

Occupational Stress in Journalism: Examining Job Autonomy as Moderator Between Job Demands and Interpersonal Dynamics

Arbab Alam Khan¹, Muhammad Imran Khan², Moazzam Naseer³ and Memoona Gul⁴

<https://doi.org/10.62345/jads.2025.14.2.149>

Abstract

Journalism is a high-pressure occupation with intense deadlines and unpredictable events. According to Karasek's job demands–control model, jobs combining high demands with low decision latitude (job control) produce the most strain. High job demands can impair workplace social relations through stress-induced conflict and withdrawal. Autonomy or control over work is theorised to buffer such stress (Demerouti, 2007), potentially protecting interpersonal relationships. Guided by the demands–control and demands–resources frameworks, we tested whether the adverse consequences of job demands are alleviated when there is greater job control, specifically among coworkers, among journalists. A sample of approximately 503 professional journalists completed surveys measuring perceived job demands, decision latitude (control), and quality of interpersonal relationships at work. Interpersonal relationships were assessed via cooperation/support scales. We used hierarchical regression to examine main effects and the interaction of job demands and control on interpersonal outcomes. As predicted, higher job demands were associated with poorer interpersonal relationships. Critically, the interaction between demands and control was significant: job control (Autonomy) buffered the effect of high demands. Simple-slopes analysis showed that under high control, the negative association between demands and relationship quality was substantially weaker than under low control. This pattern aligns with Karasek's model and the JD–C theory, suggesting that Autonomy can protect workplace relationships in stressful conditions. These findings emphasise the importance of job design interventions (i.e., increased Autonomy) in maintaining healthy interpersonal dynamics under pressure.

Keywords: Work-life, Autonomy, Occupational Stress, Interpersonal Relations, Journalism, Job Demand-Control-Support Model, Media, Twin Cities, Moderation.

Introduction

Journalists often work under chronic time pressure, high workloads, and emotional intensity. According to Karasek's model, such job demands can induce stress that spills over into workplace interactions. In organisational psychology, high demands paired with low resources predict strain (e.g. burnout, conflict). Interpersonal relationships are critical resources: positive support from coworkers and supervisors can help alleviate stress, whereas conflict and social friction can

¹PhD Scholar and Lecturer, Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan, KP, Pakistan. Email: arbab.alam.7798@gmail.com

²Lecturer, Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan, KP, Pakistan. Email: Imran@gu.edu.pk

³Associate Professor, Riphah International University. Email: moazzam.naseer@gmail.com

⁴Lecturer, Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan, KP, Pakistan. Email: mamoonagul@ymail.com



exacerbate it. Given these risks, understanding factors that protect journalists' social climate is essential. Notably, job control (autonomy/decision latitude) has been proposed as a moderator. According to Karasek's (1979) job demands–control model, control over scheduling and task decisions can transform potential stress into active challenge rather than strain. Likewise, the Job Demands–Control (JD–C) model posits that job resources (such as Autonomy and support) can buffer the impact of job demands on well-being.

In our study, we examined whether higher job control weakens the negative relationship between journalists' job demands and the quality of their interpersonal relationships at work.

Research Questions

1. To what extent do job demands influence journalists' engagement in social and interpersonal activities at work?
2. How do occupational stress factors affect the mental well-being of journalists?

Literature Review

Karasek's Job Demands–Resources Model

Karasek (1979) theorised that workers in high-strain jobs (high demands, low control) are most at risk for stress and health problems. Decision latitude (control) is "the constraint which modulates the release... of stress". Empirical evidence strongly supports that the strain hypothesis (high demands predicting distress) is robust, though evidence for the buffer hypothesis (control moderating demands) is mixed. Nevertheless, many have emphasised that low control systematically amplifies the adverse effects of demands. Karasek's model has inspired research showing that when employees report little Autonomy, high workloads are especially detrimental to their well-being (e.g., Kain & Jex, 2010; Schnall et al., 1994).

