Shorter questionnaires guarantee higher completion rates" (p. 193).

The creation of the survey instrument drew heavily from both literature and data from the in-depth interviews. Various questions—predominantly demographic measures—were drawn from the work of Willnat, Weaver, and Wilhoit (2017). This included questions and scales on job satisfaction, age, race, ethnicity, political ideology, income level, beat, and medium. Additional scales were utilized from the Pew Research Center's 2017 survey on online harassment (Duggan, 2017). This included measures examining doxing and intentions to embarrass someone online. The survey is constructed into five main parts: (1) visibility, (2) harassment, (3) effects, (4) job satisfaction, and (5) demographic data.

In a study by Lewis, Sheehan, and Davies (2009) the terms bullying and harassment were never used in the data gathering process. Instead, researchers referred to their study as an exploration of "negative behaviors at work." This choice was made to avoid any preconceptions about the study that may lead respondents to answer in a particular way. Similarly, the survey for this dissertation utilizes the term "negative behaviors at work" when asking journalists to participate in the survey.

Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014) suggest starting surveys with interesting questions to pique respondents' interest, give them a taste for what the survey will be about, and stimulate thoughts about the topic at hand. Based on this idea, the survey's initial questions examined journalist visibility—addressing RQ1b—when working. Survey respondents were asked "When you are out in the field reporting, how easy is it for someone to identify that you are a journalist?" Possible responses included "very hard to tell I am a journalist" to "very easy to tell I am a journalist." The following question explored specific qualities that might make a journalist more or less visible, by asking "which of the following most often applies to you in your work as a journalist?" They then selected ranging from "never" to "always" for measures such as "I wear branded gear like a work jacket when out reporting" or "My face is recognized in public." This measure was used to understand a journalist's level of visibility and examine that against types and frequency of harassment.

The section on visibility also asked questions about social media usage. With a seven-point scale from "never" to "all the time," (with the option to say they do not have an account) the survey asks, "How often do you use each of the following social media for your work as a journalist?" This was asked for Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. If they had an account, they were directed to a question about the number of followers/page likes they have for that account.

The survey then transitioned to questions about harassment—which it termed negative work behaviors—by asking, "In your work as a journalist, how often do you experience the following negative behaviors from readers, viewers, or strangers (whether online or in person)?" From a seven-point scale of "has never happened" to "happens all

the time" respondents were asked to rank experiences such as, "been touched in an unwanted sexual manner," "been called 'fake news'," and "been threatened with physical harm (to you or your family)." Most of the measures examining possible types of harassment were drawn from the literature (Miller & Lewis, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2014), as well as the in-depth interviews. The interviewees would provide various and repeated examples of harassment from readers, viewers, and strangers. Those examples, as well as any additional examples from literature, were included in the measurement of harassment. Subsequent questions on harassment included one examining frequency of harassment (to determine if respondents see negative behaviors as harassment) and whether the negative behaviors are politically motivated. These questions contributed to answering RQ1a through RQ5 as harassment type and frequency are both independent and dependent variables.

The next section of the survey asked questions on the potential effects of harassment. The first question asks, "To avoid the previous negative behaviors in your work as a journalist, have you ever done the following?" Answering either "yes" or "no" journalists responded to examples such as, "avoided going somewhere alone," "changed the angle of your story," "considered quitting your job," and "changed your appearance." The nominal "yes" or "no" was used in this survey question as the frequency of such effects usually occur only once, if at all, as evidenced by in-depth interview responses. Journalists were also asked, "How much do you agree with the following statement: When dealing with negative behaviors from strangers, readers, or viewers, I feel well supported by my supervisor(s)." On a seven-point scale they provided responses ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

Additionally, journalists participating in the survey were asked about their overall job satisfaction. In Beam's 2006 study of journalists' job satisfaction he asked respondents "all things considered, how satisfied are you with your present job—very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?" (p. 175). Similarly, Willnat, Weaver, and Wilhoit (2017) ask the same question with the same scale. While the use of single-item measures for psychological constructs (contrary to things like age or education level) is often frowned upon, many studies have utilized single measures (e.g. Shields & Price, 2002; Pugliesi, 1999). Wanous, Reichers, and Hudy (1997) assert when measuring overall job satisfaction, single-item measures are more robust than scale measures. Therefore, this study used a single item measure to examine job satisfaction, using the same wording and scale as the aforementioned studies by Beam and Willnat et al. To compensate for the single item measure and to better understand journalists' feelings toward their work, the survey asked the additional question of "Do you see yourself in the journalism industry in the next five years?"

As recommended by Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014), the survey concluded with the less interesting, and frequently unwelcomed, demographic information. This included questions about the size of one's newsroom, age, gender, race, ethnicity, years of experience, income, political ideology, journalism medium, education level, and if working at a television station, that station's network affiliation, and ranking in the local DMA (Designated Market Area). A DMA is the ranking a city or viewing area receives based on the number of households that receive news from that area. Therefore, the more people able to watch a station's content, the larger the DMA, and the higher the ranking. A DMA of 1 is the highest rank, while 210 is the lowest. These questions were placed at

the end of the survey to not dissuade respondents from completing the survey by saving the less desirable questions toward the end once they have already invested time.

Reliability and Validity

Kirk and Miller (1986) define reliability as "the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out" (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 19). Therefore, reliability answers questions regarding consistency and replicability—will a research instrument yield the same results each time (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011)? Validity, however, is "the extent to which it gives the correct answer" (Kirk and Miller, 1986, p. 19). Validity examines the truth value of findings—asking if this finding is accurate of what is happening (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Reliability and validity are primary tenets for evaluating the objectivity of research. Kirk and Miller (1986) make a strong argument that no matter what type of methodology one holds, both reliability and validity are important as one seeks to ensure findings are valuable and meaningful (validity) as well as robust and replicable (reliability). However, despite the value of both reliability and validity, the emphasis placed on the two can often differ depending on whether the research method is more qualitative or quantitative. It is common for a qualitative researcher—in adherence to a relativist's ontological belief that there are multiple constructed realities occurring at one time—to focus on validity over reliability, since replication would not be a priority (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Green, 2007). Furthermore, the researcher is interested in understanding the truth at *that* moment for *those* respondents, negating wider implications of generalizability. Contrarily, the quantitative methodologist—believing in the realist's ontological premise that there is one knowable truth—would focus

predominantly on reliability to ensure findings can be replicated (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Green, 2007).

While reliability and validity are valuable, scholars note, "We can never be absolutely sure that we understand all the idiosyncratic cultural implications of anything, but the sensitive, intelligent fieldworker armed with a good theoretical orientation and good rapport over a long period of time is the best check we can make" (Kirk and Miller, 1986, p. 32). Therefore, this research will utilize a variety of techniques and statistical tests to create the most reliable and valid study possible, adhering to the pragmatist's paradigm of allowing the research questions to guide the approach. However, those techniques will differ for each method utilized—as this study is multimethod in nature.

Kirk and Miller (1986) maintain that conducting qualitative research without reporting one's own situation and background is the same as a chemist withholding the ingredients in an experiment. As such, it is important to note the researcher for this work has a background as a reporter—having previously worked as an on-air broadcast multimedia journalist. Furthermore, the researcher identifies as a woman, which is important in both her connection with respondents *and* her analysis of interview data. She also has five years of formal education in journalism practice. There are some risks associated with being a former member of the journalism community, such as bias. Nevertheless, some argue experience provides "an awareness of cultural rules for verbal and non-verbal engagement [that] can be essential to negotiating cultural legitimacy and trust" (Jacobs-Huey, 2002, p. 793). In the current political climate where journalists' actions are publicly and repeatedly scrutinized, journalists may feel more comfortable having a candid conversation about their experiences with someone who has similar

experience reporting. Additionally, experience working in the field helps inform interpretation of interview data by understanding context. Acknowledgment of one's situation and background is one step toward increasing reliability with qualitative research data (Kirk & Miller, 1986).

Secondly, the interviews being conducted utilized a semi-structured approach, as outlined previously. Utilizing a semi-structured interview style both "allows the conversation to lead to new discoveries," while also keeping a form "so responses can be compared across the board" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 180 and 186). This semi-structured interview design allows for the discovery of new information congruent with an inductive research approach, while also helping to increase reliability for future research to follow. What's more, by allowing respondents to choose where they are interviewed, and how they want to respond to questions (or where they take the discussion), they are more likely to feel comfortable and speak honestly—increasing the truthfulness and validity of the data.

Validity and reliability were also assessed and improved in the survey instrument. To increase reliability, the term "negative behaviors" was utilized in conjunction with the recommendation from Lewis, Sheehan, and Davies (2009) to prevent priming that may occur with the use of the term "harassment." This was done for two reasons: (1) as to not dissuade respondents from taking the survey because they don't identify as having been harassed, and (2) to prevent satisficing, where respondents mark the answers they believe the survey wants. It was for this very reason questions on "negative acts"—or harassment—were not the first questions introduced in the survey.

Rather, the survey begins with questions about visibility that are both easy to answer and interesting.

Once complete, the survey was sent to 10 respondents to test for clarity of questions and examine response length. Some questions were rewritten to increase clarity after feedback indicated some confusion. After refinement of the survey and changes to some scales, the survey was sent to 15 current or former journalists. These journalists provided feedback on question wording, missing scales, and one even provided feedback on a question that could be added. This helped ensure the instrument was valid and reliable, and included necessary response options for all available questions. It is worth noting the very act of conducting interviews with respondents *prior* to construction of the survey instrument is a nod toward validity. The best way to examine truth and understand the reality of journalists through survey is to create an instrument using their terms, experiences, and knowledge (Kirk & Miller, 1986). While there are various statistical tests one could run to gauge reliability of the survey instrument, interviews prior to the survey are a type of pretest key to developing survey questions that produce valid data. After the survey was completed by all respondents, Chronbach's alpha was used to test for scale reliability.

CHAPTER V. FINDINGS

In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with 32 journalists in the U.S. to examine how journalists experience harassment in the U.S., and what emotional reactions they have to said harassment. This study explored the experiences of journalists who identified as both men and women and worked in both print and broadcast media.

Gender in Affective Emotional Reactions

Throughout interviews with journalists clear themes emerged in journalists' interpretations of harassment in the way they describe their personal emotional reactions to harassing situations. In analyzing these affective emotional responses, there were clear differences between those who identify as men and those who identify as women—indicating a clear difference based on gender identity.

In this study men by and large did not mention instances of sexual harassment from viewers, readers, or strangers. This is not to assert men in general—particularly men journalists—do not experience sexual harassment, but in this sample their experiences with it are significantly less than that of women, and often unclassified as sexual harassment when it does occur. As a result, these emotional reactions experienced by women journalists were quite different and harassment dependent. While men often experience harassment based on their work, women experience harassment that is both contextual to their identity as a journalist, but also largely sexual as well. This key difference in the experiences men and women journalists have with harassment illustrated clear divides in their affective reactions.

RQ1a asks, "What affective emotional reactions do journalists experience when receiving harassment from viewers, readers, or strangers?" In affective events theory, Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) suggest there are six primary emotions: anger, fear, joy, love, sadness, and surprise. In the interview data, two emotions emerged consistently when asked to reflect on their emotional feelings after experiencing harassment from strangers, viewers, and readers: anger and fear. For many of the men interviewed, anger was a predominant theme. For example, respondent 23 explained, "I think you can only be called an idiot so many times before it kind of has some kind of effect on you and just pisses you off." While "pisses you off" was used to describe anger in this situation, a word similarly used was frustrations, which falls under Weiss and Cropanzano's (1996) subset of anger. One example is Respondent 15 who explained he felt "More or less frustrated. I've kind of built up a thick skin over the past four years, so not a lot of stuff really sinks below my skin. I'm more or less, like I'm about to do to a live shot and somebody yells 'F her', or 'Fake news', it's more or less like 'All right. Got to just shrug this off my shoulders and smile for the camera'."

