

1. Australian Journalism Review
2. Volume 42 Number 1
3. © 2020 Intellect Ltd Article. English language. https://doi.org/10.1386/ajr_00021_1
4. Received 05 February 2020; Accepted 11 May 2020
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24. **You need a thick skin in this**
25. **game: Journalists’ attitudes**
26. **to resilience training as a**
27. **strategy for combatting**
28. **online violence**
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41. **ABSTRACT**

42. *In recent years, resilience training has been recommended as a way to protect news*
43. *workers from the impact of reporting on traumatic events. However, do journalists*
44. *see it as a useful tool in dealing with online abuse and harassment? This article*
45. *explores Australian journalists’ conceptions of resilience training, via a thematic*
46. *analysis of interviews, and their concerns about its effectiveness in addressing*
47. *digital violence. The study adopts an ethics of care framework for understand-*
48. *ing the uses of resilience training in journalism education for increasing dialogic*
49. *interaction with audiences. It finds that while some journalists understand resil-*
50. *ience training’s relationship to positive mental health, the majority are not clear*
51. *about its potential and how it might be taught. Our analysis also reveals normative*
52.

KEYWORDS

resilience training
trauma
ethics of care
digital journalism
dialogic interaction
news commenting
online violence
gendered violence

beliefs about journalists' need to develop 'a thick skin' against interpersonal and coordinated violence online. Overall, the article raises questions about how journalists might be better oriented to not only self-care but also collective care.

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, trauma training has been increasingly common for people in a range of 'first responder' and risk-brokering occupations – from policing and ambulance services to law and journalism – to help them cope better with ongoing exposure to death, violence and human suffering and to minimize any subsequent mental health impacts. It has been a period when the news media, as Matloff (2004) argues, finally had to come to terms with the psychological and physical costs of reporting on disaster and which saw the establishment of the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma research. Meanwhile, calls have mounted for media organizations and universities to offer reporters consistent, systematic and reflective trauma education (Beam and Spratt 2009; Kay et al. 2011; Barnes 2013; Dworzniak and Garvey 2019) even as journalism has become a more dangerous, change-ridden and precarious line of work.

Resilience training – a type of positive mental health instruction for those working in traumatic and stressful circumstances – has gained particular currency as a way to instil in journalists the capacity to adapt to, and recover from, crisis. Mindful reflection is just one of the resilience building techniques suggested to help young journalists sustain a sense of professional self-worth and positivity (Pearson et al. 2018). Yet while the concept of resilience training dates back at least two decades (Coutu 2002), it is unclear how well understood it is by working journalists and whether they see it as a useful strategy for coping with the types of violence they now face in communicating openly online.

Digital violence or 'cyberviolence' is now recognized as a critical threat to media freedom globally. UNESCO's *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development* summary report notes that:

Digital safety is an increasing concern for journalists across all regions, with threats posed by intimidation and harassment, disinformation and smear campaigns, website defacement and technical attacks, as well as arbitrary surveillance.

(UNESCO 2017: 20)

Alongside these forms of extreme online violence, journalists also have to cope with everyday aggression, opposition and escalating attacks on social media, which a former Facebook executive dubbed the 'dopamine-driven feedback loops that [...] are destroying how society works. No civil discourse, no cooperation, misinformation, mistruth' (Wong 2017: n.pag.).

While the United Nations and journalism support organizations worldwide currently fund research into digital safety and ways to combat online assaults on reporters and their publishers, it is essential to examine critically the industry knowledge and acceptance of concepts like resilience training. Do journalists see it as affording them some psychological advantage in dealing with interpersonal and coordinated violence online or are they sceptical about its benefits?

1. This article reports on a thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with
 2. sixteen Australian journalists, conducted to explore their experience of educa-
 3. tion and training for ‘dialogic journalism’ (Martin forthcoming 2021: n.pag.):
 4. continual, reciprocal and public online communication with their audiences
 5. and sources via e-mail, SMS, comments sections, social media and chat apps.
 6. These interviews were part of a larger study, based on a snowball survey,
 7. which pinpointed the concept of resilience training as an important part of
 8. future journalism education (Martin and Murrell 2019). In this analysis, we
 9. adopt an ethics of care framework for investigating how resilience training
 10. might fit into a broader strategy of self- and peer-care in response to online
 11. violence.

