“Everybody wants to make love to you”
– How female Russian journalists use tactics to handle sexism and sexual harassment.

Av: Frida Suter, Lisa Selander
Handledare: Urban Larssen
Södertörns Högskola I Institutionen för Samhällsstudier
Kandidatuppsats 15 hp
Journalistik C I HT-17
Abstract
The study “Everybody wants to make love to you” examines female Russian journalists’ experiences of sexism within their profession. The focus of the study is to examine how the journalists navigate through their profession whilst resisting against sexism and oppression.

The study is based on material gathered through qualitative interviews with nine female informants with various backgrounds, ages and positions within journalism. All the respondents were (or had been) working in Moscow. The result of the study shows that our respondents have experienced sexism by being diminished, flirted with and sexually harassed in working situations. This is especially relevant when the respondents have met new people while reporting. Sometimes the women are encouraged by colleagues to put on something “sexy” or “play dumb” to, in some interview situations, get more information.

The resistance towards gendered oppression often take shape on an individual level or within a person's small circle of people that can be trusted. Our results show that the respondents are using different tactics when facing gender related obstacles, such as using your gender role or through joking about the perpetrators within your inner circle.

Key words: feminist, journalism, media studies, Russia, sexism, sexual harassment.
Table of contents

1. Introduction ................................................................. 5
2. Background ................................................................. 5
   2.1. How journalism became a low status profession in Russia .......... 5
   2.2. Overrepresentation of women within Russian journalism ......... 6
3. Aim and issue ............................................................. 7
4. Previous research ......................................................... 7
   4.1. Women entering journalism in Russia ................................ 8
   4.2. Differences in working conditions ................................... 9
   4.3. Neoliberal reforms of the media market ............................. 12
5. Theory ............................................................................. 14
   5.1. Strategies and tactics for navigating in a sexist context ......... 14
   5.2. Humor as a resistance tactic .......................................... 15
   5.2.1 Tactics to help coping with symbolic violence ................. 16
   5.2.2 A gendered division: soft vs. hard journalism ................. 19
   5.2.3 Intersectionality, sexism and ageism ............................. 21
6. Method ............................................................................ 23
   6.1. Interviews about personal experiences ............................. 23
   6.2. Difficulties and ethical aspects ....................................... 23
   6.3. Knowledge and preparations for the interviews .................. 24
   6.4. Methodological considerations ...................................... 25
   6.5 Methodological considerations about the interviews ............. 26
7. Selection .......................................................................... 27
   7.1. The respondents ......................................................... 27
8. Results ............................................................................. 28
   8.1 To joke about it instead of talking about it ......................... 28
   8.2. Young and attractive vs old and experienced ...................... 30
   8.3. Combining motherhood and journalism ............................ 33
   8.4. Stories about sexual harassment ...................................... 35
   8.5. Using your femininity as a tactic ..................................... 37
   8.6. No support system when facing sexual harassments ............. 40
9. Analysis ............................................................................ 41
9.1. Laughing right back at sexism.................................................................................41
9.2. “The marionette” - an unwanted, but used, tactic..............................................42
9.3. Holding the fire: how to have a baby and keep your job......................................43

10. Conclusion..................................................................................................................44

11. References....................................................................................................................47
11.1. Organizations..........................................................................................................47
11.2. Literature..................................................................................................................47

12. Themes and questions for our interviews.................................................................52
1. Introduction

Russia is a comparatively dangerous place for journalists (Roudakova 2009: 425-6). Since 1992, 38 journalists have been killed in Russia because of their profession (Committee to Protect Journalists 2017). When journalists work in this kind of risky and unsafe environment, female journalists suffer the most (Mijatovic 2016: 1).

There are specific obstacles for female journalists practicing their work: threats, sexual harassments and violations of their private lives (Reinardy 2009: 53). Previous research also indicates that this is a global problem and that female journalists all over the world are more exposed to these problems, not just Russians (Mijatovic 2016: 1).

In Russia, the “Me too”-movement that became a big and influential phenomenon in countries like USA and Sweden during 2017, the campaign never really hit off in Russia. Instead, a lot of famous people in Russia expressed that they felt sorry for the perpetrators who were exposed in the media, such as Harvey Weinstein. Opinions that it would be natural for men to harass women and that women should be grateful that men are flirting with them (Dickson 2017; Kleberg 2017; Laurén 2017).

One the other hand in 2016 the hashtag #Iamnotscaredtospeak (in Russian #яНеБоюсьСказать) got women in Russia to share their stories about sexual harassments on the internet. A lot of women did this and the movement spread over Russia. At the same time there were people accusing the women for lying about their experiences (Walker 2016).

During our research we did found that there exist two sides of the discussion and a trivialization of the problem with sexism and sexual harassments which makes it even more urgent to explore how sexism takes form in the Russian society.

This study will document and analyze interviews with nine female journalists working in Moscow. The overall focus is to explore how the working conditions for female journalists can look like and how they must use different tactics to succeed in their profession.

2. Background

2.1. How journalism became a low status profession in Russia

Natalia Roudakova, an anthropologist working with comparative media studies, (2009) compares the ethics and political situation for journalists during the Soviet Union with the situation today. She points out that the privatization of the media, which took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union, has step by step made journalism a low status profession in Russia.
Media had several different functions during the Soviet Union era. One of them was to reproduce socialism for the government through propaganda. According to Roudakova (2009), the citizens of the Soviet Union did put hope in the socialist promise of equality, rationality and self-realization (Roudakova 2009: 414). Journalists had a moral task in the Soviet Union and the citizens could turn to them when the government did not provide the social service that was promised. For example, if a citizen felt let down by the court, they could turn to a journalist or editorial offices with their complaints (Roudakova 2009: 415). Journalists worked against social suffering and the state obligated journalists to take care of complaints and problems from the citizens. Journalists were a group who had both social and cultural capital and even though journalists were a part of the state they succeeded to appear as their own authority. With this double role (political and moral) they earned trust both from the state and the citizens (Roudakova 2009: 416-7).

After the fall of the Soviet Union the position changed for the journalists. Instead of working as a political tool for the government, journalism went through a democratization where more people could start working in the media sphere (Roudakova 2009.: 420; Pasti, Chernysh & Svitich 2012: 267). Because media had such high credibility they had a strong political voice while the society was reshaping towards capitalism. The journalists started to point out the directions for the country in terms of which priorities and goals the country should strive for. They started to campaign for different politicians (Roudakova 2009: 420-4).