For many of the respondents who identified as men, anger—or a subset of anger—was a strong and predominant emotion felt when experiencing harassment. Whether the source was a reader/viewer or a stranger, a threat or disruptive in-person harassment, they describe a feeling almost universally of anger or frustration. In fact, many of the men respondents went so far as to suggest they wanted to physically fight back against harassers, but restrained themselves. After strangers in a parking lot outside a sporting event started calling him names, Respondent 24 explained, "my blood was boiling in the parking lot because I wanted to knock the guy's teeth out. That's how I felt

at the time. But there wasn't anything I could do about it, I just had to kind of take it and say, ‘You know what? I'm going to go inside and go do my job and forget about these guys’.” Similarly, after being called names during a standup, Respondent 14 stated:

> What I want to do is just, my reaction would be to throw a rock at their windshield, but you kind of just have to brush it off, because in my opinion humans are stupid, and they're just going to try and get under your skin anyway possible. […] I mean it's frustrating, but to me it's as long as it doesn't affect the broadcast, I don't care. Those two times I got honks on air, it ticks me off. I mean, what are you going to do, chase after them when you're live? You just kind of live with it and you get a little pissed off, but, what can you do.

There are two predominantly pressing findings in these data: (1) men journalists’ emotional response to harassment from readers/viewers and strangers is anger, and (2) they feel they are capable and are often willing to fight back against harassers if they needed to, thusly—they believe—eliminating a fear response. It is unsurprising that many men journalists mention wanting to physically respond to instances of harassment, but withhold as to not face criminal charges or repercussions from work. However, many men journalists went out of their way to make clear they *could* defend themselves if necessary, which is largely why they argue that they do not experience fear when in those harassment situations. One example is Respondent 14, who noted, “most of the stuff I've experienced, it's different that I'm a guy, and I know how to defend myself a lot more than maybe the average reporter.” Respondent 10 similarly explained:

> I don't think I've ever had that threat or that worry. I know there's the days I'm thinking, ‘Oh God, I wrote this and I might run into this person today. This might be kind of unpleasant,’ but I'm also, you know, six-three, 250 pounds. So I probably don't worry about that kind of thing as much as our 22-year-old woman about to graduate from [school omitted for anonymity] who's probably four foot 11 and weighs a hundred pounds. You know, if I were her, I'd be really worried about this kind of thing.

One respondent—who is an editor at a small weekly—noted he started carrying a concealed weapon after receiving threats from a reader who did not like an investigative piece his paper published. He explained he did this not out of fear, but to protect his journalists—though there is likely an underlying concern or fear for the safety of others and himself. As is noted later, the notion of protecting oneself was a common point described by men journalists when justifying their emotions of anger over fear:

> I started getting messages on my phone about, you guys need to go back to doing regular news. You need to stop doing this kind of investigative crap. You guys are just making it worse. And then I had one that specifically said, "If I were you, I'd watch your back when you leave work." Things like that. I actually carry and it really kind of started, never until then had I ever even considered that, but it just got so weird that I thought, well you just never know anymore (Respondent 27).

The respondents acknowledge the reality that harassment takes place and there are possible threats, but due to their gender and physical abilities, they do not experience a fear of those threats causing them harm. What is key to note here is while men say they are experiencing emotions of anger, and not fear, they are reflecting nearly universally on experiences of non-sexual harassment. While men—and men journalists—do indeed experience sexual harassment when interacting with strangers and sources, there were no men in this study who identified such experiences. This distinction is key, because women experience both fear and anger when reflecting on harassment. However, women noted largely experiencing anger when discussing instances of sexual harassment, and mentioned emotions of fear when discussing non-sexual.

Unlike many men, when women experienced non-sexual harassment, their immediate emotion was frequently fear, or sub clusters of fear such as anxiety and alarm.

Respondent 20 recounted an instance where she was out reporting alone in the dark in a very rural area when a man knocked on her car window as she sat inside to stay warm between live shots: “My heart was racing, because I'm thinking, oh my gosh, is he going to hurt me? Why is he here? This doesn't make any sense whatsoever.” Quite contrary to the instance in which the man journalist said, “his blood was boiling,” this respondent describes her very visceral fear. Respondent 2 describes the threats she receives from readers at her paper. She notes the fear of being harmed is so real:

> I've had to be walked to my car, and that kind of thing. I'll be honest. You know, there are days when I think that someday I will walk out of my office and someone will be standing there with a gun and they'll just kill me because of what I write about abortion or you know. We are living in a time of, you know, zealotry and, God knows we can get guns anywhere we want. And I worry that, you know, I, I've thought about it some day. Somebody is just going to blow me away on the sidewalk because of what I write.

And many women mention the country’s political climate has heightened their awareness and the potential for physical harm. Respondent 26 explained, “The political climate now has made being a journalist extremely dangerous. Covering political rallies, especially here in Florida, or in other key states, it's scary as hell. Terrifying. People are so scary.” The common thread between these women is the notion that there is very real potential for physical harm in their work as journalists. In what Miller and Lewis (2020) describe as physical and abrasive in-person harassment, women journalists are experiencing notable fear for their safety—noting potential to be harmed or even killed. This fear was not mentioned by any of the men interviewed in this study, even in instances of covering rallies, protests, or receiving threats.

Women interviewed in this study frequently also discussed situations of sexual harassment from readers, viewers, and strangers. In descriptions of their emotional reactions to these events they often describe frustration and anger. Respondent 31 explains, “I have one particular guy whose name is [name omitted for anonymity] that messages me at least every two weeks to comment on how good I look on his TV or something. And him, I'm not a big fan of. So of course I send the automated, ‘My station manages this,’ blah blah blah. But it doesn't stop him. So I've never felt fear from social media really. I've been annoyed. I've been grossed out.” As Miller and Lewis (2020) describe, online harassment as unwanted sexual advances is common and persistent for women in broadcast journalism. For many women journalists this harassment elicits emotions of anger and frustration, contrary to the fear and anxiety associated with non-sexual harassment.

A key example of the different emotion responses to sexual and non-sexual harassment are illustrated in a statement provided by Respondent 26. She explains:

> It makes me very anxious. I don't get a lot of threats on social media. It's more so sexual language, and pictures, and stuff like that. So it's disgust and anxiousness. Like is this another thing that I'm going to have to deal with. Or did I accidentally tag myself somewhere, is my geotagging on? Is this person going to find me? That's some of the biggest fears that I have.

When discussing receiving online harassment as unwanted sexual advances, this woman journalist mentioned feeling anxiousness, which is a subcluster of the emotion anger. She explains that “pictures” and “sexual language” are pervasive and frustrating. However, in instances where she is worried she shared her location on social media through a geotag and someone could find her in person, she expresses fear of the potential for physical and abrasive in-person harassment. She explains that is one of her

"biggest fears." This example shows very clearly what many women journalists feel: fear in instances where harassment is non-sexual, and anger in instances where harassment is sexual in nature.

For many of these women, the nature of the harassment taking place in person or online was not as pertinent to their emotional response as the nature of the harassment as sexual or non-sexual. In an instance where a woman was sexually harassed in person, she explains she was angry because of "The sheer persistency of it, the boundaries crossed, the position he was putting me in as a young female, fresh on the job. And knowing that he probably was in that mentality that I probably wasn't the first and I probably wouldn't be the last" (Respondent 31). As Miller and Lewis (2020) describe a hallmark of online harassment as unwanted sexual advances is the sheer persistency of it—the very reason many women feel frustrated and express feelings of anger.

Gender in Interpretation of Harassment

As clear differences emerge in the emotional reactions men and women have toward harassment they experience, there are equally notable differences in the way they interpret and make meaning from the harassment. **RQ1b** asks, "How do journalists interpret and make sense of the harassment they receive?" For the women journalists interviewed in this research there was a very similar theme of harassment described as a natural burden of doing journalism as a woman.

One woman journalist mentioned an incident when a photo of her was taken from an online source and retweeted several times by people who did not like her reporting. The tweets made comments saying, "what kind of exotic animal is this?" referring to the woman reporter as an animal. In response, Respondent 4 explained, "I just retweeted it

and I sort of said, hey guys, this is what it's like being a female journalist. To see someone actually do that makes you feel really uncomfortable. But I also was just like, the reason I retweeted it was because my most immediate reaction was, man, they wouldn't have done that if I wasn't a woman." For many women journalists interviewed for this study, there was almost a universal assertion that they receive a type and frequency of harassment different than that of men. As respondent 4 noted, she felt the harassment on Twitter referencing her body as an animal, was something she received *because* she was a woman journalist. Women journalists acknowledged men do indeed receive harassment, but there are a multitude of instances, especially those referencing their bodies, where women receive the brunt of the vitriol.

Accordingly, many women in this study noted the harassment they receive is correlated strongly to their gender. Respondent 32—who is in her 50s—stated, "I think women my age, we were just putting up with it, figuring that was the price you pay. It shouldn't have to be." A similar sentiment was noted by Respondent 2, who explained, "Anytime a woman has a strong point of view in a public forum like a newspaper, um, she's gonna, she's gonna pay for it a little bit." While women journalists expressed feeling different emotions for sexual and non-sexual harassment, their interpretation of the harassment they receive was strongly understood as the price one pays for being a woman and a journalist. Women respondents would often express a belief that men do not experience harassment nearly as frequently as women, and that they receive certain forms of harassment, especially sexual harassment, more often than men do. The result of this belief was an unconfounding interpretation of harassment as the price women pay to do

journalism. There was very much an assertion that harassment is a normal and expected piece of doing journalism as a woman.

For men in this study, harassment was interpreted in a more nuanced and positive light. While harassment did result in the emotional reaction of anger for many men journalists, they saw it not as a price you pay, but the sign you are doing good work. For example, Respondent 27 explained that after received threats to stop reporting on a story, "I just felt like if this is the reaction, then I looked at that and thought, well, we must be on the right track, because we're making someone nervous enough to do something that we've never experienced here before." Respondent 25 made a similar assertion, explaining:

> People yell at you. I mean it might be different if threatened, but it's kind of like, someone was so mad that they lost their temper? I mean, only if the journalism was sound. So I think it's like if you had a good story, no holes in it, journalistically it was sound, and it was just so good that someone lost their temper. It was like, wow, I really, I take pride in that. I think certainly that would be a common response among my peer group in the profession.

For many of the men interviewed, harassment such as yelling, name-calling, and threats are often a sign that your work is strong, and you are producing journalism that is getting noticed. A term used by several of the respondents was "badge of honor." Respondent 23 explained, "You were the hard-boiled reporter and you were just going to take it. That was kind of the badge of honor." Another respondent noted, "I've kind of sort of felt like it came with the territory and oddly enough, we kind of wore it as a badge of honor to get that letter to the editor" (Respondent 25). Contrary to women referring to harassment (both sexual and non-sexual) as the price they pay, men respondents almost pridefully referred to their experiences as a "badge of honor." For them, the harassment

they receive is not tied to their identity as men journalists, but simply as journalists doing good journalism.

Survey Data

The survey yielded a total of 509 completed responses. The mean age of respondents was 40 years old, ranging from 22 to 80 years in age. Roughly 55% of respondents (n = 278) identified as print/newspaper, and 45% (n = 226) identified as broadcast/television. Gender was also well distributed, with 52% (n = 263) identifying as men and 47% (n = 239) identifying as women. One journalist identified as non-binary. The racial makeup of the sample was largely white, at 85% of respondents (N = 434). A total of 4.3% of respondents identified as black or African American (N = 22), 3.7% as Asian or Asian American (N = 19), and fewer than 10 people identified as Middle Eastern (N = 4), Indigenous, or Native-Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (N = 3). An additional 3.7% of respondents marked "other."

Frequency of Harassment

A key component of the survey data was analysis of the type and frequency of harassment experienced by journalists from readers, viewers, and strangers. Examining this harassment from various points, **RQ2** asks, "Does **(a)** gender, **(b)** visibility, **(c)** ethnicity, or **(d)** medium predict the frequency of harassment a journalist will experience from readers, viewers, or strangers?" In total, 16 different measures were used to understand how often, if at all, journalists experience specific forms of harassment termed "negative behaviors." The survey question was phrased: "In your work as a journalist, how often do you experience the following negative behaviors from readers,

viewers, or strangers (whether online or in person)?" The options in the table below were recorded using a 7 point scale, with 0 being "never", and 6 being "happens all the time."

