

Silence in the newsroom – journalist’s mental health from the risk communication approach

Silêncio na redação – a saúde mental de jornalistas na abordagem da comunicação de riscos

Silencio en la redacción – la salud mental de los periodistas en el abordaje de la comunicación de riesgo

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, South African psychiatrist Anthony Feinstein has addressed the issue of the mental health of journalists covering humanitarian tragedies, focusing on Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and moral injury, defined as a wound in the soul. In 2020, the first year of the covid-19 pandemic, the article “The covid reporters are not okay. Extremely not okay”, by young journalist Olivia Messer, working online, drew attention not only to the issue of reporters’ mental health, but also to the invisibility of the issue. This article aims to investigate how risk communication can contribute to uncover and address the risks to the mental health of journalists in Brazil, especially in the context of hybrid newsrooms and the platformization of journalism, one of the fields that make up the theoretical framework in its intersection with risk communication and psychiatry. The methodology includes bibliographic research in these three areas, platformization of journalism, risk communication and psychiatry, from the connection between them, and content analysis, of quantitative basis, of the coverage of the subject by Folha de S.Paulo and O Globo newspapers. The results point to the urgency of removing this issue of media and social invisibility and recognising the potential of risk communication to face it.

Keywords: Risk communication; Risk perception; Moral injury and PTSD; Journalists and mental health; Platformization.

RESUMO

Desde a década de 1990, o psiquiatra sul-africano Anthony Feinstein tem abordado o tema da saúde mental de jornalistas na cobertura de tragédias humanitárias, com foco no Transtorno do Estresse Pós-traumático (TEPT) e em *moral injury* (lesão moral), definido como uma ferida na alma. Em 2020, primeiro ano da pandemia da covid-19, o artigo “The covid reporters are not okay. Extremely not okay”, da jovem jornalista Olivia Messer, trabalhando *on-line*, chamou a atenção não apenas para o tema da saúde mental

dos repórteres, como também para a invisibilidade do assunto. Este artigo objetiva investigar como a comunicação de riscos pode contribuir para descortinar e enfrentar os riscos à saúde mental de jornalistas no Brasil, especialmente no contexto das redações híbridas e da plataformização do jornalismo, um dos campos que compõem o referencial teórico em seu cruzamento com a comunicação de riscos e a psiquiatria. A metodologia contempla a pesquisa bibliográfica nessas três áreas, a plataformização do jornalismo, a comunicação de riscos e a psiquiatria, a partir da conexão entre elas, e da análise de conteúdo, de base quantitativa, da cobertura do assunto pelos jornais Folha de S.Paulo e O Globo. Os resultados apontam a urgência da retirada do tema da invisibilidade midiática e social e confirmam a potencialidade da comunicação de riscos para o seu enfrentamento.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação de riscos; Percepção de riscos; *Moral injury* (lesão moral) e TEPT; Jornalistas e saúde mental; Plataformização.

RESUMEN

Desde la década de 1990, el psiquiatra sudafricano Anthony Feinstein ha abordado la cuestión de la salud mental de los periodistas que cubren tragedias humanitarias, centrándose en el Trastorno de Estrés Post-traumático (TEPT) y el *moral injury* (el daño moral), definidos como una herida en el alma. En 2020, el primer año de la pandemia de covid-19, el artículo “The covid reporters are not okay. Extremely not okay”, de la joven periodista Olivia Messer, que trabaja en línea, llamó la atención no sólo sobre la cuestión de la salud mental de los periodistas, sino también sobre la invisibilidad del tema. Este artículo pretende investigar cómo la comunicación de riesgo puede contribuir a descubrir y abordar los riesgos para la salud mental de los periodistas en Brasil, especialmente en el contexto de las redacciones híbridas y la plataformización del periodismo, uno de los campos que conforman el marco teórico en su intersección con la comunicación de riesgo y la psiquiatría. La metodología contempla la investigación bibliográfica en estas tres áreas, plataformización del periodismo, comunicación de riesgo y la psiquiatría, a partir de la conexión entre ellas, y el análisis de contenido, de base cuantitativa, de la cobertura del tema por los periódicos Folha de S.Paulo y O Globo. Los resultados apuntan a la urgencia de sacar el tema de la invisibilidad mediática y social y confirman la potencialidad de la comunicación de riesgos para su confrontación.

Palabras clave: Comunicación de riesgos; Percepción del riesgo; *Moral injury* (daño moral) y TEPT; Periodistas y salud mental; Plataformización.

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INTRODUCTION

Remote work has been embraced in various parts of the world. Its use intensified during the new coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) pandemic. Given that remote work is convenient and has benefits, as well as risks, it has been the subject of discussion in various circles – from the agencies of the United Nations (UN) to trade associations and research groups.

Journalism is the central object of this study and one of the most important activities during health crises. Within the field of journalism, the pandemic caused media outlets and media conglomerates to temporarily close their newsrooms and start working remotely. To this end, new communication practices, techniques, and formats were experimented with to ensure continued journalistic activity without jeopardizing the health and safety of media professionals.

It is estimated that almost 2,000 journalists died due to complications from covid-19 in 94 countries, 295 of them in Brazil. It is noted that, in addition to the fragility of actions and measures to protect journalists, with remote work being one of the main strategies, new risks were established silently and socially by putting pressure on the mental health of media professionals. More commonly associated with coverage of traumatic events such as wars, violent conflicts and disasters, the mental health of journalists is now one of the profession's biggest challenges, especially at a time when media outlets in various parts of the world are thinking about adopting hybrid newsrooms in what is already being labelled the post-pandemic. Furthermore, the changes in the journalism business model and the platforming process have not only forced outlets to be present on platforms but have also increased the exposure of journalists in these environments, whether it be contacting sources or disseminating their reports. These changes constitute yet another pressure and a risk to these professionals' mental health.

A topic that will be discussed later, risks are naturally dynamic, arise from different sources and can be repercussions of other uncontrolled risks. In this field, it is necessary to overcome the idea that 'risks are measurable uncertainties', replacing it with the understanding that risks are intrinsic not only to the phenomena and events that have guided the various social institutions around the world, such as wars, armed conflicts, disasters, climate change and terrorism, but also to everyday events that tend to be normalized. It is in this context of normalization that the platformization of journalism is present, particularly the exposure of media professionals to platforms such as Instagram and Twitter and their dependence on the resources that these 'programmable digital infrastructures' – in the sense of Poell, Nieborg and van Dijck (2020) – have provided, namely, new journalistic practices that go beyond the boundaries of newsrooms.