Due to the economic crisis in the post-Soviet Union plenty of magazines needed financing. Since they no longer could get support from the state they turned to private investors. Journalists could now make money by supporting different politicians and investors who wanted to use the media for their own businesses (Pasti, Chernysh & Svitich 2012: 267). Therefore, the journalistic ethics changed and went in different directions. Different editorial offices had different media ideals. Consequently, journalists lost a lot of the credibility they used to have and people thought that journalists were controlled by the media owners (Roudakova 2009: 422).

2.2. Over-representation of women within Russian journalism

In Russia today, most of the working journalists are women (Pasti, Chernysh & Svitich 2012: 273). According to journalists in Russia the press freedom has decreased in the country during the past ten years (Anikina 2013: 110). The governmental influence on media has increased. Some Russian media are linked to state owned organizations and this affects the journalism and journalists lose additional credibility (Pasti, Chernysh & Svitich 2012: 267-8).
In the Soviet Union, sexual violence was a sensitive subject to talk about. An open discussion did not exist (Zabelina 1996: 169). In Russia today, there are organizations working with these issues such as sexual harassments towards female journalists. “Committee to Protect Journalists” (2017) and “Civil Right Defenders” (2015) are two international organizations that are active in the country. “Russian Union of Journalists” is a Russian labour union for journalists. The union work for press freedom, educating new journalists, to protect journalists and cooperate with international organizations (Russian Union of Journalists 2017). The union is also working against gendered violence towards journalists (Russian Union of Journalists 2016).

3. Aim and issue

The aim of this study is to explore through interviews how nine female journalists experience their work environment, and to document and analyze various forms of tactics they make use of and develop to function as professionals. We are examining how they handle issues such as threats, sexism and sexual harassments. A hypothesis is that the field is gendered in certain ways and that this calls for tactics on behalf of women. To answer our questions, we have done nine qualitative interviews with female journalists in Russia.

To reach our purpose, we asked the following questions:

- How do the interviewed women experience their professional field in terms of their gender?
- How do the women navigate within their professional context and, more specifically, how do they deal with threats, sexism and sexual harassment?

4. Previous research

Our references of previous relevant research are done through a cross-cultural perspective. We believe that gender inequality among journalists is not something that only affects female journalists in Russia, but females all around the globe. For this section of the essay, we have studied books, articles and surveys from scientists in different parts of the world writing about these topics. We believe that gender inequality is a global problem and that the structural mechanisms therefore has a lot of similarities between different parts of the world. In this chapter, we are going to share some of the previous research that are relevant to understand our research. Starting with research in the Russian context.
4.1 Women entering journalism in Russia

Margaret Gallagher is a scholar specialized within gender and media. During the 80’s and the beginning of the 90’s, there was an increase of women employed in the media sector around the globe. The “feminization of the media”, is an expression that represents the shift that happened within media and journalism during this time (Gallagher 1995: 1). A lot more women during the 90’s were more visibly on the screen, reporting on television for example. It was still harder for women to climb within their career compared to men. In general, the journalistic norms were still masculine and women had little power within the media, compared to men (Gallagher 1995: 2).

The lack of power makes it harder to break the masculinity norms. Instead of breaking the norm, it is easier for women to get status by writing about hard, masculine news (Gallagher 1995: 2-3). Gallagher also writes that it is harder to be taken seriously as a female journalist and that they are exploited sexually harassed more than men (Gallagher 1995: 53). There is a division between men and women when it comes to work tasks - women are overrepresented within soft news, which has lower status than hard news where men are overrepresented (Gallagher 1995: 55).

According to Gallagher, “the feminization of the media” in Russia has yet not included rights about parental leave, that would make it easier for women to have both a career and being parents (Gallagher 1995: 55).

Although, “The Global report on the Status of Women in the News Media”, from the International Women’s Media Foundation (2011), shows that it has been some change for women working in media. For example, there are more work against discrimination and gender awareness. Gender equality leads to higher occupational status within news for women (Byerly 2013: 11-2).

Diana Julia Nastasia and Ekaterina Bondarenko are two scholars, Nastasia within research about stories and identities from non-western women, and Bondarenko within intercultural communication. They proceed from the Global report and it is stated that more women than men are working within the media sphere in Eastern Europe, especially in Russia (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 66). Female journalists today have more job security and more often offered full-time employment (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 66).

After the fall of the Soviet Union, women organized against the expectations of females being the ones taking care of the family. A political feminist action took place and different women’s groups were created. The groups were trying to change the women’s role in the Russian society and they did have an impact (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 67). There
are still a lot of work to do in Russia according to Nastasia and Bondarenko when it comes to gender equality for female journalists when it comes to working conditions, having power within decision making, but different women’s group have helped to strengthen the positions of females within the media sphere (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 67-8).

From the Global Report, there are a high rate of women working in Russian news companies (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 68), but there are some gender problems. More men have the decision-making roles and so the male norms remain. Men are also more likely to get full-time employment (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 69). More female journalists are freelancing and working part-time, which is a more unstable situation (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 70).

The Global Report shows that it has been some improvements when it comes to gender equality, for example policies about offering women parental leave. Although not many media companies have a guarantee for the female journalists to return to their positions after leaving for having children (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 71). According to Nastia and Bondarenko (2013), no media company in Russia has any policies about gender equality or sexual harassment (Nastasia & Bondarenko 2013: 72).

4.2. Differences in working conditions

We are now proceeding to a cross cultural perspective to get a broader picture of the situation. The first theme we have identified is that there are differences in working conditions between men and women. We already mentioned the subject in the background, where we stated that women in Russia are often exposed to sexual harassment and discrimination due to pregnancy. We will now present research that also underlines difficulties women have in their career, that differs from men’s situation.

A study from the USA, based on 715 Americans, shows that female journalists are more likely to leave the profession than their male counterparts (Reinardy 2009: 42). Female journalists more often get exposed to sexism and discrimination at their workplaces. They get lower wages during their careers and take more responsibility in their private sphere, when it comes to family tasks. A consequence of the unequal division at home when it comes to childcare is that women are less likely to get promoted. The main reasons for female journalists to leave their profession is stress, burnout, bad working conditions, low pay, lack of organization support and low job security (Reinardy 2009: 43, 53).

This article points us to the direction of not only examining women's experiences of sexism at the workplace, but also how the situation in the private sphere affects one’s work.
For example, if they take responsibility at home and spend more time with children, it would be harder to get promoted because it would be more difficult to work long hours and to take on more responsibility at work.

Another perspective that we find meaningful to analyze in our research is how the journalistic field is divided between males and females. Is there a division connected to which genres women and men are reporting about? Is there an overrepresentation of a certain gender when it comes to power positions at the editorial? Is there any wage gap between the sexes? As we wrote in the background, the Russian journalism is today female dominated when it comes to both journalist students at the universities and the actual working reporters. This may in turn affect traditional relations between genders, such as men reporting more on hard news and women on soft news which possible could challenge essential beliefs about the sexes. This brings us to Djerf-Pierres study (2007) on gender divisions in Sweden.