12. Starting with an overview of resilience training, its origins in socio-
 13. psychology, its aims and claims to address trauma effects, the article moves to
 14. consider how it might be used to help journalists cope with online violence.
 15. The forms of resilience training are explored as well as critiques that it does
 16. little to address structural factors in work-related trauma. An ethics of care
 17. framework is then introduced in order to explore how resilience might be seen
 18. as a socially oriented, rather than individual, mental health concern. The arti-
 19. cle then explores how journalists in our study raised resilience training as an
 20. object of interest and spoke about it as way of addressing online abuse.

22. **ACQUIRING RESILIENCE**

23. Resilience, a term used in psychology, is the capacity to recover well from
 24. adverse circumstances and to adapt effectively ‘in the face of adversity,
 25. trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress’ (American Psychology
 26. Association in Sadhbh et al. 2018). Historically, it has referred to both an indi-
 27. vidual’s protective characteristics (their personal traits and socio-economic
 28. factors), which allow them to bounce back after negative events, and their
 29. ability to process, cope with and respond to those situations (Forbes and
 30. Fikretoglu 2018). There is now an emerging body of social sciences research
 31. evidencing positive outcomes from resilience training programmes (RTPs) in
 32. high-risk fields (Cheshire et al. 2017; Joyce et al. 2019; Kent et al. 2014).

33. Resilience is not a fixed state but varies with individual psychology, circum-
 34. stances and attitudes, knowledge, and skills (Cheshire et al. 2017). For exam-
 35. ple, empathy, which enables people to identify with, and emotionally respond
 36. to, the experience of horrific events, differs between individuals due to their
 37. unique personal histories and experience of the world. People may be more or
 38. less susceptible to interventions that try and encourage resilience, depending
 39. on their current socio-psychological situations, the degree of challenge they
 40. encounter and their reactions to it (Belsky and Pluess 2013). Resilience may
 41. also depend, for example, on a person’s access to caring resources that would
 42. help them sustain individual and collective well-being, or the extent to which
 43. they can determine what resources are contextually and culturally useful to
 44. them in building resilience (Ungar 2010).

45. Due to its definitional and operational complexity, resilience is difficult to
 46. observe, analyse and teach (Robertson et al. 2014). A recent study of general
 47. practitioners’ attitudes to resilience training suggests that “‘one size fits all”
 48. approaches are unlikely to be acceptable or effective’ (Cheshire et al. 2017: 714)
 49. as courses need to address individual learning needs, as well as professional
 50. and organizational issues. This is particularly relevant in journalism where we
 51.
 52.

find professional and para-professional modes of working (Hermida 2010), and organizational embeddedness can vary considerably.

A critical perspective, from political philosophy, sees resilience training as a form of neo-liberal governmentality, an institutionalized response to an age of anxiety during which the state, and its citizens, are engaged in an endless war of, for and through security (Neocleous 2012). In this respect, resilience can be understood as an adaptive quality that allows journalists to endure and exploit continual crises. This lens puts focus on the individualistic aspects of resilience training as preparation for ongoing trauma, rather than offering hope of political action for structural change.

How then is resilience training supposed to help journalists manage the risks and potential harms of their work? Building individuals' resilience has been identified as a factor in addressing trauma, a concern for journalism research since the turn of the twenty-first century (Simpson and Boggs 1999; McMahon 2001). While early research on journalism-related trauma focused on reporting on war, terrorism, natural disasters and crime (see Beam and Spratt 2009; Buchanan and Keats 2011), it is now acknowledged that journalists can experience incremental traumatic effects in conjunction with exposure to everyday conflict, workplace stress, ethical challenges and public attacks (Dworznic and Garvey 2019; Pearson et al. 2019; Smith et al. 2018). Research suggests that working in such high-risk environments can have 'emotional, cognitive, physical, social/relational, and psychological' effects on well-being (Buchanan and Keats 2011: 134). Viewing eyewitness accounts of violent events on social media can induce vicarious trauma (Dubberley and Grant 2017), particularly where reporters empathize with the victims. Even those who exhibit hardiness in the face of horror can be at risk of post-traumatic effects, if they adopt maladaptive or 'avoidant' coping styles, such as drug use (Smith et al. 2018).