A variable combining all 16 negative acts was created to assess all forms of harassment (i.e. negative acts). This 16 point construct was analyzed for reliability, scoring a Cronbach's alpha of .859, indicating reliability.

Gender. An independent-samples *t* test comparing the frequency of negative acts (harassment) from viewers, readers, or strangers while working as a journalist for 253 men and 235 women found a significant difference between the two groups ($t(486) = -6.639$, $p < .001$). Therefore, women experience harassment (M = 17.94) significantly more often than men (M = 11.15). To better understand what types of harassment they experience, and for the purpose of further dimension reduction, the 16 items measuring harassment were subjected to a principle components analysis with direct oblimin rotation, a method useful for examining exploratory data believed to be highly correlated (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). A principal component correlation matrix confirmed that this oblique rotation was appropriate as several of the factors had correlation scores at .32 or higher (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The analysis suggested the 16 forms of harassment condensed into three clear groups. Unsurprisingly, the items were statistically lumped together in nearly the same way the survey had them lumped together—as the researcher assumed likely correlation between certain harassment experiences during survey creation. As seen in Table 1, three harassment dimensions emerged from analysis and are defined as: (1) incivility and disruptive harassment, (2) sexual harassment, and (3) personally attacking harassment.

Table 1. Mean frequency of types of harassment based on gender and medium (N = 509)					
Forms of Harassment	**Harassment Components**	**Men**	**Women**	**Print**	**Broadcast**
Incivility and Disruptive Harassment	Had your appearance critiqued or made fun of	1.51***	2.05***	1.16***	2.52***
	Been called "fake news"	2.21***	3.10***	2.42**	2.91**
	Been called offensive names or profanities, such as an "Idiot" or "fat b**ch"	1.58	1.76	1.63	1.69
	Had someone intentionally try to embarrass you	1.73	2.01	1.82	1.90
	Had interviews or standups interrupted by name-calling or gestures	.918**	1.308**	.40***	1.96***
Sexual Harassment	Been touched in an unwanted sexual manner	.17***	.53***	.23**	.47**
	Been sent sexual pictures, such as images of genitals	.13***	.59***	.07***	.67***
	Been solicited for sex or sexual acts	.20***	.52***	.14***	.60***
	Received repeated requests for dates	.31***	1.64***	.35***	1.68***
	Been stalked	.28***	.77***	.18***	.89***

Table 1. Continued Mean frequency of types of harassment based on gender and medium					
Forms of Harassment	**Harassment Components**	**Men**	**Women**	**Print**	**Broadcast**
Sexual Harassment	Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about your gender, such as sexist comments	.16*	1.76*	.82	1.07
Personally Attacking Harassment	Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about your race or ethnicity	.34	.49	.35	.50
	Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about your religion	.26	.29	.28	.27
	Been doxed (i.e. had your personal information released)	.28	.36	.26	.37
	Been threatened with physical harm (to you or your family)	.72	.60	.69	.61
	Been physically attacked, such as hit, pushed, slapped, kicked or spit on	.23*	.13*	.18	.19
Numbers are means from a scale of 0=never to 6=always $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$, Indicates a significant relationship based on gender or medium					

An independent-samples *t*-test comparing the mean frequency of sexual harassment of men and women found a significant difference between the two ($t(492) = -10.554$, $p < .001$). Thus, the mean frequency of sexual harassment for women (M = 5.79, sd = 6.10) was significantly higher than that of men (M = 1.26, sd = 3.09). A similar relationship emerged for incivility and disruptive harassment. An independent-samples *t* test comparing the mean frequency for incivility and disruptive harassment of men and women found a significant difference ($t(498) = -4.26$, $p < .001$). Much like sexual harassment, the mean frequency of incivility and disruptive harassment for women (M = 10.24, sd = 6.27) was significantly higher than that of men (M = 7.94, sd = 5.77). However, an independent-samples *t* test was calculated comparing the mean frequency of personally attacking harassment between men (M = 1.847) and women (M = 1.873). No significant difference was found ($t(494) = -.094$, $p > .05$). Therefore, to answer **RQ2a**, women are significantly more likely to experience incivility and disruptive harassment, as well as sexual harassment, when compared to men. However, there was no significant difference for personally attacking harassment.

Visibility and Medium. RQ2c asks, "Is there a correlation between how often a reporter is harassed based on the media platform for which they work?" An independent-samples *t* test comparing the frequency of negative experiences from readers, viewers, and strangers of a sample of 269 print/newspaper journalists and 221 broadcast/television journalists found significant differences between the two groups ($t(488) = -7.346$, $p < .001$). The mean frequency of total harassment (all negative acts combined) for print journalists (m = 11.02) was significantly lower than the mean frequency of total harassment for broadcast journalists (m = 18.44). Therefore, there is an assumed

relationship between frequency of harassment and the media platform for which a journalist works. However, further analysis revealed medium is likely correlated with harassment frequency, but is not as influential as other factors.

Table 2. Regression model predicting total frequency of harassment (N = 509)

	(β)
Gender (1 = Women)	.251***
Age	-.036
Medium (1 = Print/Newspaper)	-.003
Visibility	.354***
Social Media Use	.124**
Newsroom Size	.132**
Race	.126**
Total R^2 (%)	28.0

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$
Values are final standardized beta (β) coefficients, except explained variance (R^2).

RQ2b asks if visibility is associated with type or frequency of harassment. Visibility was calculated by combining 13 measures of visibility, such as "wear branded gear while reporting" and "appear on camera as a host/anchor." Internal consistency for the new scale was examined using Cronbach's alpha. The alpha was strong: .846 for the new visibility scale (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Using this new scale, a multiple linear regression was calculated to predict participants' frequency of experiencing harassment based on their visibility as journalists when controlling for demographic measures such as gender, age, race, and medium, as well as social media use (specifically Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter) and organization size. A significant regression equation was found ($F(7,454)) = 24.766$, $p < .001$), with an R^2 of .280. Total visibility, gender, race, social media use, and organization size (i.e. newsroom size) were all positive statistically significant predictors of total frequency of harassment towards journalists from readers, viewers, and strangers. Medium and age were not significant predictors. Therefore, while

medium is a strong predictor independently, when controlled for other factors such as visibility and organization size, medium has no statistically significant predictive relationship.

Race. As noted in Table 2, race is a key factor in predicting the frequency at which a journalist will be harassed by viewers, readers, and strangers (when controlling for gender and visibility). **RQ2** asks, "Does **(a)** gender, **(b)** visibility, **(c)** ethnicity, or **(d)** medium have a relationship with the frequency of harassment a journalist will experience from readers, viewers, or strangers?" Additional multiple regressions were calculated examining visibility, age, race, gender, and medium in predicting frequency of the three types of harassment previously outlined: sexual harassment, incivility and disruptive harassment, and personally attacking harassment. All three regression analyses showed race had a strong and significant relationship with each type of harassment. Therefore, a one-way ANOVA was computed comparing the frequency of harassment from viewers, readers and strangers based on one's racial identity. A significant difference was found among the six racial groups ($F(6,481) = 3.67$, $p = .001$). In a post hoc test, Tukey's HSD showed that white journalists experienced significantly less harassment (m = 13.60) than Asian or Asian-American Journalists (m = 21.65). There was no statistically significant difference between other racial groups. Therefore, Asian or Asian-American journalists are significantly more likely to experience harassment than their white counterparts.

A second question asked, "Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a?" as phrased in Willnat, Weaver, and Wilhoit (2017). An independent-samples *t* test comparing the mean frequency of harassment between those who did and did not identify as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a found a significant difference ($t(485) = -3.544$, $p < .001$). The mean

frequency of harassment for Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a journalists (m = 21.14) was significantly higher than that of non-Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a journalists (m = 13.9). Therefore, Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a journalists experience a higher frequency of harassment compared to non-Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a journalists. Indeed, these findings collectively indicate race is associated with how often a reporter is harassed.

Harassment Effects

Table 3. Proportions of male and female (television/print) journalists who have engaged in affect-driven behaviors to avoid harassment (N = 500)

Behavior	**Men**		**Women**	
	%	**N**	**%**	**N**
avoided interviewing someone***	21.4%	56	46.6%	111
avoided going somewhere alone***	29.4%	77	68.5%	163
asked someone to accompany you while reporting***	28.2%	74	64.7%	154
changed the angle of your story***	9.2%	24	21.8%	52
stopped reporting on a story after you had already started	11.1%	29	14.7%	35
avoided covering certain topics	22.5%	59	29.1%	69
changed jobs*	3.1%	8	8%	19
considered quitting your job**	18%	47	29%	69
considered leaving journalism**	23.7%	62	35.3%	84
changed reporting beat	5.3%	14	8.8%	21
handed a story over to a colleague	13.4%	35	19%	45
turned off messaging on social media**	18.8%	49	30.4%	72
been less active or responsive on social media***	42.1%	110	59.1%	140
changed how you act on social media***	37.9%	99	53.8%	128
changed your appearance***	3.4%	9	13%	31
gone by a different name***	1.2%	3	11.8%	28

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$ indicates a significant difference across columns

RQ4 asks, "Does **(a)** type or frequency of harassment, **(b)** gender, **(c)** age, or **(d)** medium predict work behaviors?" A multiple linear regression was calculated to predict how the frequency of the three individual types of harassment would relate to a participant's journalistic work (a combined index variable of behaviors practiced to avoid harassment) when controlling for other demographic factors, such a gender, age in years, and medium. As indicated in table 4, a significant regression equation was found ($F(6,469)) = 33.453$, $p < .001$), with an R^2 of .300. As evident in Table 4, frequency of sexual harassment and incivility harassment are key predictors—along with age and gender—of exhibition of various work behaviors. Specifically, women journalists and younger journalists who have experienced sexual harassment and incivility harassment are most likely to exhibit the aforementioned work behaviors and have their journalistic routines affected. This is particularly noteworthy as medium and personally attacking harassment were *not* significant predictors of work effects.

Table 4. Regression model predicting harassment effects (affect-driven behavior) (N = 509)

	(β)
Gender (1 = Man)	.166***
Age	-.162***
Medium (1 = Print/Newspaper)	.036
Sexual Harassment	.172***
Disruptive and Incivility Harassment	.238***
Personally Attacking Harassment	.042
Total R^2 (%)	30.0

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Values are final standardized beta (β) coefficients, except explained variance (R^2).

Job Satisfaction

In total, 79.5% of journalists are "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their current jobs, and 79.4% of journalists are "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied"

with working in journalism in general. When broken down by gender, 81.7% of men journalists are "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied" compared to 77.9% of women. It is perhaps unsurprising, however, that roughly 61% (60.9) of journalists see themselves working in journalism in the next 5 years while 13.9% do not, and 24.6% are unsure—meaning nearly 40% of journalists are uncertain about their future in the industry.

Table 5. Regression model predicting job satisfaction with journalism in general (N = 509)

	(β)
Gender (1 = Man)	-.018
Age	.055
Income	-.071
Race	-.020
Supervisor Support	.215***
Newsroom Size	.160**
Sexual Harassment	.075
Disruptive and Incivility Harassment	-.114*
Personally Attacking Harassment	-.036
Total R^2 (%)	9.9

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Values are final standardized beta (β) coefficients, except explained variance (R^2).

RQ3 asks, "Does **(a)** type of harassment experienced , **(b)** age, **(c)** gender, **(d)** income, **(e)** perceived supervisor support, and **(f)** newsroom size predict work attitudes (i.e. overall job satisfaction)?" In the survey journalists were asked "how satisfied are you with journalism in general?" with the following scale responses: very dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, somewhat satisfied, very satisfied. A multiple linear regression was calculated to analyze whether the frequency of certain forms of harassment predicted overall job satisfaction when controlling for demographic measures such as gender, age, race, and income level—which are key

factors in job satisfaction (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). As indicated in Table 5, a significant regression equation was found ($F(9,458) = 5.607$, $p < .001$), with an R^2 of .099. The regression analyzed frequency of sexual harassment, incivility harassment, and attacking harassment, as well as age, gender, income, race, perceived supervisor support, and newsroom size.