Monika Djerf-Pierre (2007) describes some parts of the history when it comes to gender within Swedish journalism. During the 1980’s in Sweden a lot of women entered journalism. But still, during the 90s and beginning of the millennium, it was men who dominated the top positions in the profession. Even if 48% of Swedish journalists were women in year 2005, the economic power was still in the control of men (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 92). When it comes to positions of power it has not changed much compared to how many more women that work as journalists (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 96-7).

Djerf-Pierre is one scholar among many that has developed models that one could call “gendered journalism” which means that there are differences within journalism depending on gender. “Feminine journalism” is news about everyday life and are more oriented toward the reader’s interests. “Masculine journalism” is defined as the public sphere, creating more neutral news, using male sources. The subjects in the masculine journalism often has more status (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 97). Female journalists are to a greater degree expected to cover subjects such as education and health care. Because of gender stereotypes, women and feminine subjects get defined as the “other” while men and masculine subjects within news constitutes the norm (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 100). Within journalism women in general must be more educated than men to reach the same positions as men (Djerf-Pierre 2007: 98).

Monica Löfgren Nilsson is another scholar who has been researching about journalism and gender in a Swedish context. She has done a survey about a public service news desk, Swedish television news (SVT), from a gender perspective which describes how gender is being constructed and kept as a cultural norm which sets the frame for professional

Women generally cover soft news and men hard news. Men have higher positions and newsrooms in general are influenced by masculine values. Several studies have shown that female journalists have more limited opportunities in their profession, that they are more likely to get sexually harassed and more likely to be merely seen as a woman, not as a professional journalist (Löfgren Nilsson 2010: 2). Another thing that affects the environment for journalists is different gender expectations. Having shaped frames deciding what is masculine and feminine creates “gendered professional identities”. This retains the gender working division within journalism. Both women and men maintains these identities by accepting them and adjusting for them, forming strategies how to be in those roles (Löfgren Nilsson 2010: 3-4).

Women from SVT news who participated in the survey said gender roles existed in their work and that men had an advantage when it came to different assignments and jobs. It is seen a greater risk to send a woman on an assignment than a man, which implies women are often seen as less competent than men (Löfgren Nilsson 2010: 8-9).

Löfgren Nilsson made another survey about Swedish journalists in 2015, showing that threats and harassments towards journalists the last ten years has increased. The main reason for that is the digitalization. It makes communication, for example, over email and by comments on social media, easier and by communicating over the internet it is also easier to achieve anonymity. The interactivity between journalists and their consumers has grown with the digitalization. Journalists are more profiled, reachable and visible. Digitalizations is therefore a reason why threats towards journalists has increased. It is common for Swedish journalists to receive threats. 70% of the journalists in the survey consisting of 1695 participants had received threats during the last year (referring to 2014) (Löfgren Nilsson 2015: 51).

The most usual type of harassments are threats of violence. Sexist violation occurs as well and sometimes journalists receive death threats. Male and females get approximately as many threats but the sort differ between the sexes, female journalists receive more sexist comments (Löfgren Nilsson 2015: 52).

Since the digitalization is a global phenomenon this is relevant research to have in mind when examining sexism, sexual harassments and threats. When one of the tasks for a journalist is to communicate online and getting material published, being exposed to
sexism and threats within your work is broader than the people whom you meet while collecting material or at your news desk. With this as a starting point, we will be investigating how the interview subjects are threatened if it that is the case.

4.3. Neoliberal reforms of the media market

Nithila Kanagasabai, a scholar within feminist media studies, has enquired about how the privatization of the media has affected journalism in India. During the 90s, the privatization of the media took place in India with the support of neo-liberal organizations such as the World Bank and IMF. With the privatization, the number of TV Channels went from one (a public service channel) to 995 private satellite channels. In conjunction of the commercialization of the TV, women started to enter the previously male dominated field of TV journalism (Kanagasabai 2016: 663-4).

Along with the privatization the Workers unions got a weaker position in the journalistic work market (Kanagasabai 2016: 663-4). A lot of young, female Indian journalists do not see themselves as feminists and consider the newsroom to already be gender equal. According to Kanagasabai it is this attitude that allows sexism to continue and the invalidation of talking about structural equality can be viewed as a direct result of a sexist environment. Also, Kanagasabai claims that female entry into journalism did not change the gendered constructions in the newsroom. Instead the workplace continues to be very masculine spheres where females must act masculine to get respect from their colleagues (Kanagasabai 2016: 666).

A concept that illustrates this is the so called “The Barbie and Ken Syndrome” means that appearance is higher valued than competence within TV-journalism, a phenomenon imported from western values. Since the neoliberal reforms of the media in India, “The Barbie and Ken Syndrome” received a breakthrough. Females are especially encouraged to take care of their looks and it was assumed that most of the viewers were men, something that supports heterosexual gender positions. Another consequence of this phenomenon is that almost all news presenters are white (Kanagasabai 2016: 668; see also Macharia 2015 and Jha 2015).

Due to this shift in the working environment, today there is a big difference between how younger and older generations of women within journalism perceive feminism. During the 1970s journalists wanted to contribute to the social and political transformation in the country and many females identified themselves openly as feminists. They had stronger
networks with other feminists and the women raised questions about social justice and wrote revolutionary reportages in feminist magazines. During this time, most females worked in print and TV was dominated by men. In the 90s, along with the increased diversity of TV channels, females entered TV. At the same time, it became more commercialized, the labour market was more insecure and the journalists had less influence over the content they produced. The younger generation of journalists are influenced by post-feminism ideals that often pushes on the female opportunity of choice and individual differences (Kanagasabai 2016: 665-7).

One could say that the feminism in India today focuses more on the careers and empowerment of individuals. The older women in India were under-represented and few were found at the higher positions. In the past, women did not have the opportunity to take parental leave which left them with the choice of having either family or career. This is an explanation for why the women drop out of journalism when they get older. This creates a glass ceiling. The young women of today, however, are entitled to parental leave but a lot of them would not take it because they think it sends the wrong signals to their managers that they are not career oriented or ambitious. According to Kanagasabai when females sign up to the myth that they can “have it all” while neglecting a structural analysis, they have better opportunities to reach far in their careers (Kanagasabai 2016: 668).

In the beginning, we explained that we are using a cross-cultural perspective in our previous research. Therefore, we have previous research from different countries such as India for example. Firstly, because threats and harassments towards female journalists is a global phenomenon. Secondly, because it does not exist that much research about it in Russia. We noticed this while searching for previous, Russian research. What we have found within Russian research on this subject is that it exists a big taboo around sexual harassments at work, and that it is common among women in Russia to be exposed to sexism and sexually harassments. The global research has shown that it is not just Russian female journalists who are exposed to it. The most important things to remember from the previous research is that women are more likely to be discriminated because of their sex, to not get promoted and that it exists a division between female and male journalism.