There is also a growing literature about the importance of trauma education for young journalists (Barnes 2013; Beam and Spratt 2009; Dworznic and Grubb 2007; Dworznic and Garvey 2019; Kay et al. 2011), with some indication that the acquisition of resilience can help them manage the moral conflicts of their work (Pearson et al. 2019). McMahon and McLellan make an explicit connection between trauma training for journalists and their acquisition of emotional and psychological resilience:

By becoming better informed about trauma, and by behaving in ways that minimise further harm all round, journalists can become more resilient and avoid experiencing strong and disturbing emotions of guilt, remorse and regret that potentially emanate, either immediately or at some point in the future, from past insensitive or less-than-ethical behaviours.

(McMahon and McLellan 2008: 115)

RESILIENCE TRAINING PROGRAMMES

RTPs share a common objective: to enhance 'a person's ability to manage stressful situations and adverse circumstances more effectively and with greater emotional insight' (Joyce et al. 2019: 2). To nurture coping mechanisms and positive mental health, they use a variety of approaches and techniques, including acceptance and commitment theory, mindfulness and cognitive

1. behavioural therapy as well as self-reflection and self-care, role-plays, goal-
 2. setting and meditation. However, there is a lack of research into RTPs for jour-
 3. nalists. Pearson et al.'s (2018; 2019) reviews of mindfulness-based meditation
 4. (MBM) approaches are an exception. Pearson et al. (2018) make a persuasive
 5. argument that MBM – currently part of media industry based RTPs – could
 6. help journalists alleviate the effects of post-traumatic stress and increase indi-
 7. viduals' ability to abandon ingrained patterns of negative thinking and behav-
 8. iour, allowing them to adapt more easily to change. They contend:

9.
 10. Such adaptability – along with those benefits of increased attention and
 11. emotion regulation, values clarification and the ability to defuse from
 12. unpleasant thoughts and feelings – are crucial to preserving the mental
 13. health of journalists as they navigate potentially traumatic report-
 14. ing experiences and the monumental changes in their occupational
 15. environments.

16. (Pearson et al. 2019: 4)

17.
 18. With the adoption of RTPs by major companies, like Reuters, and anecdo-
 19. tal support for techniques of self-reflection, such as meditation and mindful-
 20. ness, there is emerging support for their effectiveness in building resilience
 21. to trauma (Pearson et al. 2019), but few if any peer-reviewed studies. It is
 22. also unclear to what extent universities or workplaces might provide young
 23. journalists with such training or other guidance in building resilience. In the
 24. United States at least, it appears that trauma, more broadly, is not covered
 25. consistently in journalism curricula and makes up only a segment of course
 26. structures (Dworznic and Garvey 2019).

27. These gaps in our understanding of how resilience training might benefit
 28. journalism present major research challenges. One is how we might frame the
 29. importance of psycho-social knowledge and techniques not clearly connected
 30. to the practicalities of news-making in environments where there are already
 31. many training demands on journalists. With this in mind, it is useful to explore
 32. the potential acceptance of RTPs in the profession: to test what reporters think
 33. of the concept, what they think it might encompass and whether they see it as
 34. a useful strategy to help them cope with online violence.

36. **THE TRAUMATIZING IMPACTS OF ONLINE VIOLENCE**

37. Online violence is the umbrella term for abusive, disparaging, threatening
 38. and ultimately harmful forms of digital, networked communication – includ-
 39. ing messages sent by e-mail, SMS, chat apps, forums, comments sections,
 40. social media and games platforms and in other 'dialogic' environments,
 41. where communications are multi-directional and reciprocal (Martin 2018).
 42. When targeted at journalists, this violence is a threat not only to their safety
 43. but also to freedom of expression, information rights and media democracy
 44. (Reporters Sans Frontières 2018; UNESCO 2017). Attacks may include dispar-
 45. aging messages, sexist insults, bullying, threats of sexual or other violence to
 46. individuals or their families, misrepresentation and organized campaigns to
 47. discredit reporters, as well as impersonation, information theft, stalking, hoax-
 48. ing and hacking (Ireton and Posetti 2018; Trionfi and Luque 2019). Media
 49. sociologist Katherine Cross (2019) presents a taxonomy of violence, related
 50. to degrees of social intimacy. With first-order attacks such as doxing, swat-
 51. ting and stalking, she argues there is an immediate physical action against
 52.

the subject. Second-order violence involves interpersonal harassment online, while third-order assaults are those coordinated by a third party and carried out by their followers or bots.