As predicted, newsroom size and supervisor support were both significant positive predictors of overall job satisfaction. The larger the newsroom/organization for which a journalist works—and the more supported they feel from their supervisor—the more satisfied they are with their work. Income, age, race, and gender were not statistically significant predictors of overall job satisfaction. However, frequency of the three types of harassment yielded diverse results. Neither sexual harassment nor personal attacking harassment were significant predictors of overall job satisfaction when controlling for supervisor support or newsroom size. However, incivility harassment was a statistically significant negative predictor of overall job satisfaction. Thus, the more incivility harassment a journalist received, the less satisfied they were with their job. This is an important distinction as women journalists are more likely to experience disruptive and incivility harassment compared to men.

CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Interpretation of Data

The following discussion of data analyzes the qualitative and quantitative findings together. While the quantitative data have strong predictive abilities, the qualitative data help add explanatory power to the results, while also possessing unique findings in and of itself. Thus, the findings were presented separately, but the discussion will pull from the strengths of both data sets (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

The linear flow of affective events theory is used to explore and discuss the key findings of this research (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Beginning with analysis of work environments and work events, the discussion explores which journalists are experiencing various forms of harassment. It is within the area of "work environments" that emotional labor—as it relates to harassment—is explored. From there, affective reactions (i.e. emotions) are discussed and the key patterns that emerged in interviews. Lastly, as illustrated in the below graphic, affect driven behaviors (i.e. effects) and work

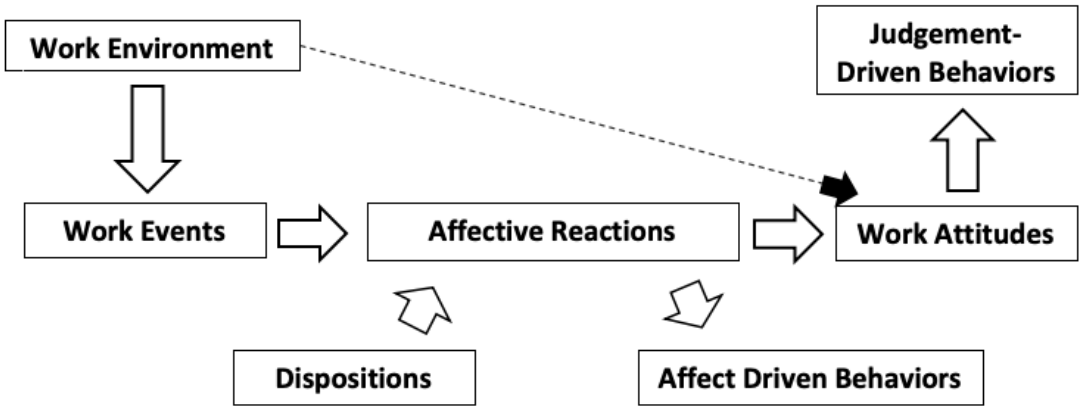

Figure 2 Affective Events Theory

attitudes (specifically job satisfaction) are discussed and key conclusions drawn.

Work environments under AET cover general concepts around a job, such as pay, hours, organizational support, and emotional labor requirements. It is most fitting within this area of discussion to discuss emotional labor and factors that affect who experiences harassment, and to what degree. The following section will review race, visibility, and emotional labor requirements as part of the work environment.

Race

In the findings section race was identified as a statistically significant factor for predicting frequency of all three types of harassment outlined. Further analysis indicated that Asian or Asian-American journalists are significantly more likely to experience harassment than their White counterparts. Additional analysis revealed Spanish, Hispanic, and/or Latino/a journalists experience a higher frequency of harassment compared to non-Spanish, Hispanic, and Latino/a journalists. Significant findings were not found for other racial groups such as Black/African American and Middle Eastern. In total, 434 journalists identified as White, 35 journalists identified as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a, 22 identified as Black/African American, 19 identified as Asian/Asian-American, 4 as Middle Eastern, 1 as Native American, American Indian, or Alaska Native, and 3 as Native-Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander. The remaining 26 marked "Other." The lack of statistically significant differences between white journalists and other journalists of color—excluding Asian/Asian-American journalists and Spanish, Hispanic, and Latino/a journalists where a significant relationship was found—is likely the result of a small sample size of those demographics.

For example, out of 509 respondents the survey contained 22 journalists who identified as Black/African American, which makes up roughly 4.3% of respondents.

This percentage is consistent with national trends found by Willnat, Weaver, and Wilhoit (2017) who estimated nearly 4.1% of journalists in the U.S. are African American. However, while the sample size is proportionally consistent with populations of journalists in the U.S., the size is not necessarily large enough to pick up more nuanced differences between racial groups. This is notable as Black/African American journalists had a mean frequency of harassment at 17.48 while their White counterparts had a mean frequency of harassment at 13.59. Therefore, it would not be completely accurate to suggest Black/African American journalists do not experience harassment differently than other journalists, but that a sample of 22 was too small to draw statistically significant conclusions from these differences.

Another notable point emerged during in-depth interviews with journalists. Many of the journalists discussed harassment's prevalence among people of color, including those who do not identify as journalists of color. For example, respondent 8 explained:

> It's much more common with women and journalists of color. They experience it on a higher and more intense level. And that it would be really important to center the voices of especially women of color in any study about this topic. As a white woman, I think that I got away pretty easily even being someone who wrote about controversial things. So I think that it's really important to ask black women, and other women of color, how this has happened to affect them.

However, despite attempts to speak with various journalists of color, especially women, there was a stifled desire to speak out. One woman of color working at a large newspaper noted:

> There is a long history of women of color, particularly black women in any corporate environment being seen as difficult for raising issues about race. And I certainly do that already, raise issues about race within our own newsroom. But I feel like if I started adding on more the things that I face when I'm out in the field on my own... I, first of all, I don't feel like

> they would feel responsibility for helping with that. And second, I feel like I'm already perceived as difficult (Respondent 8).

Therefore, there is a likeliness that journalists of color, especially Black journalists, could be experiencing harassment at higher levels, but are unwilling to mention it in a survey as to not be seen as "difficult" or malcontent. This will also be discussed in the upcoming limitations section. Conclusions about harassment and race in this paper should be taken with a grain of salt. While racial identity is indeed a key factor to harassment, the quantitative findings from this paper are likely muted compared to reality.

Lastly, it is important to recognize the impact of racial harassment on the individual journalists. Respondent 15 is a woman print journalist who identified as Hispanic and undocumented. While covering a political rally, a stranger told someone she was interviewing to be careful because "she might steal your social security number." The journalist explained, "I kind of lost some faith in humanity because they're supposed to see me as a journalist and they didn't in that instance. They made that joke that was actually really hurtful. And even to a journalist who is just trying to get their side of the story, they can be hurtful." For this journalist, and many others, they have a fundamental concern that they are not seen as a *journalist* but as something else—whether that is based on their race or gender. Similarly, respondent 13 explained:

> I mean when I go out in the field, especially in [city omitted for anonymity], I'm often the only person of color and sometimes the only woman, and working in that situation I know opens me up to a lot of harassment. I'm constantly aware that at any point someone can come after me or someone can just call me out on just doing my job, whether or not I'm doing anything if I'm just standing there. So sometimes that gets stressful.

The stress, as noted by respondent 13, and the hurt, as noted by respondent 15, mark a very large distinction between journalists of color and their white counterparts. Not only is the frequency of abuse and harassment higher, but it would appear that the very nature of race-based harassment and vitriol can have significantly stronger emotional tolls and unique behavioral reactions.

Visibility

As previously noted in the findings section, total visibility, among other factors, was a positive statistically significant predictor of frequency of harassment from readers, viewers, and strangers, towards journalists. As such, broadcast journalists experience more frequent harassment than their print counterparts. And the more visible a journalist is within their respective medium, the more harassment they are likely to experience, both in person and online. Looking specifically at broadcast journalists, market ranking was also a positive predictor of frequency of harassment, even when accounting for visibility. Thus the larger one's market (the smaller the ranking number) the more likely one is to experience harassment. This is likely because the larger a broadcast market is, the larger the audience viewing their content. This also means their journalists get more airtime because larger markets tend to have more newscasts and commercial promotions. Additionally, there tend to be higher expectations at larger stations for journalists to interact with viewers on social media and be active in tweeting and posting Facebook live videos.

Visibility as a factor is key because it makes journalists extremely identifiable in their work. Even for print journalists who have less recognizable faces and do not frequently carry large camera gear, visibility on websites and social media is a common

vehicle for abuse. While visibility is a key component for its ability to make journalists noticeable and thusly more vulnerable, it also allows for more prejudice. One sports journalist, who does not have a picture of herself on her paper's websites, speculates she may receive less harassment because she has a gender neutral name: "my name is gender neutral. I get Mr. [last name omitted for anonymity] in emails all the time. So I don't know if that helps at all, but I don't get a lot of like harassment and gender things on my comment section or anything. And I think a lot of people don't necessarily know if I'm a woman or a man. So that's one element" (Respondent 4). While this example of gender is telling, visibility is also a factor that emerged frequently for journalists of color. This was a common issue for journalists working at newspapers who are otherwise difficult to identify as persons of color unless their news organization requires byline or biography photos.

> I'm one of two black women at this paper, three now, we just hired a new one. When they asked us to take these photos and put them next to our by-lines, I was like, "you do realize that you're asking the people of color in the room to take on an extra burden." […] I mean, comments like this are not new to me. They were things that I've been dealing with my entire life. They just now are coming into my inbox more often because I'm more visible as a journalist rather than just to my face (Respondent 8).

Therefore, while branding and visibility of journalists is important for marketing and building rapport, it is important that news managers understand this comes at a cost of making some journalists more vulnerable and susceptible to harassment.

Emotional Labor

In examining the emotions experienced by journalists, and the ways they chose to act—typically not in accordance with those emotions—there are very clear implications for the presence of emotion management, and subsequently emotional labor, in

journalistic work. As Miller and Lewis (2020) discuss, women broadcast journalists perform a significant amount of emotional labor when dealing with harassment from viewers and readers. As noted in the findings section of this research, men journalists, as well as print journalists, also perform emotional labor as part of their journalistic work. After experiencing sexual harassment, one woman broadcast journalist said, for example, "I feel like I can't lose it, like I can't snap at somebody. There are plenty of times I want to... I mean, maybe cuss at them and be like, 'What's wrong with you? Why would you do that?' But you have to be professional" (Respondent 19). Similarly, a man journalist in broadcast explained, "emotionally I wanted to kind of lash out of course and defend myself and just say, 'Hey, who are you to tell me what I'm doing isn't right?' Or, 'Who are you to say that it's not good enough?' And I don't know, this is how I felt at the time" (Respondent 6). Respondent 24 is a man print journalist. He, like many, said he simply can't react to harassment when working because he could lose his job:

> I would say the biggest thing that I've had, is I've had some people say things to me at events that I would consider harassing in nature and that's where you have to just kind of keep your mouth shut and take it, and move on. There's been a couple of confrontations where people have recognized me and said some things to me that I don't think they would've said if I wasn't on the job […] but they knew that because I was working that I had to just take it... I don't want to get arrested and I don't want to get fired. It's as simple as that. If it did get confrontational to the point where there was a physical altercation, I don't want to lose my job over that and I don't want to go to jail.

While professionalism at work was a common reason many journalists cited managing their emotions at work, clear differences emerge between why men and women manage their emotions. For both sexual harassment and non-sexual harassment, women journalists noted instances of managing their emotions to prevent appearing weak.

Respondent 4 noted, “I'm a person that will start crying and that makes it hard for me to like continue a conversation. I've really tried not to do that in my job because that's not useful. Especially at any workplace really. But I definitely don't want to be seen like that weak person in this type of [harassing] interaction.” Respondent 32 notes a time a reader harassed her, and she tried not to react out of embarrassment: “And so it was embarrassing to me because it made it obvious to everybody around us that I was young, young enough to be his daughter or whatever and he was treating me that way. And so I think later I felt mad. In the moment, I was just humiliated.” Looking back in her 50s, the respondent notes how a desire to be taken seriously and end the unwanted interaction lead to managing her emotions. Therefore, while nearly all journalists mentioned managing their anger emotions as to maintain professionalism, many women note that they also manage emotions to maintain credibility as a serious and tough journalist, as well as to end interactions with which they may be uncomfortable.