In the next chapter, we are going to present and discuss some of the theories that scholars in this area often use and that we found relevant for our own research.
5. Theory

5.1 Strategies and tactics for navigating in a sexist context

In our theoretical package, we focus on strategies and tactics. During our research, we realized that all the journalists we spoke to use different strategies and tactics to cope with professional conditions and realities. An important theoretical point of departure for our thesis is connected to strategies and tactics. Different views on strategies and tactics are important in our study since we focus on how the respondents navigate in terms of their gender to cope with professional conditions and power structures surrounding them.

However, strategies and tactics are concepts that are understood in different ways within social science. Michel de Certeau suggests that strategies are a result of the structures of power, produced and performed by people with leverage from institutions like governments, scientific institutions and corporations. Strategies have different shapes and come from specific environments. Strategies exists in different power places (de Certeau 1984: 35-6).

Strategies in de Certeau’s terminology are legitimate and they regulate the options and the possibilities for the tactics within a certain context. Tactics, on the other hand, are performed by normal people without legitimate power. Which tactics the powerless subject chooses to use is determined by which different options the institution in question offers. Tactics are naturally opportunistic and defensive and they are used temporarily and in limited ways within spaces. A tactic depends on the structure of power and it is something one use to create possibilities within the power structure (de Certeau 1984: 37). Strategies exists and are established in different places of power. Tactics is actions a person takes to improve your situation in that environment (de Certeau 1984: 38).

Tactics can take both physical and psychological forms and they are shaped and ruled by more powerful strategic relations. The strategies create and governs the laws, products and norms and the tactics need to use these and even fight against them because they are never completely fixed or determined by the strategies. While de Certeau regards strategies and tactics as phenomenon that appear as opposite forces, strategies and tactics can also be understood in other ways. Majken Sorensen (2008) definitions of tactics and strategies suggests that strategies are focused on the subjects’ long-term goals and how to move the conflicts towards a desired outcome. Tactics, on the other hand, subordinate the short-term reactions of a specific situation (Sorensen 2008). Sorensen (2008) is basically using the concept of strategies as de Certeau is using it to describe tactics. How different scholars
choose to define it may differ, but in general the same phenomenon is at stake, namely how people relate to existing power structures and norms. De Certeau focus on a power structure more in his theory while Sorensen uses the concepts entirely to describe how the subject navigates to reach a person's goals. In this essay, we believe both Sorensen's and de Certeau’s definitions are useful to describe different aspects, but we choose to proceed from de Certeau’s definition of tactics and how the journalists we have interviewed navigate consciously and unconsciously in their professional field.

We are now going to bring up a few theories developed by several scholars, concerning tactics, to give a varied account of how tactics and strategies can be understood from a theoretical perspective. We are going to describe tactics such as humor, using your body, using your femininity and some theories and concepts to apply such as dichotomy and intersectionality. We start out by giving a few examples of certain tactics to develop our understanding of this theoretical subject, and then move on to related themes such as class and intersectionality.

5.2. Humor as a resistance tactic

We have defined strategies and tactics and now we are going to give an example of how tactics can take form. In *Humor as a Serious Strategy of Nonviolent Resistance to Oppression* Sorensen writes about how individuals, groups and social movements offer resistance by using humor and how this challenges oppression in a way that differs from traditional resistance (2008). Explicitly studying the response of humor in oppressive situations is a field within the study of non-violence that few scientists have done. However, humor to resist oppression in the status quo has been studied in authoritarian states like the Soviet Union, the Nazi occupation of Norway during the Second World War and in the Serbian Otpor movement that helped bring down Slobodan Milošević. Also, democratic states, like the social democratic Norway during the 80s, has been studied from this perspective (Sorensen 2008).

According to Sorensen humor can challenge oppression in a non-violent and non-traditional sense. Sorensen defines *resistance* as “a response to power that challenges oppression and domination”. *Oppression* can take many forms and how it is perceived differs between space and time. The main criteria for “oppression” is though, that those concerned regard themselves as oppressed. *Humor* in the article comprises everything from a story, a joke, a sketch, book or movie, to a slogan - anything that entertains. The foundation for the
humor can be satire, ridicule, parody and irony. In humor one investigates political matters that are directed against oppression and it gives space for critical reflection. On the other hand, humor can also be used as a tool for oppression, for example against women or minorities.

Sorensen claims that humor in general is built on contradictions and on turning concepts upside down. Humor that is used as a way of creating resistance is particularly characterized by the contrast between seriousness and innocence. Even the most aggressive type of humor has an innocuous tone which suggests “I’m not dangerous” and “Don’t take me seriously”. Sorensen points out three functions were humor as a nonviolent resistance can be understood as: 1) an opportunity to recruit people outside the movement - to mobilize, 2) to favor a culture of resistance within the resistance movement, addressed to individuals to build solidarity and strength, 3) to change the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed by “turning the oppression upside down”.

Humor can be a part of creating a culture of resistance on both an individual and organizational level and it can be a tool for overcoming political and individual apathy. Typical for the use of humor in a group is that a person only would share those jokes with the people that one feels that they can trust within that group. There can be space for resistance in a certain context and the peoples’ actions in the context should not be understood as neither absolute submission or rebellion (Sorensen 2008).

Sorensen uses the concept hidden transcripts as opposed to the public transcript. The hidden transcript is when subordinate groups talk about their oppressor behind their back. This has the function of giving people dignity for themselves and their group, but it also functions as preparation for the day when this hidden transcript is ready to turn to open resistance. This way of viewing power also emphasizes that power is a relational concept that comprises a dynamic interaction between opposite forces, rather than something that one has or does not have. Humor empowers the resistance movement. It reduces the fear of the oppressed since it is harder to fear someone if you laugh at that person at the same time (Sorensen 2008).

5.2.1 Tactics to help coping with symbolic violence

We are interested in how women navigate in a patriarchal society to get a place and a career within journalism. Therefore, we rely on Margareta Melin’s, a scholar within media and communication, research on different tactics British and Swedish female journalists use (2008). Melin uses a variety of theories in her research but a central scholar is Pierre
To understand and present the four tactics that Melin describes, we need to describe Bourdieu’s concepts doxa, habitus, social fields, capital and symbolic violence.