Regardless of the nature of such attacks, they can have serious professional, physical, emotional, psychological, reputational and financial impacts. Such assaults can generate fear, anxiety and stress, self-blame, loss of interest in work, anger and other negative reactions (Barton and Storm 2016; Ferrier 2018). Sustained attacks can have the effect of overwhelming the victim, distracting them from their work and damaging their public reputation, while targeted threats can raise concerns about the physical safety of journalists and their loved ones. Some women journalists say they self-censor their reporting, avoiding contentious topics and social media engagement, feel the violence has affected their career trajectory and have considered leaving the profession (Ferrier 2018). They also respond more strongly and emotionally than men to online assaults (Binns 2017).

The incidence of online violence follows patterns of structural inequality and discrimination worldwide, with attacks on women, gender diverse and minority journalists being more common than against men (UNESCO 2017; PEN America 2017; Amnesty International 2018). In a 2018 survey, two-thirds of women journalists said they suffered gender-based attacks, and while half of these reported the assaults, only 13 per cent of cases saw identification or prosecution of the attackers (International Federation of Journalists 2018). Research to date suggests systemic failure from media employers, police and judicial systems to address attacks (Parmar 2016; Eckert 2018), which is troubling particularly where there is evidence of organized political involvement in the digital persecution of journalists (Reporters Sans Frontières 2018).

In the past five years, since the United Nations launched its 'Safety of Journalists' project, much effort has gone into educating journalists in digital safety measures (Martin 2018) and, more recently, in workplace-oriented strategies to support the abused (Seshu and Murthy 2017; Gender Equity Victoria 2019). However, this article will argue that integrated cyberviolence strategies, which involve a whole of workplace approach to positive mental health, and action by newsrooms and other institutions, are as important as self-protection strategies. In this respect, RTPs need to be seen as a programme of mutual benefit rather than individual responsibility for mental and physical well-being. We develop this proposition using an ethics of care framework, which is based in the philosophy that our moral actions should give weight to our caring obligations in social relations, and principles of care for self and others.

RESILIENCE IN CARE FOR SELF AND OTHERS

Psychological frameworks for workplace resilience training tend to position the development of resilience as a mode of self-care, a way of cultivating individual wellness. In this way, it can be seen a personal obligation, only necessary for those for feel vulnerable or traumatized. However, an integrated, socialized approach to tackling online violence involves undertaking structural change in journalism work and legal approaches to violence, as well as mutual strategies of support from peers, media employers, unions, policing and the legal system (Martin 2018). We have proposed this programme of change be theorized using an 'ethics of care' approach (Gilligan 1982; Held 2006, 2010), often associated with feminist theory, which encourages us to understand the moral aspects of our social relations through our obligations of care for ourselves and

1. others. From this perspective, resilience is an ethical attribute, one that allows
 2. journalists to reflect on and critically analyse the social contexts for online
 3. violence from a grounded professional identity and sense of self-worth and
 4. to care about the impacts on others. Research on journalism's duty to others
 5. has historically focused on reporters' *individual* responsibilities to sources and
 6. subjects in news-making and to a lesser extent audiences and peers. Now
 7. with the increasing risks facing journalists, we argue the focus needs to shift to
 8. the *social* dynamics and consequences of their relationships with colleagues,
 9. workplaces, sources, audiences, families and communities.

10. Care ethics are socially oriented. As Hamington argues: '(c)are is commit-
 11. ted to flourishing and growth of individuals, yet acknowledges our intercon-
 12. nectedness and interdependence' (2004: 3). In this sense, it acknowledges that
 13. we care *for* others and *about* others, our society and our world (Held 2010).
 14. Further, a 'mature' approach to care ethics recognizes that self-care and reflec-
 15. tion on the social motivations for caring are as important as caring for others,
 16. for without the former, we are unable to set boundaries on self-sacrifice (van
 17. Nistelrooij and Leget 2017). In the case of journalism and dialogic interac-
 18. tion, this would mean reporters considering how they could care for them-
 19. selves and others in online talk and putting limits on the extent to which they
 20. will engage in dialogue when it is damaging to their health, the health of
 21. their colleagues and their working relations. Recently, Hossain and Aucoin
 22. (2018) argued care ethics could be the basis for a new global journalism ethical
 23. system. While there may be some resistance to a more caring, socially oriented
 24. moral framework in journalism – historically a highly competitive profes-
 25. sion driven by otherwise masculine values (North 2016) – this is a refreshing
 26. proposal appropriate to the possible future of smaller, more local and commu-
 27. nity-focused media outlets.