As previously noted, Hochschild (1983) defines emotional labor as labor that “requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others” (p. 6). Building on that, Grandey (2000) defines emotional labor even more broadly as the process of regulating both feelings *and/or* expressions to achieve organizational goals. Thus, one’s outward feelings can involve faking, enhancing, or suppressing inner emotions to alter one’s outward emotional expressions (Grandey, 2000). In AET, emotional labor requirements are part of the “work environment” (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). However, rarely is the reality and pervasive nature of harassment—and its impact on job satisfaction—ever examined. While women experience harassment significantly more often than men, in similar and

different ways, all journalists noted the need to manage emotions associated with that harassment. These clear emotional labor requirements of journalism should be considered in any future analysis of judgment driven behaviors and work attitudes.

Work Events: Harassment

In their research on women broadcast journalists' experiences with harassment, Miller and Lewis (2020) outline four types of harassment : "(1) disruptive in-person harassment, (2) physical and abrasive in-person harassment, (3) online harassment as unwanted sexual advances, and (4) online harassment as threats and criticisms" (p. 9). In analysis of both men and women, and print and broadcast journalists, a factor analysis of 16 different harassing acts pointed to three primary forms of harassment. Those three harassment forms are similar to that of Miller and Lewis (2020), but not medium specific: (1) incivility and disruptive harassment, (2) sexual harassment, and (3) personally attacking harassment.

As outlined in the above chart, these three kinds of harassment are specific to the content of the abuse. Sexual harassment is perhaps the easiest to identify, as it is harassment that focuses on one's gender or sexuality, including physical unwanted touching and comments/insults. Personally attacking harassment and incivility and disruptive harassment maintain a key difference. Personally attacking harassment attacks the journalist personally—targeting their race or threatening their personal safety for example. Contrarily, incivility and disruptive harassment attacks the journalist because they are a journalist, calling them broad names like "an idiot" or "fake news" and disrupting them as they work. While all three forms were prevalent for many of the journalists, personally attacking harassment was the rarest. Despite the rarity of such

harassment, it leaves a strong memory and pronounced emotional response for many journalists. In qualitative interviews, these anecdotes are often the easiest to recall for their shock factor. This means, under AET, these events, while not nearly as common, have a large potential to affect ones affect-driven reactions as much as more pervasive forms of harassment.

Emotional Reactions and Interpretations

When initially analyzing data on emotional responses, gender emerged as one of the strongest patterns of difference, over medium and age. Particularly, men showed a very different response to harassment compared to women. This is perhaps unsurprising as data showed women (m = 17.94) not only receive harassment more than men (m = 11.15), but they specifically receive more sexual harassment, and incivility/disruptive harassment. In fact, if one looks at the descriptive means of all 16 types of "negative acts", or harassment, experienced by journalists, women average higher frequencies of harassment in all but one category ("been threatened with physical harm to you or your family"). This is further supported by inferential statistics in the current analysis, which found that, overall, women were harassed and at a significantly higher rate. Therefore, journalists' affective emotional reactions to the harassment—and ultimately their interpretations of it—shed valuable light on understanding how they think about and react to the pervasive harassment they experience. As outlined by affective events theory, understanding the affective work events, and the subsequent affective emotional reactions, are key to understanding and analyzing/predicting affect driven work behaviors, work attitudes and subsequently judgement driven work behaviors.

It is extremely noteworthy that men and women's emotional reactions to harassment differ—with women experiencing notable differences between sexual harassment and non-sexual harassment. When experiencing sexual harassment, women most often noted emotions of anger. However, when experiencing incivility and disruptive harassment (non-sexual harassment), women's affective emotional reactions were fear while men experienced anger. These differences in affective reactions help predict and explain future affect driven behaviors for these journalists.

There are likely several reasons men and women react to and interpret harassment differently: (1) men do not identify sexual harassment as such when it occurs, (2) there is a machismo that prevails so men will not admit fear or vulnerability, (3) the harassment they face is different.

Firstly, it is well known in sexual harassment research that men tend to see "harmless fun" or "normal gendered interactions" where women see sexual harassment (Quinn, 2002, p. 386). Therefore, men tend to not notice sexual harassment when it occurs. During interviews with men, they consistently referred to sexual harassment as a problem women face. For example, Respondent 11 noted, "we've had our fair share of female reporters being contacted by I guess predator-type people. One of which who, he was this registered sex offender in our area. He was in and out of jail and we had to file a police report because he was contacting one of our reporters constantly just asking for pictures and all this. So it's definitely something that is in existence at my station, just not for me personally." In fact, several women were quick to assert in interviews that their men colleagues also face sexual harassment, though not as frequently as they do.

Therefore, while women do experience significantly more sexual harassment, the sexual harassment faced by men often goes unnoticed.

There is often a machismo among men. Basham (1976) describes machismo as characterized by displays of sexual prowess, an affinity for action, a daring nature and self-confidence. However, he explains, that the macho man "above all, never evinces fear" (Basham, 1976, p. 127). In line with the concept of never evincing fear, many of the men interviewed interpreted harassment more as a challenge to their physical abilities and less often a threat to their personal safety or emotions. With this interpretation, men tended to respond with emotions of anger and justify their ability to defend themselves if needed—showing the very self-confidence outlined by Basham. Fragoso and Kashubeck (2000) explain, "males are socialized to view the values and beliefs of this system as optimal, and when they adopt it as their masculine value system, they develop a fear of femininity" (p. 87). While women "fear," these men journalists interviewed frequently discussed how they could see a woman being afraid, however that was not an emotion they reported experiencing.

Many women journalists who were interviewed mentioned the difference between their experiences compared to men. A woman journalist explained, "I think it's being aware of being a woman in the world, and we always talk about the distinction the things that women are conscious of that men don't give a second thought to. I think it's as simple sometimes as I don't broadcast where I am, when I'm there" (Respondent 17). Many men also made the observation that their gender—and their White race—makes them not only less of a target, but possessing a different level of confidence and privilege. For example, respondent 25 stated, "I certainly had people call me names, point fingers in my direction

and I've always been, once the heart stops racing a little bit, you're kind of like, that was cool. But I don't know that if you're not a secure White male you'd have the same response." Not only did respondent 25, a man journalist, use the word "cool" to describe an instance of harassment (illustrating the idea of a "badge of honor") but he also asserts that interpretation of the harassment is a result of his position as a White man in society. For many women, the harassment they face is so pervasive, and unrelated to the content of their work, that the feeling of pride does not exist, but fear.

Perhaps more important than understanding what journalists are feeling, is understanding how they interpret and make sense of the harassment they experience. For women, harassment is seen as "the price they pay" to do journalism—a reality to be overcome. For men, harassment is seen as a sign you are doing your job correctly if you upset someone with what you report, like a "badge of honor." These forms of "sensemaking" illustrate how gender can play a key role in how a social actor like a journalist interprets and makes sense of the unexpected—specifically harassment. Sensemaking is a process through which people seek understanding when the current state of affairs are different from what is expected (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Maitlis & Christianson, 2014). Under sensemaking, Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld (2005) suggest a subject asks themselves "what is the story here?" When facing harassment from strangers—a seemingly unexpected interaction to have—journalists are divided clearly on gender lines. For the men interviewed in this study, the harassment happens because they are *journalists* spreading truth that people don't want shared.

For the women journalist interviewed, the harassment occurred because they are *women* who do journalism. For men journalists, the harassment is an honor tied to their

identity as journalists; for women journalists it is a burdened tied to their identity as women. This is perhaps a large reason why harassment is normalized and does little to impact overall job satisfaction among journalists. Moreover, these findings show gender identity is a key area of difference in which sensemaking avenues occur. Sensemaking literature suggests sensemaking "can act effectively simply by making sense of circumstances in ways that appear to move toward general long-term goals" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 415). For these men and women journalists, their understanding of why they are harassed helps to eliminate elements of cognitive dissonance and move forward with their work. These interpretations of harassment for journalists, coupled with their affective emotional reactions to harassment events at work, provides strong explanatory power in the next section as to why and how harassment can affect journalistic work through affect-driven work behaviors.

Affect Driven Behaviors: Harassment's Effects

Despite the clear normalization of harassment—and its muted effect on job satisfaction—harassment has real and tangible effects on the way journalists do their work. Many women journalists noted in interviews that while harassment is normal, and you expect it to a degree, that never fully prepares you:

> There are platforms that encourage that kind of discourse and encourage people to flood the DM's [direct message inboxes on social media accounts] of journalists who put their opinion out there with just this super negative noise or death threats or anything like that. Yeah, I think that's part of it, and when journalists engage in that they know, we know what we're doing and we're getting into, but sometimes that doesn't always just prepare us for the scale of it. Or at least it didn't prepare me for the scale of it (Respondent 13).

In response to RQ4, which asks, “Does harassment affect how journalists do their work?” data showed that frequency of sexual harassment and incivility harassment are key predictors—along with age and gender—of various work behaviors. Specifically, women journalists and younger journalists who have experienced sexual harassment and incivility harassment are most likely to exhibit the aforementioned work behaviors and have their journalistic routines affected because of harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers.

In the survey, journalists were asked “to avoid the previous negative behaviors in your work as a journalist, have you ever done the following?” The full list is (1) avoided interviewing someone, (2) avoided going somewhere alone, (3) asked someone to accompany you while reporting, (4) changed the angle of your story, (5) stopped reporting on a story after you had already started, (6) avoided covering certain topics, (7) changed jobs, (8) considered quitting your job, (9) considered leaving journalism, (10) changed reporting beat, (11) handed a story over to a colleague, (12) turned off messaging on social media, (13) been less active or responsive on social media, (14) changed how you act on social media, (15) changed your appearance, (16) gone by a different name.

Looking specifically at behaviors around employment, 23% of journalists surveyed said they considered quitting their jobs because of harassment from readers, viewers, and strangers, while 29% said they considered leaving journalism altogether. Their content was also impacted. More than 25% of journalists surveyed said they avoided covering certain topics because of harassment, while an additional 15% said they changed the angle of a story, and 13% said they stopped reporting a story after they had

already started. Not only is harassment affecting the way journalists think about their work—causing many to consider leaving the profession—but it is also affecting content by influencing what stories do and do not get told, as well as how they are told. As Respondent 9 noted, "I don't like it if people are lying about me or being mean or threatening. I'm a human, and I don't get paid enough and I'm not high-profile enough to just let it slide off […] So, if I have a piece where people are nasty enough to me about it, I just won't write about that again."

Much like the findings from Löfgren and Örnebring (2016) regarding Swedish journalists, this research suggests in the U.S. harassment of journalists also has a significant effect on their daily practices, work routines, and even their impressions of the profession. Moreover, AET asserts as one experiences a variety of daily "hassles and uplifts," they lead to a variety of negative, and occasionally positive, affective reactions that then lead to affective driven behaviors and work attitudes (Glasø, Vie, Holmdal, and Einarsen, 2011, p. 199). These affective work attitudes can then influence one's judgement-driven behaviors. Workplace events can, over time, accumulate in a way that significantly influences job satisfaction, organizational trust, and even commitment (Glasø, Vie, Holmdal, and Einarsen, 2011). Here, we see a direct link—as exemplified by Respondent 9's comment—how harassment patterns of online abuse and threats have caused a reporter to change the very topics they write about. The negative affect of harassment patterned over time yielded emotions of fear, and subclusters therein, contributed to the affect driven behavior of altering work output.

Social media is a key area in which journalists are feeling pressured and abused. To avoid harassment, 49% of journalists surveyed said they have been less active on

social media, 45% said they change how they act on social media, and nearly a quarter (24%) said they turned messaging off on social media. In a time of journalism where social media use is seen as engaged journalism and containing potential to move audiences to web pages for clicks, journalists are equally recoiling from the abuse that happens there. As one journalist explained, the pressure to be on social media is high, but so is the abuse:

> One thing that I refuse to do, and I actually get marked down on my reviews because I refuse to do it, I will not do a Facebook Live if I don't need to because of harassment. I've been called a stupid fat pig, nine months pregnant. People critique everything about you in real time. It's horrible. Doing one Facebook live per month is a requirement, and I absolutely refuse. If I'm not at breaking news or there's not a reason to do it, I just take the hit on my review because I can't handle the harassment (Respondent 26).