Based on the field of risk communication, this article aims to study the mental health of journalists in the context of the hybridization of newsrooms and the platformization of journalism. It is important to point out that the mental health of media professionals, mainly in relation to the coverage of major humanitarian tragedies and, more recently, covid-19, has been the subject of discussion in some parts of the world, but in a way that is disproportionate to its impact. However, in Brazil the topic remains opaque, revealing the urgency for research on the subject. In this sense, this article is justified by the need to instigate more studies in the field of risk communication, focusing on the mental health of journalists in everyday scenarios, such as the new business model of journalism, new news production practices and the precariousness inherent in these changes, which result in more pressure and stress for these professionals.

With the aim of investigating how risk communication can contribute to bringing to light and addressing the mental health problem faced by journalists in the country, the article fosters a dialogue between this field of study, investigations in the field of platformization and psychiatry - based on the investigations into Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and moral injury, defined as a wound in the soul of those who witness events that transgress their moral compass. Within psychiatry, the theoretical framework includes

the work of South African psychiatrist Anthony Feinstein, one of the eminent figures in the field, and in journalism, that of Bruce Shapiro, director of the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma, an initiative of the Journalism School at the University of Columbia. In recent years, studies by Feinstein and Shapiro have contributed to research centers and trade associations for the preparation of guides and manuals to help journalists and employers to deal with the issue of mental health.

In the field of risk communication, which cannot be dissociated from risk perception studies, the work of Sandman, Victor and Slovic are drawn on. Their contributions can be the starting point for building a risk culture, as will be discussed. The works of Poell, Nieborg, van Dijck, Duffy and Grohmann are highlighted in the field of platformization.

The article is guided by the hypothesis that in Brazil, journalists' mental health remains an opaque issue in the media and socially. Its significance has been downplayed even more than in other countries. The author looks to risk communication to remove this issue of invisibility – one of the primary conditions to promote its confrontation. To verify the hypothesis and achieve the central objective proposed here, this methodology considers bibliographical research of journalistic coverage of the theme in the fields of theoretical reference and content analysis, with a quantitative basis, based on Lycarião and Sampaio (2021).

This methodological procedure is divided into three research phases. As will be explained in detail below, the first phase comprised the survey of articles that addressed risk communication and the perception of risks in the pandemic. The period of interest was from March 2020 to June 2021, and the selected outlets were *Folha de S.Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*. The second phase had the same search object, communication and risk perception in the pandemic, from June 2021 to June 2022, reducing it to two outlets, *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*. The third phase of the study focused on press coverage of journalists' mental health, utilizing the same outlets and period of the second phase. It is important to emphasize that the period of the covid-19 pandemic was chosen to address the topic of journalists' mental health, from the perspective of risk communication, because the topic of risk featured more in the media, within politics and wider society.

To address an ethical dilemma regarding the use of non-public data scraping software, such as reports published by commercial outlets, a manual survey was carried out. It was made available to subscribers on the portals of the outlets under analysis. The survey with the keywords of each stage of the research resulted in 1,325 articles in the first stage, 288 in the second and 125 in the third. After this process, RStudio was used to mine the data downloaded on this researcher's computer. Mining reduced the total number of subjects to 44 in the first stage, 16 in the second and only two in the third. However, the articles found do not correspond precisely to the object of this study.

It is important to note that the research presented in this article has underpinned the design of a wide-ranging research project, authored by this researcher and Brazilian and foreign researchers in the areas of journalism, psychiatry, psychology, neuroscience, geography, philosophy, and international relations, focusing on the mental health of journalists, humanitarian workers and community leaders in Latin America and the Middle East.

REMOTE NEWSROOMS – MENTAL HEALTH AND OVERLAPPING RISKS

The South African psychiatrist Anthony Feinstein, one of the most eminent figures in the field of mental health, is considered the first specialist to thoroughly investigate the mental health of journalists who cover traumatic events, such as wars, armed conflicts, and disasters. Feinstein has widened his studies and contributed greatly to raising awareness of illness and emotional overload among media professionals in diverse contexts. Feinstein went beyond the idea that only journalists in war zones are exposed to the risks of Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and moral injury. The latter can be defined as a wound in the

soul caused by the contrast between a journalists' moral compass and what they witness in their coverage (VICTOR, 2021).

In his lectures, the psychiatrist makes a point of mentioning the first case he tended to in his clinic in 1999. A journalist, with experience of covering conflicts in West Africa, sought the doctor at his clinic because of a breakdown triggered by feelings of anguish that had shaken her emotionally. Upon returning to Canada for treatment, the journalist, as Feinstein and Selva explain, revealed that she had kept her problem a secret and never mentioned it to her editors because she could be removed from future missions, that is, she could have no longer been selected for that type of coverage (FEINSTEIN; SELVA, 2020).

Proceeding from studies and other contributions about the mental health of journalists on the frontlines of wars and conflicts, in 2015 Feinstein decided to start a new line of investigation with journalists who were covering forced migration in Europe against the backdrop of the pronounced migratory flow of Syrians to that continent (VICTOR, 2021). The result was the study *The emotional toll on journalists covering the refugee crisis*, coordinated by Feinstein and Hanna Storm (2017), from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. They found that journalists were not predominantly affected by PTSD, but by the phenomenon of moral injury, which Feinstein (GIOVANNI, 2020) defines as a wound on the soul or bruise on the soul, in the words of journalist David Wood (2016).

With the arrival of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, it was not long before Feinstein was invited to conduct a study, initially with a sample of 73 working journalists from different parts of the world, on their working conditions and emotional state during the pandemic. The study, started in June 2020, had a 63% response rate. Of this total, 70% said they had experienced some kind of psychological suffering (OSMANN; SELVA; FEINSTEIN, 2021).

While the scientific community and international entities that protect journalists spent the first months of the pandemic studying the working conditions and the mental health of journalists, some journalists decided to speak out on the subject. Among them was the young reporter Olivia Messer, who resigned from *The Daily Beast* newspaper and subsequently published an article in May 2021 in the form of an outburst and denunciation: *The covid reporters are not okay. Extremely not okay.* (VICTOR, 2021). Messer referred to the press as unprepared and categorically stated that the media was losing a generation of journalists to despair, trauma, and moral injury (MESSER, 2021).

Bruce Shapiro, the executive director of the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma, an adjunct professor at the Faculty of Journalism at Columbia University, United States, and another eminent figure in the field of journalists' mental health, stated during an interview with Messer that the pandemic had increased stress, fear, uncertainties and tensions in a profession that he already identified as ripe for the development of moral injury (VICTOR, 2021).