A central concept of Bourdieu’s is doxa. Doxa is the world-view within a certain social field, for example journalism, and the ones that possess true power is those who can define what journalism is. Doxa is a concept which is so natural no one really questions it, it is how we think about the world and ourselves. If the dominant group in the social field are men, it is men that has the power to construct doxa (Melin 2008: 75). Opposing doxas are called allodoxas and they consist of oppositional ways to view the world and to behave accordingly (Melin 2008: 72; see also Bourdieu 1988). We believe that one can connect doxa and allodoxa to strategies and tactics, as previously defined. Those within journalism that have the power can therefore define which journalistic tactics should be acceptable to use for females in the profession.

Another important concept for our essay is social fields, which is a basic concept of Bourdieu. Social fields are a structured space with defined and underlying meanings, beliefs and laws that need to be understood and used by the players within the field (Melin 2008: 70-1). In our essay, journalism is defined as a social field and this social field is what our research is focusing on. Habitus is another concept that comes from Bourdieu and consists of a system of social dispositions that we internalize through our lifestyles and backgrounds (Melin 2008: 70).

Within Melin’s research it is being stated that female journalists use different tactics to cope with everyday symbolic violence from male colleagues. Symbolic violence is a concept that Bourdieu created from the consistency of male dominance (Melin 2008:67). Symbolic violence is when different groups that have power use different methods, such as sexual oppression to keep others, for example women, in a subordinated place. Symbolic violence is being used by groups who have the dominating capital, for example by men or white people (Melin 2008: 67).

We have now defined some of the concepts of Bourdieu that Melin used to proceed from in her research. We can see in Melin’s tactics that there is a conceptual connection with de Certeau's general approach and concretization of what this might do in the case of female journalists in the media landscape in Russia. We therefore find it important to describe Melin’s four tactics that we will use to analyze our result:

One of the boys: This strategy is successful career-wise since it is used to achieve status and power. The women of this category internalised doxa and played by the rules of journalism. They do not accept the role of being a female journalist. At the same time they
are opposing the gendered logic of journalism since they are acquiring masculine capital and adjust their behaviors to a way of being that is more masculine. A degree in journalism was common among those who used this tactic and they did not have any children or permanent relationships (Melin 2008: 219, 149-150).

One of the girls: Both women and men use this tactic to oppose the doxa. These journalists typically created their own social network and were the highest educated group. They pursued their own ethics and had their own journalistic ideals. To them, journalism was more than a job: through the profession they could develop and express their personalities and they felt like they had a mission with journalism. Often, they had a family and a career at the same time. As individuals, their careers were fiascos but on the field level, Melin points out their tactics might be the most successful one, since these journalists might be forerunners for the next doxa that is about to come. This tactic can be viewed as oppositional since it rejects the journalist culture. Often, they work in fields within journalism that are labelled as feminine but they do it because they think those issues are important and does not accept a submissive role. They also tended to align themselves with other people using this tactic (Melin 2008: 150-1, 161, 219).

Sexy Marionette: In Melin’s material, the “Sexy Marionette” only existed in the UK. In Sweden, it was not an acceptable tactic to use. The Marionettes used their female habitus and played a gendered game through form more feminine capital. These journalists would typically dress trendy, girly or feminine. If a male counterpart would flirt with them or resort to name calling such as “cutie pie”, “darling” or “little...” they would often flirt back. They would not oppose the existing division between a gender divided journalism, and not trying to upgrade “female journalism”. This was a successful tactic for the individual that made it possible for them to niche themselves and through that get their work published (Melin 2008: 219).

Flight: Another tactic being used by both men and women to escape symbolic violence in the newsroom was to “flight”, for example to go freelance. This created space and freedom for the journalists and made it possible for the journalists to have both family and work at the same time. The interviewed journalists in Melin’s study stated that going freelance gives them more control of their own work and gives them the opportunity to create better journalism. Others choose to use their journalistic competence to enter other fields such as public relations or lecturing in journalism (Melin 2008: 219, 168-170).
5.2.2 A gendered division: soft vs. hard journalism

One thing that can influence what tactics a person uses, is what position that person has in a specific social structure or context. Previous research has shown that journalism is often divided between soft and hard news, and in general, women tend to write about soft news and men about hard news.

During the 1980’s different research were done about female journalists in countries such as Norway, India, Germany and the U.S.A. Every survey showed that men had the power positions within media and it did not matter if women had more experience or more education. A division was also clear when it came to topics covered by journalists. Women more often wrote about social problems, humanity and other topics and they got paid less for the same job. “Feminine” topics had lower status. Furthermore, working and being a mother seemed hard, and there were a lot more men with children who worked than women with children (van Zoonen 2014: 33-5).

According to different studies that van Zoonen accounts for, a lot of female journalists felt that they were primarily seen as women and not journalists. That they were being judged and exposed to sexual harassment, and the attitude among women about this most often was that a person must accept it, otherwise you do not get respect from male counterparts (van Zoonen 2014: 37).

Another general research approach when it comes to the division of male and female journalists, is to link certain topics to male and female gender. It is very common to divide it into masculine and feminine journalism. A part of journalism research has been to divide journalism into female and male, using terms such as men, women, male, female, masculinity and femininity (van Zoonen 2014: 34).

Here is a table that shows how such a division can look like, based on van Zoonen’s concept “The gendered nature of journalism” (van Zoonen 2014: 36).
According to the media scholar Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen (2007), in some part of the gender studies, gender roles are considered problematic and old fashioned (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2007: 60). But it is also difficult to discuss and research about femininity without focusing on the gender. Dichotomies, opposites, is a big part of the previous research within journalism. For example, the division between female and male is a dichotomy (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2007: 60-1). On one side, there are female journalists who have less power and seen as “the others”. As mentioned, they get to write about female topics and do not get the same chance career wise as men do. Male journalists are usually more pleased with their professional lives (Melin 2008: 37). Criticism of the concept of dichotomy is that it is too hierarchic and that female equalities are subordinate (Zilliacus-Tikkanen 2007: 60). Another criticism is if female and male are a dichotomy that should be maintained. But according to Zilliacus-Tikkanen (2007) it is inevitable to use dichotomy in this kind of research.

As said in background in this essay, most journalists in Russia are women. So can you apply dichotomy to journalism in Russia if it is more women working as journalists than men? We chose to divide female and male journalists because there is still some differences in how they get treated in their profession. We did not separate it as masculine and feminine journalism since, in our research, female and male journalists seemed to write about the same topics within media.
5.2.3. Intersectionality, sexism and ageism

We have focused on the concepts of tactics, from a general perspective and by exemplifying how they can be theoretically concretized by referring to Melin’s four groups - one of the boys, one of the girls, sexy marionette and flight. We have also discussed class and the gendered nature of journalism. To round up our theoretical part we have chosen to bring up three concepts that we find relevant for our research and to analyze our material: intersectionality, sexism, and ageism. During our research, we realized that our respondents talked about these concepts and therefore we believe it is important to explain and use them in our analysis. Starting with intersectionality.