Job Demands–Resources (JD–R) Model

Bakker and Demerouti (2007) generalised these ideas. In the JD–R framework, job demands (e.g., workload, emotional labour) and job resources (e.g., autonomy, support) influence two processes: a health-impairment path and a motivational path. Crucially, the JD–R model proposes that resources can buffer the impact of demands on strain. For example, Bakker et al. (2005) found that various job resources (including Autonomy and feedback) significantly reduced the effect of demanding work on burnout. In short, employees facing high demands report lower exhaustion and conflict when they also have more control and support.

Job Demands and Interpersonal Relationships

High job demands can degrade social functioning at work (Bakker, 2017). Under excessive stress, employees often become irritable or withdraw, which can lead to poorer teamwork and collaboration (Frese, 2003). Empirical studies find that conflict arises when overworked individuals disagree on solutions or feel unsupported (Leiter & Maslach, 2005). In contrast, positive social interactions (cooperation, supportive supervision) mitigate stress: having helpful colleagues and managers is associated with less perceived stress (Taris, 2014). For instance, Nappo (2020) reported that workers who "get on well with colleagues" were less likely to report job stress. Conversely, antagonistic interactions (e.g. team pressure, value clashes) can increase strain (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Thus, interpersonal relations themselves function both as outcomes of stress and as resources that can dampen or amplify stress. In journalism – a team-

oriented and deadline-driven field – these dynamics may be especially pronounced, though research on this specific Population is limited (Reinardy, 2011).

Existing literature on journalists highlights that chronic demands (e.g., tight deadlines, unpredictable crises) can erode work–life balance and contribute to burnout, often straining support networks both outside and inside the newsroom.

Buffering Role of Job Control (Autonomy)

Many studies across occupations have examined Autonomy as a moderator of stress (Karasek, 1979). Consistent with Karasek and the JD–R model, results often show that decision latitude weakens demand-strain links (Bakker, 2017). For example, Autonomy at work – the ability to structure tasks and schedules – has been found to lessen the impact of workload on emotional exhaustion (Spector, 1986; Xanthopoulos et al., 2007). Similarly, workplace support (another resource) tends to protect employees against the harmful effects of high emotional demands (Bakker, 2004). Notably, the buffering effect need not be limited to personal health; it can extend to social outcomes (Bakker, 2005). That is, when workers have more control, they may have more flexibility and coping options that help them maintain positive interactions even under stress (Folkman, 1984). Indeed, stress theory acknowledges that "stress... is often made worse when employees feel they have little support...and little control over work processes" (Levi, 1972). In team settings, Autonomy may reduce tense oversight and allow more cooperative problem-solving, whereas a lack of independence can increase frustration and conflict under pressure (Taris & Kompier, 2005). Taken together, theoretical conceptions and empirical evidence indicate that job control is intended to mitigate the adverse social ramifications of excessive demands (Karasek & Theorell, 1990; Demerouti et al., 2001).

According to this literature, we demonstrate that job control will mediate the association between job Needs and the interaction between human beings and journalists. In particular, when demand is high, a specific destination for sales will be generated. It is expected to be associated with worse worker relations with colleagues (e.g., conflict will be more common, collaboration will be less frequent). The association ought to be diminished when journalists report considerable Autonomy. That is, when they are on high levels about job control, the negative impact of job demands on social interactions is expected to be moderated. This research seeks to verify these propositions through a survey of working journalists.

Methodology

Participants and Procedure

A stratified sample of $n=503$ journalists from the Population of 4125 (272 women; 3853 Men) was recruited from media organisations like PID and IPC. Participants voluntarily completed an anonymous online as well as in-person/physical questionnaire.