According to Shapiro, journalists' growing awareness of the risks and trauma they are exposed to "has been driven by a younger generation of reporters who are recognizing the impacts on them, who are more literate about trauma and who have less stigma for asking for help." (MESSER, 2021).

On the one hand, Messer's article induced her professional colleagues and media companies to look closely at the problem; on the other hand, Feinstein and Shapiro's studies and warnings, through the support of trade associations and other interested social institutions, were presented and discussed at round tables, in workshops, training sessions, seminars and in manuals and guides for professionals and media outlets.

In Brazil, important indicators concerning journalists' working conditions and health during the pandemic came from a study released in June 2020 on the website of the National Federation of Journalists (FENAJ). Conducted by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the study received responses from 1,308 journalists from 77 countries and territories (IFJ, 2020), of which 289 were professionals working in Brazil. Conducted in the country by FENAJ, between April 26 and 28, the IFJ survey found that of these

289 journalists, 53.08% were employed and 46.92% were freelancers. 177 (61.25%) of the respondents said they had experienced increased anxiety and stress (FENAJ, 2020).

In the same year, FENAJ supported the research study – How media professionals work against the background of one year of the covid-19 pandemic... 1 year and 500 thousand deaths later. Coordinated by the Communication and Work Research Center (CPCT) within the School of Communications and Arts at the University of São Paulo (ECA-USP), under the coordination of Professor Roseli Figaro and with the support of 25 institutions, the survey was carried out one year after the IFJ study, between April 5 and 30, 2021 and received responses from 1,018 participants, with 994 being approved (FIGARO, 2021).

With respect to evaluating working from home during the pandemic, the survey found that 434 respondents identified negative aspects of remote work as well as advantages. Whereas 227 evaluated the home office positively, without necessarily specifying the reasons, and 171 evaluated it negatively, feeling worn out and physically and mentally exhausted (FIGARO, 2021).

All the elements related to working conditions in a home office listed here, sometimes identified as positive, sometimes as negative, put pressure on workers' health. Feeling worn out, tiredness and physical and mental exhaustion were decisive for classifying home office work as a negative or conflicting activity. Stress and anxiety were the illnesses most cited by respondents who also pointed out problems concentrating as a difficulty triggered by the new way of working. (FIGARO, 2021, p. 76)

Regarding risks, the report points out:

Although the home office was adopted as a means of managing work risks, thus being recognized by media professionals as a safe way of working, this did not automatically make it a healthy activity. On the contrary, even media professionals who recognized the need for the home office and the security it provides, at this moment, admitted that it brought an element of suffering to work, which could have long-term emotional consequences in the media professionals' working lives. (FIGARO, 2021, p. 77)

The observed relationship between remote work and new risks for journalists gained traction during the pandemic, but was not divulged by Brazilian media, as will be presented below, – after all, these risks can mix with the daily lives of these professionals and not even be perceived. Also in December 2020, an article by Jessica Davies (2020), editor of the *Worklife* website, entitled It's a silent epidemic': mental health in newsrooms needs more attention, also drew attention to the connection between mental health and remote work.

In addition to journalists getting sick, according to the Press Emblem Campaign, approximately 2,000 journalists have lost their lives since the beginning of the pandemic in March 2020. It is believed that in 2021 alone there were 1,400 deaths, a monthly average of 116 deaths. Brazil and India have the worst rates, 295 and 279 deaths respectively. The entity believes that the numbers are underreported, since the causes of journalists' deaths are sometimes not specified (PEC, 2022).

Research on journalists' mental health in Brazil, particularly connected with the working conditions of these professionals, has been scarce, but has brought important facts to light, encouraging, and instigating investigations in this field. José Roberto Heloani is a specialist in work psychology and psychodynamics who has been researching the effects of the labor market restructuring process on journalists' social and professional relationships since 2002. With the collaboration of 44 journalists from different areas, Heloani published the 2003 research paper entitled Changes in the world of work and impacts on the quality of life of the journalist. Heloani (2003) divided these professionals into two groups. With the first, made up of 22 journalists, 13 men and 9 women, the specialist conducted an in-depth interview. The second group, with the same number, 15 women and 7 men, underwent a stress level assessment, using the same methodology as the first group.

By analyzing journalists' quality of life in the context of a new productive dynamic and, therefore, also of new political, economic, and cultural practices, Heloani's study observed journalistic activity as a possible propagator of stress and occupational diseases.

What is most worrying in the analysis of the interviews is a clear indicator that the organizational practices brought, as a harmful side effect, not only the erosion of certain basic values, but, mainly, the partition of the ideas of quality of life and excellence at work. Thus, happiness is always postponed, and, as a result, time for family, children, leisure, and love. Some even claim that outside the work environment they only do what is essential, lacking the time to date. (HELOANI, 2003, p. 79)

According to Heloani, the impacts of major transformations in the environment and working conditions are materialized in the absence of experience and collective identification, in the intensification of competition, which the author associates with processes of productive restructuring and the downsizing of newsrooms, and in the ethics of professionals in the practice of journalism (HELOANI, 2003).

Augmenting the discussion about suffering in journalists' working environment, Lelo (2019) observes that in the face of significant remodeling of the culture of journalistic work, especially in the last decade, sources of recognition at work and ethical suffering also pose risks to the mental and physical health of communication professionals.

Between April and September 2016, within the scope of the study *Productive restructuring in the world of work of journalists: precariousness, technology and manifestations of professional identity*, Lelo interviewed 15 journalists, aged between 24 and 34, based in the state of São Paulo, who were operating on national digital platforms. Among other findings, the study highlights ethical suffering as a moral harassment experience, something that the author called persistent and historical in the Brazilian press, "although it has received insufficient attention from the specialized literature" (LELO, 2019, p. 2).

Lelo's (2019) findings indicate that the debate and studies on this topic are not keeping pace with the growing suffering of journalists in the world of work, who suffer from a deterioration of their mental health, with collective relationships and their own professional identity in a constantly changing environment. It is noteworthy that the 15 respondents mentioned doubts in relation to trade associations (LELO, 2019).

Lelo's research with journalists working on digital platforms can guide the development of future studies that seek connections between journalists' mental health and platformization, defined by Poell, Nieborg and van Dijck "as the penetration of infrastructures, economic processes and governmental frameworks of digital platforms in different economic sectors and spheres of life" (2020, p. 5). This is because, as discussed by the authors, platformization reorganizes cultural practices and imaginaries, including journalistic production. As already mentioned, it is imperative to consider the advancement of the platformization of journalism and changes in the production and circulation of news, which increase the presence of journalists on platforms and direct interaction with sources and the public, representing another possible mental health risk for these professionals.