Intersectional analysis is used to examine differences in power within gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and age. Depending on how much power you have in different social situations or as an individual, it creates different positions of authority. This contains and creates social inequalities (Roosvall & Widestedt 2015: 42). People that differ from the norm get treated differently. Characteristics and abilities get attached to people depending on which identity they have. Therefore, they get stuck in their social position (Gröndahl & De Los Reyes 2007: 13-4).

Gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality are important components of intersectionality and how to use these components in different analysis in research. Aspects such as ethnicity and class is important to take in to account (Rosenberg 2007:83, 85). Within intersectionality, the focus is on how different categories like this arise and set in a context where people have different authorities. Which context a person is being found in is important for understanding the social structure and the different equalities that comes in that context depending on, for example, what nationality the person has (Gröndahl & De Los Reyes 2007: 14). The intersectional perspective focus on how to problematize different hierarchies and how to counteract inequality and neutralize the respondents instead of labeling them (Gröndahl & De Los Reyes 2007: 18).

We are using intersectionality in this essay because in our research we found that different characteristics are being attached to the female journalists that we spoke to. Also, since the male gender has more power in general in Russia such a power structure is likely to affect all parts of society, including the journalistic profession.

The other concepts we want to explain are sexism and sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is defined as a type of sexual discrimination. It is if someone gets exploited to unwelcome behavior alluded to sex, that makes a person feel uncomfortable. It is often a person with more authority who perpetrates the harassments towards someone with lower
status. An example of this taking place could be at someone’s workplace, that a colleague for example is focusing on the person’s gender or sex instead of as a professional colleague (Apodaca & Kleiner 2001: 3-4).

Women get exposed to sexual harassments more often than men. It is common that men with higher status that are guilty of harassments towards women with lower status. Studies have shown that sexism and gender roles are closely connected. People with high status in a certain social context, tend to maintain gender stereotypes by acting sexist and in some cases sexually harass women. It is especially men in power who expose women to harassments. Sexual harassments are believed to be a part of a structural oppression of women (Russell & Trigg 2004: 566).

In this essay sexism is used as a term for a specific behaviour that men are exposing women to and that it is connected to structural power. When it comes to sexual harassments we use the term as it is defined by Russell and Trigg (2004).

Ageism is being defined after Robert Butler (1989) as a systematic discrimination towards older people. Different types of ageism are being defined such as personal ageism, which is when a person or a group are being judged because of their age. There is also intentional ageism, which means that it exists different rules and practices that leads to discrimination towards older people. There also exists a positive ageism where old people are perceived wise for example (Brownell 2014: 2).

Mistreatment of older people at work is a consequence from ageism. They can get discriminated and harassed at work because of their age (Brownell 2014: 3). Discrimination towards older people often comes from systematic stereotyping, and at a workplace different negative attitudes can lead to that older people do not get hired or promoted (Brownell 2014: 11).

Ageism and sexism are connected. Women have more pressure on them when it comes to their looks and aging. Women who are older get judged by their looks earlier than men. Mature women are perceived less attractive and old while men are experienced and wise. It is more common among women to be ashamed of their age (Chrisler, Barney, Palatino 2016: 88-9).

Ageism is discussed because during our research we realized that it was also a problem for Russian female journalists.
6. Method

As a method, we have been doing a qualitative interview study to get the material for our own research. We interviewed female Russian journalists about their working situation, focusing on their opinions and experiences on sexism.

6.1. Interviews about personal experiences

Qualitative research interviews are being used for trying to understand the world from the interviewee's perspective. The function of the interview is to explore the interview subject’s world view and experiences within a specific subject (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 17).

Within media and communication science the scientist usually does not try to understand humans when it comes to their deeper emotional lives. Instead they try to understand the subject’s perceptions about a certain phenomenon. Although a person’s opinion about a certain phenomenon is connected to a deeper emotion since they stem from values (Larsson & Ekström 2013: 56).

An interview study normally contains between 10-15 people, depending on time and resources (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 156). We had a total of nine interview subjects in our research. We proceeded from the principle of intensity, which according to Larsson (2013) means that one applies maximum variation with contrasting circumstances among the interviewed (Larsson 2013: 61). This means an advantage would be to interview people with different ages, genders, social situations, class and ethnicities (see also Aull Davies 2008: 110). Doing so, one increases the chances of reaching a theoretical saturation, which means that doing additional interviews would not bring us much new information (Larsson 2013: 61; Esaiasson 2012: 259-61). Applying this to our respondents we chose to talk to women in their twenties as well as women in their sixties. We talked to journalists who operated within a variety of medias such as TV, radio and newspapers. Most of the women were employed but one was an ex-journalist and another one was freelancer. The women we spoke to all identified as cis-women.

6.2. Difficulties and ethical aspects

Using interviews as a method means that the respondents represent a specific social and cultural context. Some difficulties with this method is that it can be hard to have an open discussion with the respondents in the sense that our (we, the students who write this essay) social and cultural backgrounds differ from our respondents (Aull Davies 2008: 107).
The ethical aspects are important. The person who does the interviews must choose an environment where the subject feel safe (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 33). Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) recommend that the researcher tell the respondents which topics the research will cover and make sure that the respondents have given their consent on participating in the study (Ibid; 99, 105). It is important to make sure that the informants know that they should just answer from their own experience and not try to give the researcher the right answers to the study (Aull Davies 2008: 121). This was something we aimed for. As a rule, we never did the interviews at any of the interview subjects workplace, to make sure they felt comfortable talking to us. We also told the respondents what our research is about, so they knew before meeting us.

Linguistic differences could affect the interviews. For example, it can be good to have an interpreter to make sure to get the correct translation of words and expressions (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 185). During our research, we decided to speak english with our respondents and not use an interpreter. English is neither our first language nor the interview subjects which affected some answers. Overall it worked out well using English during the interviews.

6.3. Knowledge and preparations for the interviews
To proceed with such an interview the best way possible, it is crucial to have good knowledge about the subject that you are interviewing. When doing so, it is easier to register particularly meaningful and unexpected answers (Esaiasson 2012: 251). Before we started to do the interviews, we collected material such as previous research and other relevant information from human rights organisations and newspaper articles. According to Charlotte Aull Davies, a scholar within sociology and anthropology, (2008) the researcher cannot have the attitude that you are investigating something “outside” yourself. You cannot research on something that you are isolated from. All researchers are somehow connected to their objects (Aull Davies 2008: 3). We had this in mind during this process. Reading studies and articles from other scientists and journalists, it is obvious that sexism and sexual harassment is not just a problem in Russia. It is a problem for female journalists all over the world, including Sweden. We as researchers are therefore not isolated from the women we have interviewed but instead connected to them. We who did this research identifies as women ourselves and can incorporate similar experiences of sexism, harassment and discrimination in our own lives.
During a semi structured interview, the researcher has built a structure of different themes that the interview originates from (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 165). The interview questions are being built on these themes (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 147) and it should be of help while interviewing, but not lead the respondent to say certain things about the themes (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 48). In our research, we used four themes: background, awareness/discussion in Russia, gender roles and hierarchies, personal experiences.