As evident by the survey results, journalists are finding ways to balance a social media presence, while also minimizing harassment. Many journalists noted social media abuse was highly pervasive, and in many respects more painful. One respondent noted:

> If I'm getting a voicemail that's calling me the C-word, it's awful and gross and upsetting. But it's one person and you can tell yourself, well, they're sick or they're twisted or they're an idiot or they're unenlightened or whatever. However you may want to think of them, but it's that one person. Now somebody calls you a name on Twitter and ten other idiots agree and amplify and retweet and it spreads and then people are trying to defend you and it just becomes so much bigger and I think a much more volatile and ugly thing (Respondent 32).

As such, it is extremely worrisome and important to understand that—as the data shows—age is a strong predictor of changing work routines to avoid harassment. Not only are younger journalists more likely to experience lower pay, and work at smaller organizations with less financial and supervisorial support, but they often work alone.

These very vulnerable journalists often do not have experience to know what to expect, and lack skills with how to respond to harassment. Often not wanting to appear weak or unprofessional, they will say little to a supervisor when harassment occurs, or if they do speak up, often feel nothing is done. Roughly 32% of journalists under the age of 30 said they avoided covering certain topics to prevent harassment. Perhaps most troubling is the data shows for journalists under the age of 30, nearly 40% said they had considered leaving journalism because of harassment. That number jumps to 47% for journalists younger than 25. This suggests many young journalists are exhibiting specific affect-driven work behaviors to mitigate harassment, and they are exhibiting these behaviors at the beginning of their careers—suggesting that should they remain in journalism, they are establishing work routines that will likely carry through their journalistic lives. However, the most troubling aspect is how many young journalists are considering leaving the profession altogether specifically because of harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers.

As indicated in the findings section, gender identity has a notable influence on affect driven behaviors. A total of 16 independent-samples *t* tests were calculated to see specifically how men and women differ in their affect-driven responses to harassing work events. Not only did women on average participate in each of the various forms of harassment avoidance more often than men, but the differences were statistically significant for 12 of the 16 measures. As noted by Carlson et al. (2011), affective responses to workplace events largely determine subsequent workplace behaviors. With so many women noting fear as their primary affective emotion to disruptive and incivility harassment—as well as the frequency at which they experience harassment compared to

men—the clear differences in affect-driven work behaviors is telling. There is likely a strong link between experiencing fear in response to harassment at work, and many of the affect-driven behaviors listed above. This is not to say women are more likely to do these behaviors than men, but that women who experience fear emotions because of harassment are more likely to perform these behaviors than men who primarily experience anger.

While men feel primarily anger, that is an emotion many of them feel comfortable managing, and even take pride in having to experience (i.e. a "badge of honor"). For many women, however, harassment is described as the "price they pay" to do journalism while female. While the price they pay is harassment, and the fear associated with that, they are the ones mostly participating in work behaviors to avoid abuse and mitigate harassment's effects. In understanding the effects of harassment, AET sheds light on the power of fear as an emotion that highly correlates to specific affect-driven work behaviors. As Weiss and Cropanzo (1996) explain, "people can feel angry, frustrated, proud or joyful and these different reactions have different behavioral implications" (p. 11). As such, newsrooms should be acutely aware of employee safety and understanding when an employee is experiencing fear through frequent check-ins and active listening when they air frustrations. Fear is a powerful emotion that can be difficult to manage (emotional labor) and result in tangible practices that can hurt journalism (e.g. avoiding covering certain topics or avoiding interviewing certain sources).

Work Attitudes: Job Satisfaction

The initial regression equation analyzing job satisfaction examined frequency of sexual harassment, incivility harassment, and attacking harassment, as well as age,

gender, income, race, perceived supervisor support, and newsroom size. Newsroom size and supervisor support were both significant positive predictors of overall job satisfaction. The larger the newsroom/organization for which a journalist works—and the more supported they feel from their supervisor—the more satisfied they are with their work. Income, age, race, and gender were not statistically significant predictors of overall job satisfaction. However, a surprising result surfaced when looking at the three types of harassment's effects on job satisfaction. While sexual harassment and personally attacking harassment had no statistically insignificant correlation to job satisfaction, *incivility and disruptive harassment* had a negative significant relationship. While sexual harassment and personally attacking harassment attack who the journalist is individually, disruptive and incivility harassment attacks the journalist in their role as a journalist. Interruptions while interviewing/reporting and being called names like "fake news" are examples of harassment inherently unique to journalists. Perhaps it is unsurprising then that this form of harassment that is uniquely and indelibly a part of journalism work has a significant impact on how satisfied journalists are with working in journalism.

This normalization of sexual harassment suggests that despite the frequency at which women journalists are experiencing harassment, their job satisfaction is not being affected. While many women journalists noted they are angered by the presence of harassment, their expectation of it as normal—in journalism or any other industry—means they do not consider it a defining factor in the satisfaction of their work. After listing several severe instances of harassment, one woman broadcast journalist noted, "After what I've said it's going to sound crazy, but I still love it. Being a journalist is ... I love it. I truly love it. I can't at this point see myself doing something different"

(Respondent 26). Another woman broadcast journalist noted, “I'd like to think that what we do is very important. And again, the best way I can put it, it's just an occupational hazard. So 95 percent of what I do outweighs that five percent of this little occupational hazard that kind of comes and goes in waves” (Respondent 19). One man print journalist explained, “I think my first byline was in a newspaper in June of 1976, and I probably got my first complaint shortly thereafter. It kind of goes with the territory, you'll get insults and threats and harassment” (Respondent 10). The terms “occupational hazard” and “goes with the territory” once again show how harassment has become a part of the journalism industry in a normalized and expected way. While this is negative in how is affects and alters work behaviors, the normalization has *helped* to minimize the impact of how journalists feel about their job—for both men and women. Nevertheless, while the effects on job satisfaction may be muted, disruptive and incivility harassment still negatively affect the way journalists view work in the journalism industry.

Examining job satisfaction as a work attitude under AET, these findings on the influence of disruptive and incivility harassment over other forms of harassment illustrate the influence harassing affective events can have on job satisfaction. Specifically, the more harassment that journalists see as part of their specific job—and less as part of living in the U.S.—the more that harassment has the ability to affect their work attitudes. Thus, it is not enough for a negative work event to occur *at work,* but the negative work event must be tied to work. As many women journalists noted, sexual harassment is part of being a woman in a patriarchal society, and personally attacking harassment takes place based on who the journalists is as an individual (e.g. their race, religion, sexual orientation, etc.). Contrarily, disruptive and incivility harassment occurs because of one’s

identity *as a journalist.* While women and broadcast journalists are more likely to experience this type of harassment, the ultimate reason it takes place is one's identity as a journalist. That reality makes this harassment unique to journalism, thus unsurprisingly causing it to have an effect on job satisfaction when examining journalism in general. This finding adds to the AET literature as it illustrates affective events influence the work attitude of job satisfaction when these affective events are seen as unique features of a job.

It is also worth noting that personally attacking harassment tends to be extreme—from threats of physical harm to obscene comments about one's race or religion. As such, many journalists may remember these severe instances, but tend to write them off as extreme outliers, and the perpetrators as bigots. Therefore, while many journalists have experienced these extreme forms, they are significantly less common than the other two, and are cognitively easier to explain away—as the journalists usually label to perpetrators as rare cases of bigotry. These extreme cases are therefore not strongly associated to journalistic work by the journalists, and likely why they have minimal impact on job satisfaction and work behaviors.

Implications for Practitioners

With harassment a clear and present issue in journalism, "it is important that academic research documents and challenges where the media have failed a large proportion of its workers" (North, 2016, p. 496). Thus, this research has several compelling implications for journalism practitioners. Firstly, journalists are more likely to feel satisfied with their job if their newsroom supervisors (editors, news directors, producers, etc.) are supportive in situations of harassment and employee safety.

Supervisor support was an overwhelmingly strong predictor of job satisfaction. As previously noted, newsroom size and supervisor support were both significant positive predictors of overall job satisfaction. The larger the newsroom/organization for which a journalist works—and the more supported they feel from their supervisor—the more satisfied they are with their work. The newsroom size and supervisor support were indeed stronger predictors than age, gender and even income. This suggests larger newsrooms, which tend to have more upper management, resources, and financial stability, are more likely to support employees and have more satisfied journalists.

One long time man editor at a print newspaper mentioned he takes safety of his reporters very seriously: "It's something I preach every day or every chance. It's always, 'Be safe. Anything you're afraid about or if you do need anybody to walk you in or out. Just ask'" (Respondent 10). However, what many reporters noted, especially the women, is that they do not speak up about the abuse for two reasons: (1) the abuse is so normalized in the industry that it does not always occur to them when the abuse is happening, and (2) they do not want to be seen as weak or whiny. Respondent 32 explained, "you don't want anybody to think you're not tough. You know, this is a profession that really, over the decades has valued toughness and I think there's a fear of looking weak." This issue is especially pressing for women of color. Respondent 18 noted: "I'm sure so many woman especially, and women of color, tripled, quadrupled times have just been like fuck this, I don't need ... not even do I not need to put up with this, but I can't afford to put up with this mentally and financially, because you get paid shit and nobody listens when you do yell." A man print journalists argued—as many of the journalists did—that support is key:

> One of the things that is so important is that we all support each other. And part of getting through that, part of dealing with the harassment, part is feeling like somebody has your back and you just have to have that […] I can't imagine doing this if we were all sort of operating individually and didn't have each other's back (Respondent 27).

Therefore, organizational and specifically supervisor support for employees is a huge step toward employees that feel satisfied with their work. This means fostering a work environment where complaints about harassment and safety are taken seriously and acted upon. It also means working with journalists on assignments where they may have concerns. As many journalists will not speak up, a supervisor must have empathy and see potential concerns before they happen, such as limiting the number of solo live shots, sending journalists in pairs when reporting in a difficult area or on a difficult story, and monitoring abuse online—by closing down abusive commentators and providing guidelines/training for journalists who experience online harassment.

Secondly, is the empowerment of journalists to speak up, as well as how to identify harassing and unsafe situations. As previously noted, not only must supervisors be open to listening and watching for places where journalists might need additional support to stave off harassment and its effects, but journalists should be empowered to speak up. This includes teaching journalists what harassment is and what an "unsafe" situation may look like, and encouraging them to speak up. Supervisors can no longer assume a reporter or photographer will speak up, as many people do not want to appear as "weak" or "difficult." As respondent 26 stated:

> The field will always be a dangerous place. You can be run over by a car, you can be hit, kicked, pushed, yelled at, had something thrown at you. We've had people shot. That's the risk you run, always. But I do think that one solution is teaching your crews to be very aware, aware as possible, and also encouraging people to speak up when they feel a situation is

> unsafe. You can feel something in the air sometimes when a situation is not right. Protests are terrifying things to cover. They get heated really quickly. It can be, people are on a hair-trigger. Speaking out about those situations, and getting yourself and your crews to a safer location, is key in protecting journalists.

As Respondent 26 notes, journalists must know what a dangerous situation looks like, and feel empowered to speak up and know how to act when that does occur. Therefore, newsroom supervisors should establish safety training and create a declaration of procedures for journalists to reference when in a situation where (1) they feel unsafe or (2) they have already been harassed. Often, it takes several times for journalists to face these harassing and dangerous situations before they are capable of preemptively identifying them. Newsroom supervisors should provide steps so journalists know how to report such incidents and how to advocate for themselves both informally with their supervisors, and formally within the organization, including law enforcement when necessary.

Perhaps most important, is acting when a journalist does speak up. One of the largest blows to journalist's feeling of support and desire to speak up is a feeling that they have spoken up in the past, but nothing came of it. Even the simple act of validating the journalist and writing a report provides a feeling of an official paper trail and shows the journalists what they faced is being taken seriously and not to be considered normal.