This article engages with the argument proposed by Grohmann (2020) about the platformization of work and work mediated by platforms, since it is a process that has impacted journalism, among other sectors. The author replaces the expression or metaphor "uberization" with "platformization of work", which should be thought of "as the dependence on digital platforms that workers and consumers have started to have" (GROHMANN, 2020, p. 112). Extrapolating the definition of platform work as an activity mediated, organized, and governed through digital platforms, Grohmann revives Fuchs and Sandoval's (2014 apud GROHMANN, 2020) view that nowadays all professional and work activities have a digital facet.

If to a certain extent all professional activities have this facet governed and defined by the platforms, here we find one of the important gaps regarding the connection between journalists' mental health and the platformization process.

Along these lines, the study conducted by researchers Jorge Duarte, Valéria Rivoire and Ângelo Augusto Ribeiro entitled *Online social media and journalistic practice: a study in Santa Catarina*, has already contributed important findings for this connection. The authors, who do not use the word platform or platforming, conducted in-depth interviews with 42 journalists working for professional outlets in Santa Catarina to identify how they used social networks in their professional practice. The study points out that, although companies define their own standards of conduct, "the use of social media in production processes generally depends on individual action" (DUARTE; RIVOIRE; RIBEIRO, 2016, p. 2). On the other hand, they stress that these changes in journalistic practices, mediated by social media, end up being consolidated and contemplated by companies in the sector.

The findings of this study, in addition to previous research carried out in the Federal District and Santa Catarina in 2012, show how journalists have used and harnessed online platforms in the journalistic production process, while at the same time flagging the imminent risks to their mental health. For the journalists interviewed in the study, social media enable a direct approach to the source of information and streamline work, from the initial topic to the dissemination of the completed work. "The vast majority of respondents report performing intense monitoring that appears to reach 10 hours a day" (DUARTE; RIVOIRE; RIBEIRO, 2016, p. 6). Among the most cited platforms are Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, YouTube, Google+, Periscope and Medium.

This shows that journalists, and their outlets, have redesigned their professional activity through the logic of platforms, on which they have found their topic, sources, and the consumers of the news. Of the 41 interviewees, 32 said they made their reports available after publication, both on the fan pages of the outlets they work for, and on their own personal pages. They use the platforms as a shop window to enable the visibility and dissemination of their names and work.

This practice runs counter to warnings about the risks of social media to journalists' mental health, mostly resulting from the impacts of misinformation, harassment, fatigue, and exhaustion. When dealing with this subject, the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism (Abraji) refers to a 2019 article published on *journalism.co.uk*, a news and content portal for journalists created by John Thompson in 1999. The article *How social media impacts mental health in journalists* by Kyle Bessey, emphasizes that the presence of journalists on platforms is no longer a matter of hobby, but of journalistic skill. Faced with the professional impossibility of media professionals cancelling their accounts on social media platforms, Bessey addresses the importance of caution and paying attention to the mental health risks resulting from this exposure (BESSEY, 2019).

The article cites the warning of psychologist Jelena Kecmanovic, who researches the impact of social media on mental health. Kecmanovic describes that journalists began to receive feedback on their work in real time, which can be measured with the number of clicks and comments. This metric, in turn, as the specialist explains, is directly related to career success, employment and professional survival. For her, all the negative psychological effects of social media are greater for media professionals (BESSEY, 2019). Furthermore, as this exposure on social media platforms is no longer a matter of choice, the risks associated with them must be widely discussed and addressed. As will be presented later, an alert from the management of *The New York Times* regarding the excessive exposure of the outlet's journalists on Twitter can be a starting point.

Poell, Nieborg and Duffy (2022), in their most recent study on platforms and cultural production, point out that in recent decades journalists have faced a whirlwind of professional challenges. In the context

of platformization, these challenges range from the loss of advertising revenue by the outlets where these professionals work to growing competition with blogs, Twitter accounts and other forms of citizen journalism. The authors also point out that all these transformations in the news industry coincide with considerable job losses. Furthermore, journalists who are employed have to adapt to what they called the ‘multi-platform logic’ that demands that news be produced 24 hours a day, 7 days a week as well as navigating widely on platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat and Instagram (POELL; NIEBORG; DUFFY, 2021).

In addition to internal pressures in the newsroom environment, arising from the changes imposed by business models in the field of journalism, which, as we have seen, have resulted in journalists falling ill, there is a growing external threat to these professionals, creating a scenario that does not come from the professional universe alone, but predominantly from the political sphere.

The Voces del Sur (VdS) platform, created in 2017, works in partnership with institutions from several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, including Abraji. It monitors and publishes annual reports on violations of freedom of expression in 13 countries within the region: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela (VDS, 2020).

In the 2020 edition of the report called Authoritarianism, disinformation and precariousness in Latin America, also known as the ‘Shadow Report’, a total of 3,350 notifications of violations verified by VdS and partner institutions are revealed. VdS uses 12 indicators to monitor violence against journalists: murder, kidnapping, enforced disappearance, arbitrary detention, torture, assaults and attacks, stigmatizing speech, restrictions on access to information, criminal and civil judicial proceedings, abusive use of state power, norms contrary to international standards and internet restrictions.

The two countries that worsened regarding fundamental freedoms were Peru and Brazil. The latter had a 222% increase in the total number of occurrences, with the highest increase in notifications of assaults and attacks (489%), criminal and civil judicial proceedings (388%) and arbitrary detention (200%) (VDS, 2020). Not running contrary to other countries in the region, but with more alarming numbers, the Brazilian State was responsible for 74% of all notifications in comparison with an average of 59% among the 13 countries monitored. “Politicians and officials from the judiciary follow the president’s example, using the courts to silence journalists; criminal and civil lawsuits against the media and journalists increased from 8 to 39 cases in 2020, or 388%” (VDS, 2020, p. 41).

CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES OF RISK COMMUNICATION

Since the late 1980s, when the first studies and practices of risk communication became a reality, not only has communication undergone major transformations, but risks have become much more than measurable uncertainties. In 1986, risk communication was the theme of a conference held by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Entitled The role of government in health risk communication, the event used the following definition of risk communication:

an interactive process of exchanging information and opinions between individuals, groups, and institutions. It involves multiple messages about the nature of risk and messages that are not strictly about risk that express concerns, opinions, as well as reactions to risk messages or to legal and institutional risk management plans (STERN; FINEBERG, 1996, p. 27)

Although this definition has guided studies, actions and programs in this field, risk communication has since responded to new challenges, including the understanding that risks are not only intrinsic to phenomena and events outside the sphere of everyday life, such as wars, armed conflicts, disasters, climate

change, terrorism, epidemics, and pandemics. Academics, specialists, competent institutions, and many others now hold the view that risks have become an intrinsic part of everyday life, more so than ever before. This insight is shared by those who are most exposed to certain risks, hence the need for an approach that considers the culture of risk.