If any contradictions arise during the interview it is important to make sure the interview subject clarify what that person means (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 46-8). Kvale and Brinkmann recommends that the researcher use short and simple questions (2014: 176-7). This method is a common method to do research among social sciences and it also counts as a sort of ethnographic method, where the researcher interview one person at a time with focus on their personal stories (Aull Davies 2008: 105-7). We did focus on the journalists’ personal experiences. During our research, we had around fifteen questions divided in different themes. We tried to keep the questions open and adjusted them depending on what the respondent answered.

6.4. Methodological considerations

Interview in this context (as a method for research) is firstly a conversation between the researcher and the respondent. Talking about different subjects and by doing that, get knowledge (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014: 18, 23). There are some ethical aspects to be aware of though.

In a research that depends on stories from people's personal lives and experiences it is important to offer anonymity. Subjects such as gender, social class, religion etc. can be sensitive information to share for individuals. To provide anonymity can make the respondents feel more secure and therefore speak more openly (Aull Davies 2008: 59-60). We decided to give all our respondents alias for this essay instead of their real names, and to not mention the names of their workplaces or media organizations. We described what kind of media they were working with: TV, radio or newspapers. We made sure to do this in a way that did not make it possible to identify the journalists.

In our selection, we only met up with journalists working in Moscow and therefore this is the context that we discuss in our results - not Russian journalists in general.
6.5 Methodological considerations about the interviews

We went to Moscow on the 20th of November, and stayed until the 27th. We had nine interviews booked for the trip between the 21th-26th of November. One got cancelled the same day as we were supposed to meet. In the end, we got nine interviews because one of our respondents brought her friend who also worked as a journalist. Meeting them was the only time we had an interview with more than one person. It turned out to be more as a conversation between the two journalists than an interview.

We got in touch with some of the journalists from personal contacts who gave us the contact information to other Russian journalists. We contacted them by email and on Facebook to tell them about our research and if they were available for an interview. In total we messaged around 15 journalists, and among them nine could meet up with us in Moscow. That is why we have the respondents we have. We tried to make sure we got in touch with journalists with varied ages.

We told all the respondents beforehand which topics we were going to talk about, so they could prepare. In most cases, we met up at a café or a restaurant of the journalist’s choice. The interviews we had in public were shorter (around 35-50 minutes) than the two we had in a respondent’s house (both over an hour). Although everyone seemed comfortable with talking about these subjects in a public, many of the interviewees said it was taboo to talk about experiences of being exposed to sexual harassment. Choosing to talk in a public place might make it harder to describe experiences and many of the journalists only gave us examples of colleagues or friends who had been victims of harassment. When in someone’s house, it can be easier to talk about sensitive topics. This can be important to consider while reading the results.

Some of the journalists had limited time. We believe that it had both advantages and disadvantages. The positive side with time limitation was that the interviewees focused on answering the question instead of talking too much about other things. The negative side is that during a longer interview it is possible to get more information and to build up a higher confidence with the subject. For example, it is possible to ask the same question several times in different ways. You also get a deeper understanding of the interviewees experiences and opinions.

During some of the interviews there was power imbalance between us and the journalists because they were older and more experienced. We did admire some of the older journalists and this made us feel somewhat inferior in the position as interviewers. For example we did not ask as many critical questions. If we would have asked more piercing
questions we might have got more personal answers from the older journalists and they might have reflected more over our questions. During the interviews, they talked a lot about how the situation is in general for female journalists and they did not bring up as many personal experiences as the younger journalists.

We decided to record all our interviews on our mobile phones. We thought it would be easier to ask questions and listen to the answers if we did not have to think about taking notes at the same time. We also did recordings because we wanted to make sure that we got the respondents answers correct and can go back and listen if there were any misunderstandings. Furthermore, there are subtle details to be gained from audio recordings as opposed to written notes. We asked all our respondents right before the interview started if they agreed to being recorded, and all of them did. To have the interviews recorded helped us a lot while we were working with the material, taking out the most interesting and valuable information and quotes for our essay. We did not transcribe the whole interview, we wrote down the most important things our respondents said.

We had prepared around fifteen questions to proceed from during our interviews, structured under four themes - questions about the respondent’s background, awareness/public discussion in Russia, roles and hierarchy, personal experiences. All the interviews turned out a bit different, and we did not always stick to the questions since every respondent spoke more about some subjects than the others did. We did however ask everyone some question from each theme. We have attached all our themes and questions in a document in the end of this essay.

7. Selection

7.1. The respondents
In this part of the essay, we are giving short presentations of the journalists we interviewed. The names that we are using in this essay is not the journalists’ real names. We came up with alias for them since we promised everyone anonymity.

Dominika works as a freelance journalist. As a freelancer, she works by herself as both a reporter and photographer. Among other things she has been a war correspondent.

Veronika works as a reporter for an independent TV-channel in Russia.

Dina works as a journalist for an oppositional magazine in Russia. She is reporting on subjects such as crime, inequality, women's rights and other social matters.
Maria is a columnist and writes about social issues for a newspaper in Moscow. She has over 20 years of experience and among other things she has been a war correspondent.

Galina works as a political editor at an independent TV Channel in Russia.

Elena works as a news reporter at a radio station in Moscow, one of the biggest in the country.

Olga used to work as a political journalist at a federal newspaper in Russia.

Oksana has been a journalist since she was 16. She also teaches journalism at university and has been working for a professional journalist association.

Anna used to work as a journalist in Moscow. Currently, she is employed at a magazine outside Russia.

8. Results
Six different themes are central to describe our results: humor, age, motherhood, sexual harassment, using femininity as a tactic and discussions about gender inequality and sexism. In the result, we have described what our respondents said about these themes, with focus on their own experiences. In the analysis, we are focusing on how our respondents navigate and use different tactics to face the challenges that are associated with being a female journalist in Russia. In the analysis, we will combine our respondents’ answers with the theories and some of the previous research that we established in the beginning of the essay.