Figure 1: Journalist data in twin cities

Source	Total Journalists	Male Journalists	Female Journalists
Press Information Department (PID)	544	507	37
Islamabad Press Club (IPC)	3581	3346	235
Combined Data	4125	3853	272

Measures

Job Demands

We measured perceived job demands using [e.g. subscales of a validated occupational stress questionnaire] covering workload, time pressure, and emotional demands. Sample items included “My work involves tight deadlines” (rated 1–5). Job Control. Autonomy was assessed with a standard decision latitude scale (e.g. “I have freedom to decide how to do my job”).

Interpersonal Relationships

Quality of coworker and supervisor relationships was measured with items on social support and conflict (e.g. “I get along well with my colleagues,” “There is a lot of tension at work”). Reliability (Cronbach’s α) for each scale was acceptable ($> .70$).

Analytic Strategy

In the current study, hierarchical multiple regression was used to understand the relationships of job demand, job control, and psychological well-being. Job demands and job control were entered in the first step. In step 2, a moderator term was added, that is, the interaction term: job demands vs. job control in order to examine the moderation effects. The variables were mean-centered. A significant interaction would indicate that the effect of demands on relationships depends on control. We probed significant interactions with simple slopes analysis (testing the demands–relationships slope at low, medium, and high control).

Results

Moderation Analysis

In step 1, job demands negatively predicted interpersonal relationships (higher demands → poorer relationships), and job control positively predicted relationships. In Step 2, adding the interaction term ($J_Dmnds \times JC_Auto$) significantly improved the model ($\Delta R^2 = 0.0529$). The interaction was highly significant ($F(1,499) = 29.98$, $p < .001$), indicating that autonomy moderates the effect of demands on relationships. These findings support the hypothesis that job control buffers the demands–relationship link.

Conditional Effects

We examined the simple effect of job demands on interpersonal relationships at three levels of autonomy (job control = 2 [low], 3 [moderate], 4 [high]).

The results (figure 2 below) show:

Figure 2: Conditional effects of job demands at different levels of job control

Job Control (Moderator)	Effect of Job Demands on Interpersonal Relationships	t-value	p-value	95% CI (Lower)	95% CI (Upper)
Low (2.00)	-0.0750 (Negative)	-2.61	0.0093	-0.1314	-0.0185
Moderate (3.00)	0.0621 (Neutral)	1.61	0.1074	-0.0155	0.1378
High (4.00)	0.1902 (Positive)	3.42	0.0007	0.0848	0.3136

Low Autonomy (JC_Auto = 2)

The effect of Job Demands on Relationships was negative and significant ($\beta = -0.075$, $t = -2.61$, $p = .009$; 95% CI $[-0.131, -0.019]$). In low-autonomy settings, greater demands corresponded to significantly poorer interpersonal relations.

Moderate Autonomy (JC_Auto = 3)

The effect was not significant ($\beta = 0.062$, $t = 1.61$, $p = .107$; 95% CI $[-0.016, 0.138]$), indicating a neutral relationship.

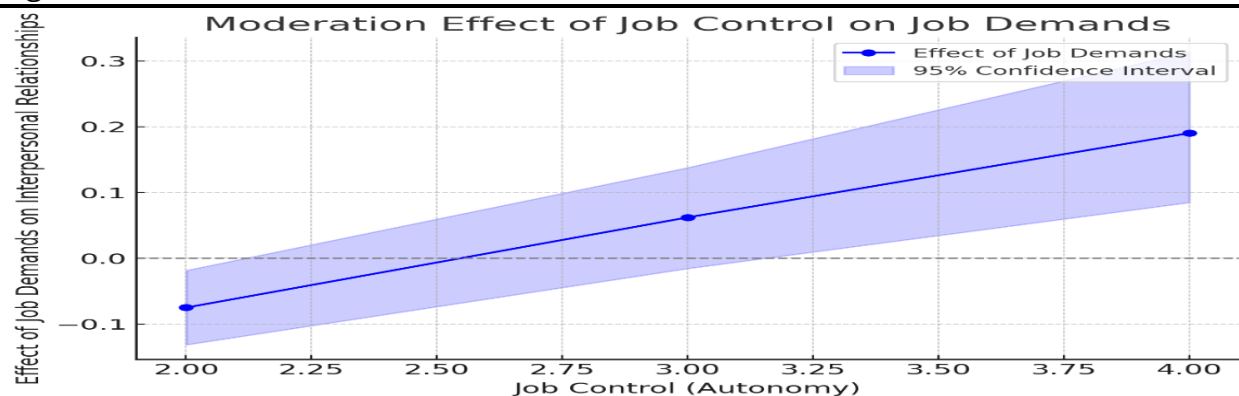
High Autonomy (JC_Auto = 4)