When we compare strange events to the daily life of a community, city, country, or region; events that impacted the so-called normality of that locality, impacting those that became part of its makeup, it is possible to observe the formation of a new type of risk which, in turn, gives clues to better understand the characteristics of the risk culture. It is imperative to mention that the use of the expression ‘risk culture’, in this article, does not refer to the concept employed in the corporate environment, defined as the ability of members of an organization to promote skills that assist them in identifying and assessing risks to foster discussions that support decision-making (PROTIVITI; RMA, 2013-2014).

A little over a decade ago, this researcher conceived the first nationwide project aimed at promoting a risk culture for disasters in Brazil. Although the project retained the term ‘risk culture’, there was resistance on the part of the institutions involved in the initiative, as they believed that the correct or more adequate expression would be a “culture of prevention”. Although prevention is one of the most important bases of science and risk management, all the efforts aimed at preventing risks are not able to suppress the phenomena that precede them. A multifaceted approach to risks and their receptor sources is required.

Given that this article considers the mental health of journalists with an emphasis on remote work, it is felt that risk culture could revisit the contributions made by eminent figures in the fields of communication and risk perception, especially those of Peter Sandman and Paul Slovic. One of the pioneers in this area of study, Peter Sandman conceived four paradigms to better understand risk communication:

- When hazard is low and outrage is high, the paradigm is “outrage management”—reassuring excessively upset people about small risks.
- When hazard is high and outrage is low, the paradigm is “precaution advocacy”—alerting insufficiently upset people to serious risks.
- When hazard is high and outrage is also high, the paradigm is “crisis communication”—helping appropriately upset people cope with
- And when hazard and outrage are both intermediate, you’re in the “sweet spot” where risk communication is easy (though still worthwhile)—unhurriedly chatting with interested people about moderate risks. (SANDMAN, 2010).

The Sandman paradigm has aided the management of events that break with the norm within a given community. The pandemic would be considered such an event. However, in the context of this research study, it is necessary to think of communication that can deal with risks triggered by other risks or by a problem that has already concluded.

Paul Slovic’s (1993) work associating the characteristics of risks to the way they will be perceived is crucial. According to the author, a natural risk is perceived differently from a technological risk, a predictable risk will be perceived differently from a non-predictable risk, as well as imposed risks and those that are voluntary. Risks can also be overestimated or underestimated depending on the interests of the population exposed to them. For this research study, several data crossings would be possible, but this requires specific studies to understand if journalists and the press are underestimating high risks or if these risks, although high, are being naturally underestimated.

In situations of great tension and complexity, such as wars, conflicts, disasters and pandemics, risk communication has the role of reducing panic, fear, and distrust of society towards the information designed and disseminated by the competent authorities, the press, and social media (VICTOR, 2018). Similarly, it

also has the social role of horizontalizing decision-making about the risks, as it provides transparency about decision-making and the form of making journalism considers multiple voices in actions to mitigate the impacts of the pandemic.

Nonetheless, it is observed that risk communication not only draws attention to the importance of an epistemological debate, but mainly to the urgent need for clearer definitions of the role that institutions and social actors should play in the management of a risk. In this case, using quantitative content analysis during a little more than two years of the pandemic, the role of academia, trade associations - such as journalists' unions and Fenaj -, in the communication of risks associated with the mental health of journalists was not clear. Similarly, there is no clarity on the role of these professionals themselves in the discussion regarding their well-being and safety.

Information on risks, including political decisions and other issues directly or indirectly related to the subject, are mostly disseminated by the media, especially the press, and currently reproduced and enhanced by social media. So that access to this information can be considered the first step towards the formation of resilient communities, it should not be dissociated from the larger process of risk communication (BRADLEY; MCFARLAND; CLARKE, 2016). Herein lies one of the main challenges, since information about the risks to journalists' mental health should predominantly be disseminated by the press, aiming, among other things, to make journalists resilient and prepared to deal with risks. It should be noted that resilience and adaptation do not mean acceptance of risks or working conditions but understanding that risks are part of daily life within the profession and can overlap, as has already been shown.

This perspective requires the adoption of Victor's (2014) risk communication model for disasters. The model draws on four other interdependent and interconnected models: Intra-institutional Disaster Risk Communication; Inter-institutional; Media; and Community/Rights. This model could be used to reveal the issue of mental health of journalists in Brazil, since not only the media, or rather, the press would bring this to light. It is emphasized that disseminating information and data about the problem is a primary condition for its discussion and subsequently tackling it.

According to this model of risk communication (RC), the Intra-institutional RC would be led by the press outlets themselves. They would take on the social role of speaking openly about journalists' mental health as a high and acknowledged risk, thus contributing to the management of the problem, and avoiding the social amplification we have observed. In the Inter-institutional RC model, journalism schools, trade associations and press outlets would be able to share the latest information on the state of journalists' mental health and their relationship with remote work, for example. In the Disaster Risk Communication Media model, which relies on the media's omnipresence, reach and credibility, the mental health of journalists could have been covered in the outlets' advertisements when they announced the temporary closure of their newsrooms and that professionals would work 'safely' in the home office. A marginally more delicate matter for the outlets to carefully analyze in this model would be the statement that became a maxim in risk science: some topics, such as the mental health of journalists, could not be disclosed, because it would cause panic and other impacts. This does not mean to say that journalists with PTSD or moral injury should be exposed. Here, the focus would be on the risks to these professionals' mental health. Finally, we come to (non-sequentially) the Community/Rights CR model, in which journalists, although present in all the other models, would take the lead in communicating the risks to which they are exposed. In this model, risk communication depends on the active participation of journalists interacting with the main institution directly or indirectly linked to the risk. In this case, their own employer.

Risks to the populations' mental health resulting from the pandemic were felt and understood to be high, being covered by both outlets - *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*. In contrast, as will be seen below, the risks to journalists were ignored or underestimated by the Brazilian outlets. In risk science, this can be

understood as a means of underestimating a risk where there is no intention to manage it due to the interests and motivations of the main institutions responsible for its management, in this case, the communication outlets. Following this rationale, the unmanaged risks tend to become events, occurrences or tragedies that generate other risks, giving rise to a cyclical problem. This finding suggests an urgent need for future research on journalists' mental health in the context of remote work and platformization, focusing on large press outlets, which have incorporated the performance of their journalists on digital platforms into professional practice, as well as independent outlets. This is because, as we have seen, journalistic activity has been facing profound changes that in turn increasingly demand more of journalists, exposing them to new sources of pressure, stress, and exhaustion.