Limitations and Future Research

While research for this dissertation was systematic and methodical, it was not without limitations. There are inherent limitation to in-depth interviews and surveys. Firstly, Campbell and Lassiter (2014) argue interviews ask participants to engage in a specific type of speech event outside of their normal routine, at a specific time and place.

Because of this, they must be considered in a different context than observation and discussion that occur in the moment. Moreover, perceived expectations the interviewee has about the interviewer may cause some responses, or reactivity, based on what respondents believe the researcher wishes to hear. Snowball sampling also has imitations. In snowball sampling the study sample is built based on referrals from others (Lindlof and Taylor, 2011). While Lindlof and Taylor (2011) argue this helps illuminate specific characteristics within a niche group—especially when trying to discuss sensitive topics—some suggest this introduces "biases" into the data "due to the fact that the referrals tend to radiate in a social network" (p. 115). As such, the snowball sample is non-representative.

Surveys also contain inherent limitations. Much like interviews, survey respondents may struggle to recall specific experiences, their frequency, and emotions during the moment of the survey. Additionally, sampling methods for surveys possess limitations. Specifically, the sample used to find and survey journalists started by identifying television markets and sampling print and broadcast journalists within those markets. This was done to ensure comparisons were being made among journalists working in the same geographical locations. However, this also provides a limitation, as cities with small populations tend to not have television stations operating in them. Therefore, the survey sample for this paper does not include many low circulation newspapers (10,000 or fewer). However, the interview sample included several journalists working at smaller, non-daily, publications.

Another consideration is bias and honesty from respondents when conducting human-subject research. While many journalists—especially women—acknowledged

doing some of the aforementioned practices to avoid harassment in surveys, in interviews many were quick to suggest it does not affect their work or work routines. This is likely the result of a stigma in journalism that journalists must be infallible purveyors of truth, and thusly not affected by harassment. As one journalist reflected, “I sort of felt a lot of pride in my ability to have thick skin, and my ability to be like they don't affect me, and now I feel like years later, I realize that they did affect me a lot. And it did change how I wrote things sometimes, and there would be things that I didn't write about or report on, because it's like I don't want to put up with the fucking [social media] commenters (Respondent 18).” Thus, the frequency of affect-driven work behaviors from harassment events is likely higher than even the survey revealed.

The idea of stigma was also a likely factor for many men when discussing their emotional reaction to harassment. As previously discussed, machismo rewards self-confidence and punishes displays of fear (Basham, 1976). As such, any indication that a man journalist may be experiencing emotions of fear would be stifled in an attempt to adhere to gender norms of masculinity. Therefore, while men journalists very likely experience anger when experiencing harassment, it cannot be assumed they do not also experience fear. Similarly, while men journalists interviewed in this study did not mention any instances of experiencing sexual harassment, it is possible they have experienced sexual harassment at some point in their careers. Quinn (2002) notes that men tend to see “harmless fun” or “normal gendered interactions” where women see sexual harassment (p. 386). Therefore while this paper draws noteworthy conclusions about men’s experiences with nonsexual harassment, future research should examine how

men journalists think about sexual harassment, as exploration on the subject is limited in this research.

Another primary consideration in examination of limitations is the voice of people of color in this research. In 2013, 17.2% of journalists were persons of color (Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). Of the 32 in depth interviews conducted in this research, only five journalists self-identified as people of color (15.6%). Only one of those journalists was a man. While this sample is on par with national percentages of journalists of color, it is difficult to draw substantial conclusions from a sample of five—especially as journalists of different racial identities have unique experiences that cannot be wholly lumped together. During many attempts in snowball sampling to speak with more journalists of color, including men of color, there were many instances of non-response, or instances where journalists did not feel comfortable sharing contacts for journalists of color as to not "retraumatize" them. Future research should look extensively at race as a factor in harassment of journalists and understanding how journalists of color make sense of harassment and their work. As a managing editor of a large U.S. newspaper noted, "there's an extra layer of this that applies to journalists of color I think. And I don't think, I know. And so when you ask about men versus women, I think the men on our staff who are people of color have a whole other issue. And so they may deal with very frequent harassment themselves" (Respondent 32). Indeed, journalists of color, as well as examination of the intersectionality of gender, are key areas in which future research should focus.

Furthermore, this research focuses exclusively on print and broadcast journalists, as well as journalists who are currently employed in newsrooms. Herein lies two distinct

areas for future research: (1) journalists working at other types of news organizations like public radio or online-only news organizations and (2) journalists who have left the industry. The effects of harassment and subsequent emotions around harassment of a journalist would assumingly differ for journalists who have "considered leaving journalism" and those who have actually left the industry. This demographic of former journalists should be examined to understand their unique emotional experiences and assessment of the harassment they faced and how it pushed them to leave the industry. It is within this group that a better understanding of harassment's effects could fully be explored. Secondly, this research focuses exclusively on print and broadcast journalists working in local U.S. newsrooms. Local journalism is notably different in its journalistic endeavors and public perception. Future research should also examine journalists working at large national media organizations.

Conclusion

Theoretically this research is rich in implications for organizational studies, as well as journalism studies. Never before in any area has AET been utilized in such a way to explore harassment events as specific instances with affective emotional tolls. In journalism studies, emotion is only beginning to be explored (e.g. Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016; Thomson, 2018; Siapera, 2019). Utilizing journalism as a lens through which to explore the affective reactions to harassing work events builds a clear and linear theoretical concept on which to build future research in this area. For decades, work features and overall moods were utilized to study job satisfaction and behaviors (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), however scholars missed the power of proximal events to create strong emotion that produces results—both desirable and undesirable. Through the use of

AET to explore harassment in the workplace, clear lines of affective reactions—and subsequent behaviors and attitudes—are illustrated. This research shows the nature harassment has, as an event, to influence journalists at the micro level, and democracy at the macro level. More so, it provides a framework for other scholars to utilize AET in examining other workplaces with high public interaction.

Furthermore, AET's combination with sensemaking as an explanatory factor is novel and a key contribution to AET. While sensemaking in-and-of itself is not a theory, its ability to shed light on how an event can shape future action through cognitive processes to decrease dissonance is vital in explaining AET and in examination of harassment. For example, sensemaking was a key part of understanding how women see harassment as the "price you pay" while men see it as "a badge of honor." These rationales as a form of sensemaking for harassing events help to illuminate the effects of harassment on affective behaviors and attitudes. It is through sensemaking that the flow of AET is illuminated and further analysis is possible.

Likewise, this research adds notably to journalism studies. In sum, the emotional toll of harassment from viewers, readers, and strangers is notable and severe for U.S. print and broadcast journalists. With increased harassment for women journalists, and journalists of color—as well as more visible journalists—the toll of work routines and work attitudes can no longer be ignored. As mentioned previously, nearly a quarter of all journalists surveyed said they avoided covering certain topics to head off harassment. Moreover, roughly 50% of women journalists and 20% of men journalists have avoided interviewing someone to prevent harassment. And even more noteworthy is the reality

that because of harassment, 25% of women journalists and 24% of men journalists have considered leaving journalism altogether because of this issue.

What this study reveals is not only the prevalence of harassment, and its most common survivors, but also the toll it is waging on democracy in the United States. Journalists were granted freedom of the press centuries ago to act as the government's final check on power—garnering the name the *fourth estate.* Within this ideal is the notion that journalists are a voice for the voiceless, and the eyes of the people. They hold those in power accountable through the spread of information. However, the power of journalists to spread this valuable information and play its roll in democracy by informing the people remains in question. For, how can a democracy thrive if the information the public receives is altered because of the harassment faced by journalists?

Not only is harassment changing what stories are reported and how, but also changing the very voices telling those stories. In understanding this reality, one must also understand the toll this takes on the marketplace of ideas. If journalists of color and women are receiving the brunt of harassment, these are voices not only being stifled, but voices being pushed out of the industry altogether. For decades journalism has lagged behind national workplace averages for women *and* people of color—especially in print newsrooms—and harassment likely explains a key part of that disproportion. Moreover, this research makes clear how harassment is affecting the information people receive, and the voices being heard. Firstly, it is up to journalism educators and newsroom supervisors to take action by safeguarding their employees and empowering them to act. However, the ultimate shift in combatting this issue, that many journalists perceive as growing, is a

shift in the U.S. culture away from Trumpian rhetoric of journalist as enemies, and an appreciation of their role in the Unites States' delicate check and balance on power.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision whether or not to participate.

Key Information for You to Consider
· **Voluntary Consent**. You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. · **Purpose**. The purpose of this research is to understand journalists' experiences with strangers, readers, and viewers in their daily work. The goal is to understand the experiences that journalists have in interacting with people outside their newsroom. · **Duration.** The survey should take 5-10 minutes. · **Risks.** This survey poses few risks. However, because some questions ask about negative experiences such as harassment or discrimination, it is possible that you might experience discomfort when recalling such experiences. · **Benefits**. Some of the benefits include an increased understanding of how journalists do their work and the various factors they encounter while working. This is vital for better understanding journalism as a whole, and for improving the education of future journalists as well.

Who is conducting this research?
My name is Kaitlin Bane Miller. I am a former journalist and current Ph.D. student from the University of Oregon's School of Journalism and Communication. I am asking for you to participate in filling out this survey as part of my dissertation research.

What happens to the information collected for this research?

Information collected for this research will be used to analyze trends in journalistic work. I will compare responses from journalists around the U.S. and look for patterns. The findings will then be published as part of the dissertation research. All surveys will be kept anonymous.

How will my privacy and data confidentiality be protected?

I will take measures to protect your privacy including full anonymity of all data collected. Information such as your name or place of work is not collected. Despite taking steps to protect your privacy, I can never fully guarantee your privacy will be protected. I will take measures to protect the security of all your personal information. If you have questions about this study or the questions being asked, please contact me.

Kaitlin Bane Miller

(916) 662-1266
kbane@uoregon.edu

An Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. If you have questions about your rights or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Research Compliance Services
5237 University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97403-5237
(541) 346-2510

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I have had the opportunity to read and consider the information in this form. I have asked any questions necessary to make a decision about my participation. I understand that I can ask additional questions throughout my participation.

I understand that by checking the box below, I volunteer to participate in this research. I understand that I am not waiving any legal rights. I have been provided with a copy of this consent form. I understand that if my ability to consent or assent for myself changes, either I or my legal representative may be asked to re-consent prior to my continued participation in this study.

By continuing with the survey, I consent to participate in this study.

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Visibility

Q13 When you are out in the field reporting, how easy is it for someone to identify that you are a journalist?

- ○ Very hard to tell I am a journalist 0
- ○ 1
- ○ 2
- ○ 3
- ○ 4
- ○ 5
- ○ Very easy to tell I am a journalist 6

Q7 Which of the following applies to you in your work as a journalist?

	Never 0	1	2	3	4	5	Always 6
I wear branded gear like a work jacket when out reporting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I wear a press badge when out reporting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I drive a marked work car with my company's brand	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have a photo on my news site near my bio	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have a photo on my news site near my byline	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

I carry gear such as a camera or tripod when out reporting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I appear in videos online	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I appear on camera as a TV reporter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I appear on camera as a TV anchor, host, or meteorologist	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am active on social media	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I sometimes share personal details on social media, like a picture of my dog	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My face is recognized in public	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My name is recognized in public	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q36 How often do you use each of the following social media for your work as a journalist?

	Never 0	1	2	3	4	5	All the time 6
Twitter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Facebook	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Instagram	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If How often do you use each of the following social media for your work as a journalist? != Twitter [Never 0]

Q35 Approximately how many Twitter followers do you have?

_____

Display This Question:

If How often do you use each of the following social media for your work as a journalist? != Facebook [Never 0]

Q40 Approximately how many Facebook page likes/friends do you have?

_____

Display This Question:

If How often do you use each of the following social media for your work as a journalist? != Instagram [Never 0]

Q39 Approximately how many Instagram followers do you have?

_____

Q20 Which job title best describes you? If multiple apply, pick the position you do the most.