28. In this article, care ethics is a useful framework for exploring attitudes to
 29. anti-violence strategies for three reasons. Firstly, this approach has germane
 30. normative principles: the rejection of exploitation and hurt, and a commitment
 31. to human flourishing (Pettersen 2011). Secondly, it invites us to engage society
 32. in discussion about how we act rightly through caring, working 'to make all
 33. human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern' (Nussenbaum
 34. cited in Tronto and Fisher 1990). There is also a clear connection between the
 35. need for moral resilience and two of the core virtues that Tronto and Fisher
 36. (1990) argue are part of care ethics: attentiveness and responsiveness to others'
 37. needs. In dialogic relationships, reporters are certainly engaged in attending
 38. and responding to others and dealing with the impacts on their professional
 39. sense of self, their reputations and their working relationships. From a care
 40. perspective, developing resilience is not simply a way of developing endurance
 41. or toughness in the face of hostility but of being able to develop the mature
 42. empathy and moral orientation necessary to remain open to dialogue in an
 43. increasingly risky environment. Taking a care ethics approach to analysing
 44. how journalists talk about resilience and resilience training helps us consider
 45. whether they position these as personal responsibilities or things that have
 46. benefits for others, such as colleagues, sources and media workplaces.

47.

48. **METHODOLOGY**

49. In the full study from which this research is drawn, the objective was to
 50. discover how journalists were being educated and trained in the workplace,
 51. to talk with their audiences and sources online at a time when they were
 52.

encountering significant levels of online violence (Martin and Murrell 2019). We particularly wanted to discover what education they felt would help them better negotiate the demands of inter-networked communication. We initially conducted a survey with 32 journalists who had graduated with university degrees in the previous two decades of internet development, to ensure that they would have had cause to use networked communication as a regular part of their work. This survey was followed by in-depth interviews with half of the respondents.

Our interest in interviewing respondents about resilience training came from the open-ended questions in our survey, which had asked respondents to nominate the best forms of training for dealing with online abuse and what universities should do to educate young journalists to deal with online violence. Nineteen per cent of those surveyed either named resilience or resilience training as a key factor or proposed that journalists needed to grow a thicker skin to cope. These were two of the most significant themes to emerge from the open-ended questions. Being aware that resilience training was becoming an important new form of trauma education, we included definitional and probing questions about it in our follow-up interviews.

Seven women and nine men agreed to take part in semi-structured interviews of 40 to 50 minutes in length, conducted either in-person or by phone. This sample was slightly male biased relative to Australian industry employment norms, but due to the relatively small scale of the study, the intent was not to produce quantitatively robust analysis of variables, but rather rich descriptive interpretation. In interview, our questions about resilience focused on interviewees' familiarity with the topic, their relation to resilience training as a form of care, their sense of its benefits to individuals and newsrooms and their attitudes to its utility in journalism education. The following analysis is drawn from answers to the three interview questions that concerned resilience:

(Q1) A number of people have mentioned resilience training is needed to help people cope with online abuse. What does that term mean to you?

(Q2) Would it be useful to have that type of training in universities or the workplace?

(Q3) How would universities or media companies teach resilience?

Interview transcripts were subject to theoretical thematic analysis (Herzog et al. 2019). In the coding, we worked inductively, identifying themes through recurrence of relevant keywords and phrases, examining how the speaker identified the context for acquiring resilience, who needed it and why. We then considered what this might reveal about their attitudes to who had the ethical responsibility for acquiring resilience and who it might benefit.

GROWING A THICKER SKIN

In response to Q1, all interviewees assumed some understanding of the term resilience training, as none asked us what we meant by the term. However, when we probed to ask them what resilience training meant to them, in the context of online abuse, the main concurrence among interviewees was that it was an individual responsibility. They signalled that journalists needed to

1. personally toughen up or develop a 'thicker skin', to ensure they were not
2. unduly affected by hostile comments:

3.
4. Oh well the first thing that comes to mind is that you have to have a
5. tough skin to sort of put up with this because you're putting yourself out
6. on such a public platform. So not being affected by some of the nega-
7. tive things that people say about you and not letting it affect your work.