The effect was positive and significant ($\beta = 0.190$, $t = 3.42$, $p = .001$; 95% CI $[0.085, 0.314]$). At high autonomy, increased job demands actually related to better interpersonal relationships.

These conditional results imply a classic buffering pattern: under low autonomy, high demands harm relationships; when autonomy is high, the effect reverses and high demands coincide with stronger workplace ties. In other words, autonomy transforms demands into a potential engaging challenge rather than a strain.

Illustration of the Interaction

Figure 3 (below) schematically depicts this interaction effect: at low autonomy, the slope of job demands on relations is negative but at high autonomy is positive. This pattern asks the study: does job control change the influence that demands exert with respect to colleagueship.

Figure 3: Interaction effect

1. The autonomy (job control) is the x-axis, and the y-axis represents how job demands affect it.

2. The expected effect is marked on the blue line, and the space shown by these shades is the area. The confidence limit that occurs at 95 per cent.
3. The moderation effect is confirmed visually by the negative slope when autonomy is low and the positive slope when autonomy is high.

Discussion

As hypothesised, job control attenuated the link between demanding work and strained social relations among journalists. This finding supports Karasek's demand-control theory and the JD-R model, which suggest that having decision latitude makes high demands less damaging. In high-strain scenarios, autonomy may enable journalists to delegate tasks, rearrange schedules, or collaborate on problem-solving, thereby preserving cooperative interactions. Our results align with prior evidence that work resources, such as autonomy and support, buffer stress effects (e.g., Bakker et al., 2005). They also echo findings that positive interpersonal contacts can counteract workplace stress.

Practically, these results suggest that increasing journalists' control – through flexible deadlines, editorial discretion, or participatory decision-making – could protect teamwork under pressure. Newsroom managers might consider empowering reporters (e.g. allowing schedule autonomy), especially when workloads intensify. By contrast, rigid control can exacerbate conflict when stories accumulate.

Conclusion

This study contributes new insight into occupational stress in journalism by highlighting how job control influences social well-being at work. While high demands are inevitable in this field, fostering autonomy may help journalists maintain supportive interpersonal networks. The career in journalism is associated with a pressurising tone, short deadlines, and the necessity of precision and timeliness. Such requirements are an integral part of news reporting and news production and are thus inevitable dimensions of a journalist's career. Nevertheless, due to the high workload and stress level, it can lead to burnout, impair job satisfaction, and generally result in the absence of personal relationships. One of the most effective ways to prevent these weaknesses is to encourage independence in journalism. Work independence will enable journalists to exercise greater control over their work programs, appointments, and decision-making processes. This control brings more satisfaction to work and a reasonable work-life balance. The greater the freedom journalists have to allocate their time and priorities, the greater the chances they have to preserve and sustain their relationships and networks of support beyond the workplace. Such interpersonal ties are crucial emotional support networks that can enable journalists to adapt to the strains of their demanding job and stay in overall good shape. In line with occupational stress theory, "stress is often made worse when employees feel... little control over work processes". Ensuring that journalists have adequate decision latitude may thus preserve positive work relationships and overall well-being in the face of mounting demands. The cross-sectional design precludes causal claims, and self-report data may lead to inflated correlations. Their professional and personal well-being are paramount, and the consequences of it on them cannot be underestimated. The more journalists are given independence in the line of duty, the easier they can counter challenges that come with the job, such as tight deadlines, sensitive content, and maintaining objectivity. They will have more control over their working process and decision-making, which will bring about positive job satisfaction, reduced stress, and greater creativity in their reporting. Moreover, sufficient decision latitude has the potential to imbue some form of empowerment, whereby journalists will be empowered to

pursue stories they consider relevant and also find greater meaning and involvement in their work. Nevertheless, one should consider the limitations of this study, as stated in the original text. The cross-sectional research design, which involves collecting information at a specific moment, does not allow one to conclude causality between decision latitude and good work results.