- ○ Reporter
- ○ News writer
- ○ Anchor/Host
- ○ Meteorologist
- ○ Columnist
- ○ Photographer/Photojournalist
- ○ Digital Producer
- ○ Editor
- ○ Producer
- ○ News Director
- ○ Other _____

Q29 Which beat (if any) or area do you primarily cover?

- ○ Politics
- ○ Domestic Politics
- ○ Foreign affairs
- ○ Economy
- ○ Crime and law
- ○ Culture
- ○ Sports
- ○ News or current affairs
- ○ Health
- ○ Entertainment
- ○ Other, please specify: _____
- ○ Don't know

End of Block: Visibility

Start of Block: Harassment

Q5 In your work as a journalist, how often do you experience the following negative behaviors from readers, viewers, or strangers (whether online or in person)?

	Has never happened 0	1	2	3	4	5	Happens all the time 6
Had your appearance critiqued or made fun of	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been called "fake news"	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been called offensive names or profanities, such as an "Idiot" or "fat b**ch"	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Had someone intentionally try to embarrass you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Had interviews or standups interrupted by name-calling or gestures	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been touched in an unwanted sexual manner	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been sent sexual pictures, such as images of genitals	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been solicited for sex or sexual acts	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Received repeated requests for dates	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

your race or ethnicity							
Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about your gender, such as sexist comments	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Had people make jokes or derogatory comments about your religion	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been doxed (i.e. had your personal information released)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been stalked	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been threatened with physical harm (to you or your family)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Been physically attacked, such as hit, pushed, slapped, kicked or spit on	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q18 How often are you harassed by viewers, readers, or strangers?

- Never
- Less than once a year
- Several times a year
- Nearly monthly
- Nearly weekly
- Nearly daily
- Every day

Q33 How often do you believe the above negative behaviors from viewers, readers, and/or strangers are politically motivated?

- Never 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- Always 6

End of Block: Harassment

Start of Block: Effects

Q14 To avoid the previous negative behaviors in your work as a journalist, have you ever done the following?

	no	yes
Avoided reporting in certain places (towns, neighborhoods, etc.)	○	○
Avoided interviewing someone	○	○
Avoided going somewhere alone	○	○
Asked someone to accompany you while reporting	○	○
Changed the angle of your story	○	○
Stopped reporting on a story after you had already started	○	○
Avoided covering certain topics	○	○
Changed jobs	○	○
Considered quitting your job	○	○
Considered leaving journalism	○	○
Changed reporting beat	○	○
Handed a story over to a colleague	○	○
Turned off messaging on social media	○	○
Been less active or responsive on social media	○	○
Changed how you act on social media	○	○

Changed your appearance	○	○
Gone by a different name	○	○

Q26 How much do you agree with the following statement: When dealing with negative behaviors from strangers, readers, or viewers, I feel well supported by my supervisor(s).

- ○ Strongly disagree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Strongly agree

End of Block: Effects

Start of Block: Satisfaction

Q16 How satisfied are you with your current job?

- Very Dissatisfied
- Somewhat Dissatisfied
- Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied
- Somewhat Satisfied
- Very Satisfied

Q42 How satisfied are you working in journalism in general?

- Very Dissatisfied
- Somewhat Dissatisfied
- Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied
- Somewhat Satisfied
- Very Satisfied

Q21 Do you see yourself working in journalism in the next 5 years?

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure

End of Block: Satisfaction

Start of Block: Demographic Data

Q37 How many full-time news and editorial workers are employed at your news organization? If you are unsure, please provide your best estimate.

- 1-10 journalists
- 11-20 journalists
- 21-30 journalists
- 31-40 journalists
- 41-50 journalists
- More than 50 journalists

Q2 What type of media outlet do you work for?

- Print/Newspaper
- Broadcast/Television
- Audio/Radio
- Online/Web-Only
- Magazine
- Other

Skip To: Q4 If What type of media outlet do you work for? = Print/Newspaper

Skip To: Q4 If What type of media outlet do you work for? = Audio/Radio

Skip To: Q4 If What type of media outlet do you work for? = Online/Web-Only

---

Q43 What is your market ranking? If you do not know, provide your best estimate.

_____

X→

Q11 What affiliate do you work for? Click all that apply.

- [ ] ABC
- [ ] CBS
- [ ] FOX
- [ ] NBC
- [ ] Other

X→

Q19 To the best of your knowledge, how does your station rank in your market?

- ○ Leading Station
- ○ Second
- ○ Third ranked or lower
- ○ I'm not sure

Q4 How many years have you worked as a journalist?

_____

Q9 How many years have you worked in your current position?

_____

Q3 What is your age in years?

_____

Q28 Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

Q12 Which of the following racial categories do you most identify with?

- White
- Black or African-American
- Asian or Asian-American
- Middle Eastern
- Native American, American Indian, or Alaska Native
- Native-Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander
- Other _____

Q1 What is your gender identity?

- Man
- Woman
- Non-binary
- Other

Q22 What is your highest education level achieved?

- Some High School
- High School Diploma or GED
- Some college credit or technical school degree
- Associate's Degree
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- Doctoral Degree (e.g. Ph.D., M.D., J.D., or equivalent)

Q23 Last year, what was your income before taxes?

- Less than $20,000
- $20,000-$29,999
- $30,000-$39,999
- $40,000-$49,999
- $50,000-$59,999
- $60,000-$69,999
- $70,000-$79,999
- $80,000-$89,999
- $90,000-$99,999
- More than $100,000

Q32 In general, would you describe your personal political views as:

- Strongly Conservative
- Conservative
- Lean Conservative
- Centrist
- Lean Liberal
- Liberal
- Strongly Liberal

End of Block: Demographic Data

Start of Block: Conclusion

Q30 Thank you for participating in this survey!
 If you would like to be entered into a drawing for one of two $100 gift cards to Amazon.com, or for a chance to donate $100 to the Committee to Protect Journalists, please enter your email address. (Note: Your answer to this question will not be used in connection with your other responses; your email address will not be used for any purpose other than entering the gift card/donation drawing and notifying the winners.)

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT MATERIALS

Initial Survey Email

My name is Kaitlin Bane Miller and I am a former reporter and current journalism graduate student. You are receiving this email because I am conducting a national survey of journalists as part of my dissertation research. While I know how incredibly busy you are as a journalist (as I have been there) the survey only takes 5-10 minutes. The survey is anonymous and voluntary. I am conducting this research to better understand how journalists interact with readers, viewers, and strangers, as part of their journalistic work.

As a thank you, anyone who completes the survey may enter their email for a chance to win 1 of 2 $100 items: either a $100 Amazon gift card, or a $100 donation to the Committee to Protect Journalists. It is important that all who are selected for the survey actually respond to gather the best data possible. Your experiences and insight are so important and I thank you in advance for your time. I welcome any questions you may have.

Regards,

Kaitlin Bane Miller
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University of Oregon
(916) 662-1266
kbane@uoregon.edu

Follow-Up Survey Emails

Hello,

My name is Kaitlin Bane Miller and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oregon. I promise I am real and not spam. Last Friday I sent you an email requesting you fill out a survey as part of a national study I am conducting for my dissertation. This is a reminder email asking once again you consider completing the survey, which takes only 5-10 minutes, and is completely anonymous. The survey asks questions about journalistic work, focusing specifically on journalists' experiences with strangers, readers, and viewers. As a former journalists, I know how busy you can be, and appreciate your time.

As a thank you, anyone who completes the survey may enter their email for a chance to win 1 of 2 $100 items: either a $100 Amazon gift card, or a $100 donation to the Committee to Protect Journalists. It is important that all who are selected for the survey actually respond to gather the best data possible. Your experiences and insight are so important and I thank you in advance for your time. I welcome any questions you may have. I will send one more reminder email in coming weeks.

Regards,

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Hello,

This is your final reminder email and "thank you" for considering taking my 5-10 minute survey. Once again, I am a Ph.D. student, and former journalist, at the University of Oregon. This survey is part of my dissertation research examining how journalists interact with strangers, readers, and viewers--especially when those interactions perhaps turn negative. Please feel free to call me or email me to ensure I am real, and indeed not spam. Lastly, thank you for all you do. I believe in the power of journalism and appreciate your service to the public.

Regards,

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APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

The overall question guiding this research is how journalists (as individuals and the work they produce) are affected by harassment, as well as the frequency and type of harassment being experienced. The mediating factors that are important to note are emotion and affect. While harassment can trigger many reactions, it is emotion that I am most interested in exploring. Therefore, **how do emotional and affective reactions to harassment events from organizational outsiders correlate with job satisfaction, journalism roles, and content creation**. While this research looks at the affective reactions of harassment from outsiders towards *journalists* specifically, the findings will be valuable for understanding other professions as well as human nature generally.

Below are the papers research questions at present. Only some of the research questions will be addressed by the interviews, however, all are listed below:

RQ1a: What affective emotional reactions do journalists experience when receiving harassment from viewers, readers, or strangers?
RQ1b: How do journalists interpret and make sense of the harassment they receive?
RQ2: Does **(a)** gender, **(b)** visibility, **(c)** ethnicity, or **(d)** medium have a relationship with the frequency of harassment a journalist will experience from readers, viewers, or strangers?
RQ3: Does **(a)** type of harassment experienced , **(b)** age, **(c)** gender, **(d)** income, **(e)** perceived supervisor support, and **(f)** newsroom size predict work attitudes (i.e. overall job satisfaction)?
RQ4: Does **(a)** type or frequency of harassment, **(b)** gender, **(c)** age, or **(d)** medium predict work behaviors?

In-Depth Interview Questions

Below are the list of questions for in-depth interviews with journalists. The researcher will conduct each interview following this protocol as closely as possible. However, congruent with a semi-structured interview approach, some questions may be adjusted, modified, or deleted based on the interview responses. The questions are as follows.

Background

Tell me a bit about your day-to-day work in **blank** role.

[Follow-up question] In what sorts of ways do you typically interact with sources, potential sources, or audience members in the course of your daily work?"

How visible are you as a journalist? For example, journalists who carry a camera are more visible in public than those who do not. Or journalists who post on social media often, report on air, or have pictures next to their byline are also more visible.

Harassment

For this research I am interested in speaking with journalists who have experienced harassment from people *outside* the newsroom. So, sources, strangers, viewers or readers. Harassment has a variety of forms. "Extreme harassment can include homicide and physical assault, but the more common, minor instances include obscene gestures, dirty looks, threats, yelling, giving the silent treatment, and belittling." Harassment can also be sexual. This can include unwanted touching, or comments that focus on the gender and sexuality of the person, not the person themselves.

Have you ever experienced harassment? What is the most extreme incident you remember?

- Are there other examples that stand out to you?
- What is a typical example?
- DO you ever experience harassment in person? Online?
- How often would you say you are harassed?
- **How do you feel in those situations?
- What are your emotions at the moment you are being harassed?
- Do your emotions change later after you have time to reflect?
    - How would you describe how you feel?
    - How do you *want* to respond in the moments?
    - How do you *actually* respond?
    - [*If they need prodding, ask if they feel any of the following? If they say yes to one of these 6, ask if they identify with any of the "subclusters" of emotions below*]
        - Anger, Fear, joy, love, sadness, and surprise.
            - Anger: disgust, envy, exasperation, irritation, rage, and torment.
            - Fear: alarm and anxiety.
            - Joy: cheerfulness, contentment, enthrallment, optimism, pride, relief, and zest.
            - Love: affection, longing, and lust.
            - Sadness: disappointment, neglect, sadness, shame, suffering, and sympathy.
            - Surprise: (no subclusters)

- Do you ever feel the harassment you receive is politically motivated?

Effects of Harassment

Have you ever changed the way you work because of harassment?

- Have you changed your routine? Visibility? Coverage?

Some journalists report fear of harassment has caused them to avoid reporting on certain stories. Have you ever avoided certain stories or sources to prevent possible harassment?

Job Satisfaction/Wrap up

How satisfied are you with your current job?

You are in journalism now, but I am curious. Based on your experience with harassment, do you ever regret becoming a journalist? If you could go back, would you pick a different field?

How likely are you to be in the field in 5 years?

- Why?

What have I not asked that you think is important for me to know?

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