THE VISIBILITY OF RISKS TO JOURNALISTS - QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As discussed in the previous section, communication and risk perception are crucial to managing mental health risks for journalists. Giving visibility to these risks contributes to stimulating debate among various sectors of society - such as academia, trade associations, media outlets and conglomerates, and journalists themselves.

To investigate how widely this issue has been reported in the media, quantitative content analysis was performed for the period from March 2020 to June 2022 i.e., when the covid-19 pandemic burst into our lives. The rationale being that there would be a greater probability of finding references to communication and risk perception during this time which could later be crossed with the topic of mental health.

Thus, the quantitative analysis was carried out in three stages. In Part I, the focus was on risk science, more specifically on references to communication and risk perception in articles about the pandemic published in the newspapers *Folha de S.Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, between March 2020 and June 2021.

As it was a pandemic, the problem would be approached from the risk science perspective, highlighting that without proper perception and communication of risks, known to be intrinsic to the pandemic phenomenon, the assessment and the management of these risks could compromise their confrontation. This includes the overlapping of risks, which had occurred in the case of food insecurity in Brazil. In this first stage, a survey of the archives of the three newspapers was conducted. This was done using the search engine within the subscriber service, entering the keywords “pandemic and risk communication” and “pandemic and risk perception”. Aware of the ethical dilemma posed by the algorithm, this manual survey replaced the data scraping performed by the programmed algorithm in RStudio.

The survey in the three outlets resulted in a total of 1,325 articles, a number that fell drastically through data mining carried out in RStudio and manually, to ensure double checking and reduce possible artificial intelligence errors. The mining resulted in 44 articles that still had no direct relation with the topic, i.e., coverage of the pandemic from the perspective of risk science, specifically communication and risk perception.

It is important to highlight that in the manual scraping process the researcher collects all articles in which the words ‘pandemic, communication and risks’ and ‘pandemic, perception and risks’ appear. However, they do not necessarily appear in the way that communication and risk perception should guide the management of and repercussions from the risks arising from the pandemic. Examples include articles that talk about the pandemic, government communication, communication campaigns, official communication, the feeling that the world is facing the same challenges, the risks of delaying vaccination, the risks associated with the absence of a vaccine etc. It is observed that the words ‘risks’, ‘communication’ and ‘perception’ appear as single words, not as concepts of a science that, as already mentioned, would

provide significant contributions to risk management for journalists when considering risks arising from the pandemic.

Table 1 - Part I of the survey - Risks: outlets, period, and keywords

Risk science survey Part I - March 2020 to June 2021				
Scraped Data			Mined Data	
Outlet	Keywords	Total articles	Keywords	Total articles
<i>Folha de S.Paulo</i>	Pandemic and risk communication Pandemic and risk perception	176	risk communication risk perception	11
<i>O Estado de S.Paulo/ Estadão</i>	Pandemic and risk communication Pandemic and risk perception	598	risk communication risk perception	18
<i>O Globo</i>	Pandemic and risk communication Pandemic and risk perception	551	risk communication risk perception	15

Source: Designed by the author.

Four articles were found in *Estadão* during mining that address the topic more directly. One of them, entitled Communication as an instrument to reaffirm life or unleash death, signed off by the editorial staff, prompts the following discussion:

We forcefully ascertain that both lack of communication and communication biased by the absence of scientific evidence can kill. When there is no campaign for the prevention of diseases, for example, or when the responsible bodies do not inform and guide the population about a health risk, the lack of this communication kills. (MOURA, 2021)

This passage follows: “The absence of communication, in this example, is risky, since an uncritical stance can serve one purpose or another. Who would like to risk, with his silence, to contribute to death?” (MOURA, 2021).

In *Folha de S.Paulo*, one of the articles to tackle communication was a republication of a *BBC News Brazil* article. In the piece entitled Coronavirus: how to convince your family members that quarantine is necessary, published on 18 April 2020, Leslie Martin, specialist in communication and health psychologist at La Sierra University in California, and co-author of *The Oxford Handbook on Health Communication, Behavior Change and Treatment Adherence*, was interviewed. She emphasized: “The more we can make these messages personal to the individual, the better off we’ll be. Think about your grandchild or your parent. Think about other people and ask, ‘Do I want to take any additional risk that might harm them?’”. The more personal the message, the more likely it will resonate,” says Martin. (HENRIQUES, 2020)

She went on to mention direct communication:

This is where mass communication from public health bodies might be less effective than word of mouth. “People can be leaders within their own family and social groups, to set a good example of positive peer pressure,” says Martin. “It’s tough to be the first one but that’s a really valuable gift we can give, to be that example.” (HENRIQUES, 2020)

Leslie Martin’s analysis is essential for the discussion of journalists’ mental health in relation to remote or hybrid newsrooms, as will be discussed below. Although she did not mention the term, she revives the essence of risk communication as seen in the Community/Rights model. Considering the mental health of journalists who work in remote mode, observing the form of exchanges between these professionals, their impressions, anxieties, fears, and uncertainties can contribute to the management of this risk.

Another example in *Folha de S.Paulo* was the article *Why vaccination alone will not solve this: the eagerness for normality with no return*, authored by Camila de Mario, PhD in social sciences from the State University of Campinas (Unicamp) and professor of sociology at the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), Candido Mendes University (UCAM). In the following passage, the researcher addresses the role of communication in health crisis management:

They produce a flood of information, guidelines, and data available to individuals - currently at their fingertips in mobile phone applications - to guide them in the care of themselves and of the collective. All carefully calculated, planned and communicated. Successful management of a social and health crisis caused by a pandemic necessarily involves the communication capacity of governments, with production and dissemination of information aimed at clarifying and guiding people's behavior. (MARIO, 2021)

As for the newspaper *O Globo*, the article from July 9 2020, entitled *São Paulo will unify tracking of people who had contact with people infected with coronavirus* stands out. It mentions, albeit briefly, the topic of risk perception in this excerpt of a speech by the infectious disease specialist and virologist Nancy Bellei, from the Federal University of São Paulo (Unifesp): “Almost every day, 30% of all employees who take tests, which I evaluate at the university, test positive. Many of them do not even have direct contact with patients. However, it is because risk perception is often relaxed” (MARTINS, 2020).

In the second phase, Part II of the research, also focusing on communication and risk perception, only articles published in the newspapers *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* connecting the pandemic and risk science between June 2021 and June 2022, were considered. For this and the following stage, we chose two outlets that, although having national coverage, are based in different federative units, São Paulo, in the case of *Folha de S.Paulo*, and Rio de Janeiro, in the case of *O Globo*.