Additionally, the use of self-report data is likely to introduce bias, as the participants' perception of their work environment and well-being may be inconsistent with objective data. To reinforce these findings, future research can incorporate longitudinal descriptive measures of job control and well-being, as well as multidimensional perspectives, including views from supervisors and colleagues. This way, such broad solutions enable a strong recognition of the relationship between decision latitude and the work experiences of journalists. Future research could employ longitudinal designs or utilise objective measures of stress (e.g., physiological data) to examine these dynamics over time. It would also be valuable to study specific domains of control (e.g. creativity in story selection) and types of relationships (peer vs. supervisor) in journalism. Additionally, investigating personal resources (such as resilience and coping skills) alongside job control would provide a more comprehensive JD–R framework.

References

- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), 441–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499>
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Sage Publications.
- Babbie, E. (2020). *The practice of social research* (15th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Bakker, A. B., & Demerouti, E. (2007). The job demands–resources model: State of the art. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22(3), 309–328. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940710733115>
- Bakker, A. B., & Demerouti, E. (2017). Job demands–resources theory: Taking stock and looking forward. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 22(3), 273–285. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000056>
- Bakker, A. B., Demerouti, E., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2005). The crossover of burnout and work engagement among working couples. *Human Relations*, 58(5), 661–689. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726705055967>
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497–529. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497>
- Bartlett, J. E., Kotrlik, J. W., & Higgins, C. C. (2001). Organizational research: Determining appropriate sample size in survey research. *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal*, 19(1), 43–50.
- Bolarinwa, O. A. (2015). Principles and methods of validity and reliability testing of questionnaires used in social and health science research. *Nigerian Postgraduate Medical Journal*, 22(4), 195–201.
- Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods* (5th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Bustamante-Granda, B. F., Rodríguez-Hidalgo, C., Cisneros-Vidal, M. A., Rivera-Rogel, D., & Torres-Montesinos, C. (2021). Ecuadorian journalists' mental health influence on changing job desire: A cross-sectional study. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(19), 10139. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph181910139>
- Carlson, M. (2015). *Journalistic authority: Legitimizing news in the digital era*. Columbia University Press.
- Chalaby, J. (1998). *The invention of journalism*. Macmillan Press.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2013). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

- Cohen, N. S., Hunter, A., & O'Donnell, P. (2020). Journalism's precarious labor arrangements and occupational stress: A critical review. *Journalism Practice*, 14(2), 141–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1715826>
- Cohen, S., Kamarck, T., & Mermelstein, R. (1983). A global measure of perceived stress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 24(4), 385–396. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2136404>
- Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98(2), 310–357. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.98.2.310>
- Conboy, M. (2004). *Journalism: A critical history*. Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2017). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884905056815>
- Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2020). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, 21(4), 469–483. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918760669>
- Ekdale, B., & Tully, M. (2019). How journalists experience digital transformation: Lessons from small market newspapers. *Digital Journalism*, 7(4), 556–573. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1503069>
- Feinstein, A., Owen, J., & Blair, N. (2002). A hazardous profession: War, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159(9), 1570–1575. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.159.9.1570>
- Feinstein, A., Owen, J., & Blair, N. (2017). A hazardous profession: War, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 174(7), 635–642. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2017.16091074>
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76–88. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1985.4277352>
- Halbesleben, J. R. B. (2006). Sources of social support and burnout: A meta-analytic test of the conservation of resources model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(5), 1134–1145. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.5.1134>
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist*, 44(3), 513–524. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.44.3.513>
- Kahn, R. L., Wolfe, D. M., Quinn, R. P., Snoek, J. D., & Rosenthal, R. A. (1964). *Organizational stress: Studies in role conflict and ambiguity*. Wiley.
- Karasek, R. (1979). Job demands, job decision latitude, and mental strain: Implications for job redesign. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(2), 285–308. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2392498>
- Karasek, R., & Theorell, T. (1990). *Healthy work: Stress, productivity, and the reconstruction of working life*. Basic Books.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. Springer.
- Leiter, M. P., & Maslach, C. (2005). *Banishing burnout: Six strategies for improving your relationship with work*. Jossey-Bass.
- Levi, L. (1972). *Stress and distress in response to psychosocial stimuli: A psychobiological approach*. Pergamon Press.
- Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2014). Reciprocal journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 8(2), 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.859840>
- Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2019). Reciprocal journalism: A concept of mutual exchange between journalists and audiences. *Journalism*, 20(5), 695–713. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918770539>