8. (Interviewee E, female)

9.
10. More men than women, in a five-to-one ratio, used descriptors associated
11. with developing strength and hardiness. Other interviewees, predominantly
12. male, indicated they saw being thick-skinned as a necessary, acquired attrib-
13. ute of journalists:

14.
15. You need a thick skin in this game, you know. [...] It's a hard profession
16. 'cause the nature of journalism is to annoy the fuck out of people. [...] It
17. doesn't matter what the round is, you're going to annoy a lot of people
18. and that's going to have a lot of blowback, that's going to have threats,
19. either online, on the phone. [...] But yeah, for me [...] it just is part of
20. the job description so suck it up and take it. If you don't, if you can't, if
21. you're sensitive then you don't usually survive in the job or you only go
22. so far in the job because you don't want to write stories that are going
23. to upset a lot of people.

24. (Interviewee D, male)

25.
26.
27. You cannot shut the mouth of everyone who is talking nonsense. What
28. you can do is if you really want to go on with what you're doing you
29. have to build a tougher skin. So that's the only way you can survive on
30. social media.

31. (Interviewee N, male)

32.
33.
34. ... at the end of the day when you put that journalist hat on people see
35. it as you've taken your person cap off and you need to probably adapt in
36. a similar sort of way.

37. (Interviewee O, male)

38.
39. This would suggest that most of our male interviewees saw resilience as a
40. shield, isolating oneself from hate, rather than as a form of self-care, a way
41. in which to reflect on that abuse and to recover one's sense of self and social
42. connectedness in doing so. In that respect, resilience is equated with *not* caring –
43. about trauma, violence or the suffering of others.

44. One male participant (Interviewee A) saw resilience training as another
45. example of how journalists were being constantly asked to adapt to change
46. and the latest social trends, mirroring Neocleous's observation about resil-
47. ience cultivation as a neo-liberal response to workplace anxiety. Interviewee
48. A rejected the expectation that journalists should accommodate bad audi-
49. ence behaviour online by acquiring resilience. Again, this perspective does not
50. align with a notion of resilience as an ethical position either of self-care or
51. of care for others. Less than a fifth of interviewees – two women and one
52.

man – directly associated the term with care perspectives, trauma training or mental health support, rather than personal hardiness or flexibility:

... you know looking at it from a trauma perspective [...] you have to be able to develop coping mechanisms to shut out the mean people and the threatening people. Just the same way that we teach resilience to young journos and being able to switch off something that you hear in court or some of the stuff that you see on the road, [you] would be switching off from the horrible interactions that you have online because you can really stew on those things.

(Interviewee C, female)

If someone's attacking you and you're sort of not sure why and you've put your point of view across it can be quite confronting and it's something that messes with your head because you can't just switch off from it. You can turn your phone off for the day but then you still have to come back and look at messages or whatever. So yeah from a mental health point of view that would be fabulous.

(Interviewee A, female)

DO YOU JUST GET IT THROUGH EXPERIENCE?

In response to Q2, the majority of interviewees rejected or were uncertain about the notion that resilience training could be useful in education or training:

I'm a pretty resilient person but I don't really know how effective that sort of training would be. I'm just sort of picturing myself sitting in a room with a bunch of my colleagues listening to someone speak about resilience and not really enjoying it.

(Interviewee G, male)

The majority of journalists interviewed suggested the need for resilience was an individual one that depended on the personality of the journalist, their treatment online or their 'round', rather than seeing it as a concern for the newsroom as a whole.

Male interviewees were less likely to see it as helpful than females (two of the nine men compared to four of the seven females), which correlates with literature suggesting women tend to be more commonly socialized to value-caring strategies (Vanacker and Breslin 2011). Most men also claimed not to have been particularly affected by abuse themselves, a finding that fits with research suggesting women experience stronger emotional responses to online violence than men (Binns 2017) and are more often targeted by gendered attacks (Nadim and Audun 2019). However, men in our sample did not acknowledge such gender biases or suggest that women might benefit from RTPs. They positioned resilience as an individual aspect of self-care – something for the vulnerable – rather a form of caring for themselves or others:

1. Resilience training [...] could work for those who felt a bit, not insecure,
 2. but felt that it was getting a little bit out of hand and it was going to the
 3. next level that was not acceptable in their mind. [...] But for me person-
 4. ally I haven't really experienced that so I couldn't really comment.
 5. (Interviewee H, male)

6.
 7. The idea that resilience was an experiential, personal quality rather than an
 8. ethical orientation was a strong theme in the interviews. For two journalists,
 9. resilience was too grounded in practice to be easily taught, suggesting they
 10. understood it is acquired socially but could not envisage a relational setting in
 11. which it could be acquired without exposure to trauma:

12.
 13. I guess resilience training's kind of like, it's a bit abstract to me. I mean
 14. is it something that you could learn or do you just get it through experi-
 15. ence? I mean I don't know.
 16. (Interviewee F, male)

17.
 18.
 19. I think it's really hard to qualify and quantify resilience. I think it's some-
 20. thing that you learn over time and I don't think it's something that can
 21. be taught. I mean it's hard to do it in a meaningful way because like my
 22. experiences studying journalism at university was it was very practical.
 23. (Interviewee K, female)

24.
 25.
 26. **AN INDIVIDUAL OR SOCIAL NEED?**

27. In response to our final question, '(Q3) How would you teach resilience in
 28. university or the workplace?', over half of respondents were sceptical that it
 29. could be done in an instructional context:
 30.

31. Resilience training, I feel like I'm pretty resilient as I am. I don't feel
 32. that you can train yourself through that any more than just going about
 33. every day and getting used to it. I think frigging going out and working
 34. in a regional newspaper or whatever. That's the only way you're going
 35. to get resilience.
 36. (Interviewee I, female)

37.
 38.
 39. If you're going into your first job or you're doing an internship [...] you're
 40. going to have to get pretty used to the idea that someone might
 41. diss you and tell you that your work's crap or that you've got to improve
 42. on this. But perhaps the only way to train people to expect that is to tell
 43. them to expect it [...] in my experience, it's only just been pretty much
 44. on the job.
 45. (Interviewee F, male)

46.
 47. Several journalists indicated it would be hard to teach resilience in the face of
 48. online abuse because of the difficulty of presenting 'mock criticism' – that is,
 49. replicating the social conditions where it occurred and the degree of violence.
 50. Those who did have suggestions recommended having expert modelling,
 51. either through talks where well-regarded journalists related their means
 52.

Question	Theme	Care orientation	
What does resilience training mean to you?	Being thick-skinned (sub-theme: adapt/survive)	Individuated	1. 2. 3. 4.
	Mental health support	Social	5.
Would it be useful to have that type of training?	For vulnerable individuals	Individuated	6.
	Yes, but hard to teach	Social	7. 8.
	Too abstracted from practice	Individuated	9.
How would universities or media companies teach resilience?	Experiential only	Individuated	10.
	Peer modelling	Social	11. 12.
	Work-related mental health	Social	13.

Table 1: Thematic analysis, resilience training themes and care orientation.

of building coping mechanisms in response to abuse or harassment or by presenting case studies where group reports had provoked angry reactions on social media. A few of those journalists who did think resilience could be taught also put the need for this instruction in a social context, in relation to peer support or workplace care, and mental health:

I feel like there definitely needs to be more mental health support because a lot of newsrooms say, oh well we have a number you can call. But you usually don't find out about it until after the fact and [...] you really need to know, okay in my newsroom I can go to Bill or I can go to Colleen or I can go to Caitlin.

(Interviewee E, female)

I think it would make a huge benefit. It would make a huge difference. Not just for that particular individual because it's that, at the end of the day indirectly it helps their mental wellbeing but also for [companies] when [they] are so careful about their reputation, their brand and stuff ...

(Interviewee N, male)

The thematic analysis of the interviews generated strong themes for each question, and some sub-themes, with the dominant themes shaded in Table 1 below. These themes were then coded as to whether they demonstrated an individuated ethical orientation to the meaning of resilience training or a more social/mutual orientation, as is found in care ethics.

Overall, we found the themes generated by interview exchanges positioned the idea of resilience and resilience training as an individual responsibility more than a workplace issue of importance to their peers, sources and audiences.

DISCUSSION

There was an interesting degree of ambiguity and ambivalence in the ways that resilience as a quality and resilience training as a learning process were spoken about in our study, with the majority of interviewees discussing their apparent

1. relationship to fortitude and toughness, rather than their connection to posi-
 2. tive mental health. Further, the majority expressed a lack of clarity about what
 3. RTPs might offer and how resilience might be taught. In one respect, these
 4. could be read as structurally conditioned responses, with the news media
 5. being an institution that historically has cared poorly for its employees, and
 6. depended on them suppressing rather than dealing with emotional harm –
 7. and journalism education responding in kind (Hopper and Huxford 2017).
 8. However, in Tronto's analysis, institutions that see caring strategies such as
 9. resilience training only as responses to misfortune, or only as necessary for the
 10. vulnerable, are institutions that are 'not caring well' (Tronto 2010: 163).