To avoid repetition in the analysis, two points will be highlighted in the presentation of the results of the second phase of the research; the first refers to the increase in the number of articles in *Folha de S.Paulo*, which rose from 176, published over 16 months, from March 2020 to June 2021, to 197 in 13 months, from June 2021 to June 2022. The second refers to the sharp drop in the number of stories published by *O Globo*, 551 in the first phase compared to 91 in the second phase.

During mining there was also a small increase in the *Folha de S.Paulo* survey, 11 in the first phase and 13 in the second, and a drop in *O Globo*, with 15 in the first and 3 in the second, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 2 – Part II of the survey – Risks: outlets, period and keywords

Risk survey				
Part II – June 2021 to June 2022				
Scraped Data			Mined Data	
Outlet	Keywords	Total	Keywords	Total
<i>Folha de S.Paulo</i>	Pandemic and risk communication Pandemic and risk perception	197	risk communication risk perception	13
<i>O Globo</i>	Pandemic and risk communication Pandemic and risk perception	91	risk communication risk perception	3

Source: Designed by the author

In the third and final stage of the quantitative content analysis, the focus was on journalists' mental health, in particular Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and moral injury. Importantly, although the period of analysis is still during the pandemic, from June 2021 to June 2022, a strategic decision was made

to remove the word ‘pandemic’ from the manual scraping. This strategy was adopted to identify if the two outlets (*Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*) would address journalists’ mental health when it could already be categorized as a high and perceived risk. This is because within the articles filtered during scraping, the theme of mental health was omnipresent. Journalists and their respective outlets apprehensively provided column inches for the discussion about risks to mental health because of social isolation, remote work and classes, work overload, children at home, lack of contact with family and friends. However, coverage was about other people from other professions and not journalists themselves who were also facing the same difficulties.

Although visibility of the issue in the foreign press and in some organizations still doesn’t correspond to its gravity and urgency, the space devoted to it is still much higher than what has been observed in Brazil. Considering the 12-month period, the scraping resulted in a total of 59 articles in *Folha de S.Paulo* and 66 in *O Globo*, as can be seen in Table 3. As already mentioned, the scraping in the newspapers’ search engine brings up all the articles in which one or more keywords appear - in this case, “journalists”, “mental health”, “PTSD”, “moral injury”.

Table 3 – Part III of the survey – Mental health and remote work: outlets, period, and keywords

Mental health survey Part III – June 2021 to June 2022				
Scraped Data			Mined Data	
Outlet	Keywords	Total	Keywords	Total
<i>Folha de S.Paulo</i>	Journalists and mental health	59	journalists and mental health	2
	Journalists and PTSD		journalists and PTSD	
	Journalists and moral injury		journalists and moral injury journalists, mental health and remote working journalists, mental health and home office journalists, mental health, online	
<i>O Globo</i>	Journalists and mental health	66	journalists and mental health	No results
	Journalists and PTSD		journalists and PTSD	
	Journalists and moral injury		journalists and moral injury journalists, mental health and remote working journalists, mental health and home office journalists, mental health, online	

Source: Designed by the author

Even if the management of pandemic risks came to trigger or potentialize other risks, high and perceived, such as those related to the mental health of journalists covering the pandemic in home office newsrooms, the issue was ignored or underestimated by the outlets studied. Mining by means of RStudio which was repeated manually, resulted in only two brief references to the subject, both in *Folha de S.Paulo*.

In these two instances where journalists’ mental health is mentioned, the issue was dealt with briefly and without relating it to remote work. The first is an article by José Henrique Mariante, the ombudsman at *Folha de S.Paulo*, entitled There is no such thing as autopilot. The text has no relation with the topic of this research, but both in scraping and mining it appears because the ombudsman in the hashtag Twitterless refers to *The New York Times’* decision that its journalists should stay away from Twitter: “Among the reasons, time and mental health. It’s the opposite of what it preached in 2014, when it started its digital revolution and called for everyone to hit the networks. If the trend catches on here, there will be many people who won’t know what to do to investigate a news story” (MARIANTE, 2022).

In this excerpt, as can be seen in Figure 1, there is a hyperlink to what could be a news article about *The New York Times’* decision but is in fact a brief article published in *Toda Mídia*, by journalist Nelson de Sá, on April 8, 2022 (SÁ, 2022). The short text comprising of three paragraphs does not address the issue of

mental health, one of the NYT's reasons for trying to raise awareness among staff about moving away from Twitter. The columnist's focus was on time lost on the content and quality of the tweets of journalists at the American newspaper.

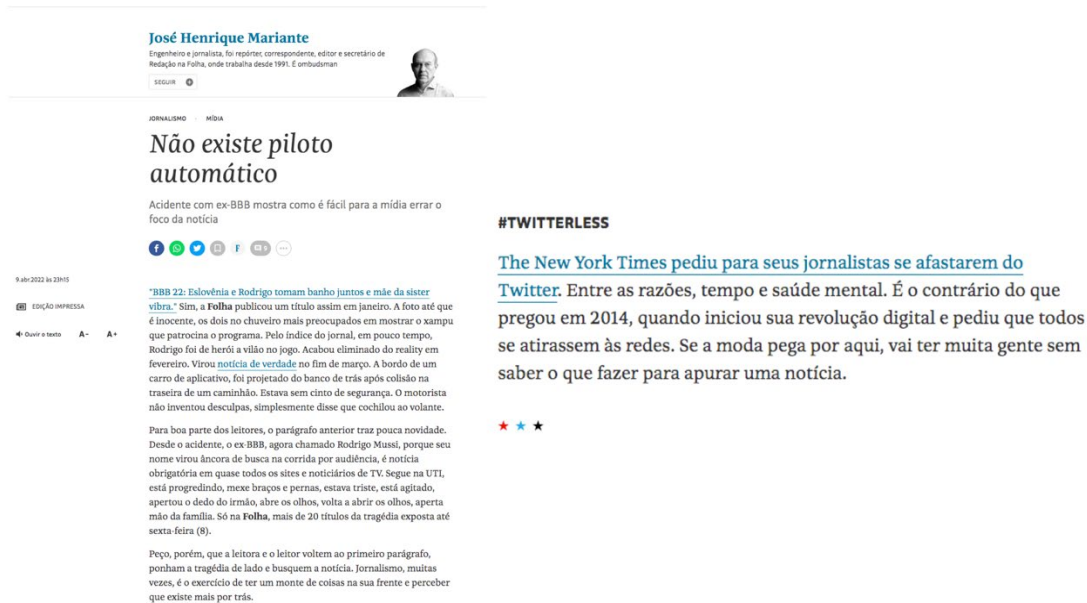


Figure 1 – Print of the ombudsman's column that mentions the term mental health. Source: *Folha de S.Paulo* (MARIANTE, 2022).