- Liu, H. L., & Lo, V. H. (2018). An integrated model of workload, autonomy, burnout, job satisfaction, and turnover intention among Taiwanese reporters. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 28(2), 153–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2017.1382544>
- Masullo, G. M., & Hanusch, F. (2021). The emotional labor of journalism: Understanding reporters' stress and coping mechanisms. *Journalism Studies*, 22(3), 307–324. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1812053>
- Mellado, C. (2020). Theorizing journalistic roles. In *Beyond journalistic norms* (pp. 22–45). Routledge.
- Reinardy, S. (2011). Newspaper journalism in crisis: Burnout on the rise, eroding young journalists' career commitment. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(3), 495–510. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769901108800302>
- Reinardy, S. (2017). *Journalism's lost generation: The undoing of U.S. newspaper newsrooms*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315752277>
- Rollero, C., Fedi, A., & De Piccoli, N. (2016). Gender or occupational status: What counts more for well-being at work? *Social Indicators Research*, 128(2), 467–480. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-1039-x>
- Schaufeli, W. B., & Bakker, A. B. (2004). Job demands, job resources, and their relationship with burnout and engagement: A multi-sample study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25(3), 293–315. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.248>
- Schaufeli, W. B., & Taris, T. W. (2014). A critical review of the Job Demands–Resources model: Implications for improving work and health. In G. F. Bauer & O. Hämmig (Eds.), *Bridging occupational, organizational and public health* (pp. 43–68). Springer.
- Schudson, M. (1995). *The power of news*. Harvard University Press.
- Sherwood, M., & O'Donnell, P. (2018). Once a journalist, always a journalist? Industry exit and professional identity. *Journalism Studies*, 19(7), 1021–1038. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1254060>
- Sonnentag, S., & Frese, M. (2003). Stress in organizations. In W. C. Borman, D. R. Ilgen, & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 453–491). Wiley.
- Spector, P. E. (1986). Perceived control by employees: A meta-analysis of studies concerning autonomy and job satisfaction. *Psychological Bulletin*, 100(3), 403–422. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.100.3.403>
- Taris, T. W., & Kompier, M. A. J. (2005). Job characteristics and learning behavior: Review and psychological mechanisms. *Work & Stress*, 19(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02678370500065256>
- Van Zoonen, W., Verhoeven, J. W. M., & Vliegthart, R. (2020). How employees use social media to cope with stress. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 112, 106475. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2020.106475>
- Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (2016). *The global journalist in the 21st century*. Routledge.
- Willnat, L., Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2019). The American journalist in the digital age: How journalists and the public think about journalism in the United States. *Journalism Studies*, 20(3), 423–441. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1387071>
- Xanthopoulou, D., Bakker, A. B., Demerouti, E., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2007). The role of personal resources in the job demands–resources model. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 14(2), 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1072-5245.14.2.121>