11. One of the interesting findings in this study was the normative belief
 12. about the need for journalists to develop 'a thick skin', a personal defensive
 13. shield, against the types of interpersonal and coordinated violence encoun-
 14. tered online. This conception appears in both Binns' (2017) and Chen et al.'s
 15. (2018) studies of how women journalists experience abuse and is oriented to a
 16. masculinist, protective definition of self that does not acknowledge the possi-
 17. ble harms of being subject to ongoing public anger, harassment or denigra-
 18. tion. This identity sets journalists up to see themselves as weak if they feel
 19. the negative impacts of mean and threatening talk and to practise avoidant
 20. coping mechanisms, rather than being open to psychology driven, self-caring
 21. approaches used in RTPs. It also raises questions about the ways in which
 22. journalists might be better oriented to not only self, but also outwardly to peer
 23. and collective care. Only three of sixteen interviewees conveyed some concep-
 24. tion of RTP as part of a workplace care strategy, suggesting an individual-
 25. istic and mechanistic notion of how mental health might shape workplace
 26. relations.

27. Interviewees' overall uncertainty about how resilience could be taught in
 28. the tertiary education system as a response to online violence suggests a lack
 29. of familiarity with the types of RTPs that have been used elsewhere with high-
 30. risk occupations. Given the small size of our sample, more large-scale work
 31. remains to be done on assessing whether resilience training could be a useful
 32. and accepted part of journalism education or work training. It is important,
 33. given the range of attitudes to RTP even within this limited cohort, for future
 34. studies to undertake comparative investigation of how journalists understand
 35. resilience, and the possibilities of resilience training for collective care rather
 36. than simply as a defensive strategy.

37. The gender differences indicated in this study also point to the need for
 38. more research into the gendered experience of online violence for journal-
 39. ists, including how it impacts female journalists' sense of self within a group,
 40. as well as how RTPs might address gender differences through more mutual,
 41. peer-oriented strategies of workplace caring for mental health. Finally, more
 42. analysis is needed of how journalists experience forms of resilience training as
 43. a means of helping them cope with online abuse and to extend that coping to
 44. active caring for others who experience the consequences of online violence –
 45. their peers, sources and audiences.

46.

47. CONCLUSION

48. This research suggests that while some Australian journalists in our cohort
 49. understand resilience training's possibilities for developing positive mental
 50. health and mediating the experience of trauma from online abuse, most were
 51. unclear about what it might offer, how useful it might be in addressing adverse
 52.

experiences and feelings and how it might be taught. They regard it primarily as an individual learned trait, rather than as a social process, in which they might be implicated in caring about and for their colleagues. This has difficult implications for women, gender diverse and ethnic minority journalists who are more likely to be harassed and who would benefit from social support rather than individualized counselling.

As these journalists appear sceptical about whether resilience can be taught, rather than learned on the job, it is possible that introducing resilience training to newsrooms without introducing evidence for its possibilities, and examining entrenched attitudes towards mental health education and peer support, will lead to a reduced acceptance of its potential and less than sustained outcomes. As a form of trauma intervention, it needs to be part of a more integrated, social suite of solutions, including peer support, to aid those who are under attack and to keep them positive about their value and creative potential.

The broader challenge in devising integrated responses to online violence against journalists is to marry socio-psychological solutions with an ethics of care, which demands newsrooms also consider social as well as economic and legal support structures for those under attack. The notion that news media might need to care for their journalists, and journalists might care for each other is not new, as it is a fundamental aspect of humanity and the intense social bonding that takes place in risky occupations. However, it is not the dominant paradigm for organizing the work of news production. Similarly, the notion of adopting care ethics as a principle for framing journalism education to address dialogic violence is not problematic, but it is a very different approach to the conventional utilitarian, consequentialist and virtue-based approaches predominant in journalism courses. In these respects, the introduction of a care ethics framework for training journalists in how to respond to violence online might be one step in countering the atomizing impacts of neo-liberal labour relations in newsrooms and a move towards more systematic teaching of trauma in journalism.

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SUGGESTED CITATION

Martin, Fiona R. and Murrell, Colleen (2020), 'You need a thick skin in this *28.*
 game: Journalists' attitudes to resilience training as a strategy for combat- *29.*
 ting online violence', *Australian Journalism Review*, 42:1, pp. 93–111, doi: *30.*
https://doi.org/10.1386/ajr_00021_1 *31.*
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