The second article concerns the promotion of the course Journalists and mental health: how to find the balance, published on May 30, 2022, in the *Novo em Folha* blog (FOLHA DE S.PAULO, 2022), a part of the newspaper for promoting training programs. The text is brief and does not include any information from the course organizers or the program, as can be seen in the figure below.



Figure 2 – Print of the article published in *Folha de S.Paulo* promoting a course on mental health for journalists. Source: *Folha de S.Paulo* (2022).

In the image, the expression in blue *Saúde mental* (mental health) is a hyperlink. When accessing it, the reader is taken to the article *The mental health of the country in the dark*, written by four researchers from the field, and published on April 15, 2022, on the blog *Public Health - Health policies in Brazil under debate*, hosted on the newspaper's site (ROSA *et al.*, 2022). The article is not directly related to the course topic, but to government policies in the mental health area.

Based on the results of the three stages of the quantitative content analysis research, it was possible to see that, although the theme of mental health was published by the two outlets, including its links to work, education, and other activities in the remote setup, only two brief references were made to the mental health of journalists, with none of them as the central topic of the outlet itself.

The media invisibility or opacity of the issue, from the perspective of risk communication, postpones the management of these risks, which, by being deferred in time, tend to be even further underestimated or not perceived at all. This means that, even during the pandemic, when the overlapping and triggering of risks was already a reality, the issue of journalists' mental health had not yet been unveiled.

CONSIDERATIONS

Theoretical contributions in the field of risk science, especially risk communication, can be one of the ways to promote the understanding that nature of risks is such that although dynamic and inseparable from the social context and its markers, they can be understood and thus become the means to confronting these risks.

In the specific case of journalists' mental health, the nature of these risks began to be charted at a time when concerns about the safety of journalists, in the coverage of Covid-19, gained prominence in the media, which even went so far as to advertise the measures they adopted, such as the empty and temporarily closed physical newsrooms. Some media outlets, such as *The New York Times*, began to show how stories were being produced remotely, with journalists interviewing their sources from their homes using platforms such as Zoom and Google Meet.

A few dozen of these stories focused on the mental health of so-called frontline professionals, such as doctors, nurses, assistants, and other health workers. In the same way, they covered mental health impacts on a population that had to isolate itself and bring all its activities, such as work, education, and leisure, into the private sphere, into their homes. Here we can see one of the features of the nature of risks, much studied in the field of perception. The closer the sources are to the risks, the more difficult it will be for them to perceive their exposure to them. Likewise, this exposure tends to be confused with living with the risk, and this, in turn, with its naturalness or normality. When covering the pandemic, the journalists heard their sources reports, characterized by suffering related to the consequences of the pandemic, losing family and friends, unemployment, the anguish of uncertainty brought by the pandemic and hunger.

In this situation, journalists witnessed suffering on a large scale, arising from episodes that hurt their own moral compass, as seen in Feinstein's work. There is a hypothesis, which should drive future research, that by working remotely, journalists, like their employers, were perceived to be safe, not only physically, but emotionally and psychologically. As discussed earlier, exposure to internet content, coupled with working in isolation - far from the movement and interaction typical of newsrooms, however lean - created another risk, one that either went by unnoticed or was willfully underestimated.

The first thesis, that of unperceived risk, refers to the idea supported by Sandman and Slovic's studies, that when an individual lives with risks, the tendency is to think that they are under control and that nothing will happen. The journalists felt safer from the point of view of the risk of infection but may not have realized the risks associated with remote work, such as physical and mental exhaustion, as pointed out in Figaro's study. The same occurred in the context of platformization since the risks were and continue to be underestimated. This is especially true of those risks arising from journalists' overexposure on social

media, not because they want to be there, but because of the redesign of the production and consumption of news. As previously observed, with the logic of the platformization process of journalistic work, journalists feel obliged to be on social media platforms to speak with their sources, to find topics, to share their stories and to gain the visibility that will ensure employment.

The second thesis may be related to hidden interests that underestimate those risks that were perceived to be high. As in Slovic's studies, underestimating a risk may be a strategy so that the processes of management and decision-making about that risk do not cause harm to the sources exposed to it. It means that journalists, like the first war reporter Feinstein listened to, may have ignored, or underestimated the risks they were exposed to for fear of losing their jobs.

New scientific evidence in the field of journalists' mental health can only arise from future research, such as the wide-ranging project in which this researcher is participating. In such new approaches, it is necessary to adopt protocols from the fields of psychiatry and psychology, duly prepared by researchers from those areas and submitted to the Brazilian Research Ethics Committee (Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa).

The primary hypothesis for this article, based on the idea that journalists' mental health, especially when working remotely, needs to be brought to light, was confirmed through quantitative content analysis. The results showed that the theme is still not on the Brazilian press agenda, even from the risk science perspective and in the context of a pandemic.

The idea that risk communication could contribute to bringing the topic to light and subsequently contribute to its confrontation was a stated aim. It is observed that the theoretical inputs in the area and the content analysis provided important clues about the potential of risk communication not only to reduce and manage the risks to journalists' mental health, but also to the adaptation of these professionals to risk scenarios that the transition from physical newsrooms to the hybrid format may cause.

Risk communication is neither a tool, nor merely transmission of information by the press about certain risks. It is recognized, although rarely applied, as an inseparable part of risk management, from the moment risks are (or not) perceived, through evaluation, management, and decision-making. It is this process which brings the risks to light and invites the various sectors of society to debate them in a transparent and participatory manner.

In future research it will therefore be necessary to further investigate how other sectors directly or indirectly related to topic of this article are considering the issue of journalists' mental health. The sectors include academia, trade associations, such as journalists' unions and Fenaj and particularly journalism schools and researchers in the area. This applies to journalists working in physical, remote or hybrid newsrooms, from large outlets to independent ones, and especially at a time when the impacts and repercussions of the logic of platformization are perceived and felt. The volume of research production on the connection between journalists' mental health and working conditions, that is, extrapolating the idea that the problem is exclusively related to the content of what the journalist witnesses and covers, is still disproportionate to the risks that the current scenario suggests.

Until then, Brazilian journalism will need an Olivia Messer to say that Brazilian journalists have poor mental health, they are not well at all, and an Emma Chamberlain, YouTube phenomenon, to take on the exhaustion of work and the logic of the platforms.

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