8.1 To joke about it instead of talking about it
During our interviews, we realized a common reaction to sexism and sexual harassments was to laugh and joke about it. One of our respondents, Maria, told us a story about a colleague of hers that had been exposed to a traumatic case of sexual harassment. Maria spoke about it in a way that it did not seem that serious even though it was, she laughed a lot while telling us like she was recalling a funny story. During our interview with her, she seemed jovial while describing different cases of sexism. Maria said that a way to talk about these things is to joke about it.
They are trying to joke about it. It makes it easier to cope with (laughing).

According to Maria there are not a lot of debate about gender equality. She said that if journalists had a strong union they might talk about these kinds of problems more, but that it is also difficult to organize politically, and Maria explains Russia as a very individualistic country.

Veronika also said that female journalists joke about sexual harassment, and these things are not considered a big problem in general. That a lot of the sexism that women get exposed to is socially accepted in many cases.

Another of our main questions was if there is a social debate or discussion about sexual harassments. According to Dominika if you debate these kinds of topics it depends on what part of society you belong to. For example, if you are among people who are socially and politically active they will talk about it. It is on the internet that those kinds of discussions take place according to Elena, the news journalist on the radio. It is not very common in printed media. Elena says that in Russia they do not discuss these subjects as much because it is a conservative country, they do not have that tradition. Economy for example is more important than feminism and therefore media do not report about it. It also has to do with the situation for a lot of Russians, that they are economically vulnerable. That a lot of people do not engage in social justice because they have other priorities, such as money, food and security.

Veronika said that discrimination, sexual harassments and violence are “closed subjects”. Many females talk with their friends or family about it instead but not in public. A lot of Russian journalists make jokes about it. Galina, the political editor said:

No one takes it seriously. Everyone knows that it happens but it’s a big culture of victim blaming, ‘Oh you were dressed like a slut that’s why he touched you’.

At Galina’s workplace, they delete sexist comments they get online, but they do not mention it afterwards. Oksana said during the interview that threats are not taken seriously, and chief editors do not act to support women until there are real death threats. She also explained that it is not common for journalists to report sexual harassment.
Journalists do not report about it, because it is a shameful thing. But many women do not think so. They report it and they try to attract attention to it, but we are in the very beginning of that stage. The law enforcement must react, they should investigate but they do not because they do not take it serious.

According to Dina there are specific groups of people who discuss these subjects. That there is a small change coming, that younger people speak up about it more. Yet they do not seem to discuss gender questions at her work.

8.2. Young and attractive vs old and experienced

When we prepared our semi-structured interviews, we had not prepared any questions about how age would affect the journalists working conditions and the strategies that they created. This was a subject that all the respondents brought up as an important factor on how they were received in their work.

A pattern that was clear during the interviews was that it exists an image of young women as attractive, infantile, inexperienced and stupid. All the journalists we interviewed had as an “possibility” to play on their sexuality and femininity to win strategic career advantages. Some of them rejected it, often feminism motivated, while other women used this as a strategy.

The journalists we spoke to had interviewed politicians, members if the military and other high positioned (often) men. A pattern is that the female journalists often experience being objectified by the men and that their looks influences how the interviews goes. Also, the bosses know about this and sometimes they encourage their young coworkers to use their looks in their journalistic research. Galina says that editors sometimes tell young reporters to adjust their looks after what is often perceived as attractive to men:

An editor can say ‘have a short skirt and go to that man and get an interview. It’s normalized but many young women want to change it, but it’s moving very slowly.

Maria, who has been a journalist since she was 32 has met a lot of men who objectifies her while she has been working. She says that it is possible to use your sexuality to get information from men. In the beginning of her career she was a war correspondent and she got a lot of attention.
All these men look at you. I mean, their male attitude is very concentrated there. Any woman gets a lot of attention. Everybody wants to make love with you.

Maria tells us that she has been taking advantage of these situations to get information. For example, she has been smiling and flirting back if someone has been flirting with her. At the same time, while getting older, she recognized that the younger women get more of this kind of attention than her. This results in that the interviewed men prefer talking to younger female journalists.

I am more aware of this gender inequality now compared to when I was young, because now I have this competition with young girls. They always prefer young people, so they get more information than I do. So, it’s also a matter of gender equality… if you don’t pay attention to the gender, you don’t pay attention to the age.

This indicates that aging has different meaning for men and women in their professional lives. Maria also said that both men and women sometimes have the attitude that “she is just a little girl” towards young women, but she also stresses that not all men have this attitude.

The journalists we interviewed told us that they are sometimes not being taken seriously because of their age. Elena, who works at the independent radio station, is in her twenties and says that a lot of people treat her differently because of her youth. She says it is common amongst politicians and deputies to be rude to journalists. In her case, they often make comments about her age.

They can be rude. For example, to me because I look like a girl (laugh), I look young and that's why they can say 'Oh stop girl, not all the questions”. Then I just say, “sorry my name is Elena, not the girl’. I can handle this, because I don't look like a professional journalist.

Elena said that she does not believe an interview subject would call a young man “the boy”. Elena believes that people think she looks like a young girl rather than a professional journalist, and there is a contradiction between “young girl” and a “professional journalist”. Elena says that she does not wear high heels or show cleavage at work. She also has a high-pitched voice, which she believes is to her disadvantage professionally, since it makes her sound younger. She expresses some frustration about not being taken seriously because of her age and that it should not matter if she is a woman or a man.
Another example of being diminished in an interview situation is when she was an intern a few years ago, and a person she interviewed would treat her like a child through squatting down during the interview because of Elena’s short stature. She felt offended by this.

During a interview once, one of the deputies sat down because he was a bit higher than me, and he was sitting like that during the whole interview (she shows us how he would squat down). It was really rude. I didn't like this and I didn't know how to react (laughing): I was like 'what is he doing?'. It felt like I was a kid asking for something from a big daddy.

Dina says that her age and gender in combination matters more than her gender on its own. On the internet for example, people frequently commented on her young age. While traveling around, looking for information and people to interview she sometimes used the image of herself as a helpless girl, to get people talking.

There is a border which you can’t cross. For example, I can lightly flirt with someone, like “oh I got lost in the city can you help me I am a little girl”, but I would never wear a provocative dress just because I want to get more information. I should be respected because of my intelligence not for my appearance. For me it would be offensive and awful if someone would take me as a sexual object and not as a journalist.

Being an older female journalist has its advantages. Several journalists had the opinion that you do not have to use your appearance as much and can get more respect because you have more experience while being in the profession for a longer period. Veronica says there are different advantages if you are old or young. She believes older women have an advantage when it comes to recruitment even if they do not have a pleasing appearance. According to her, older women have the advantage of being experienced and obtain contacts and are therefore requested as employees. Veronika also said that a lot of women want to work in television because they desire to be in front of the camera. Because they want to be beautiful and they want to be on TV in front of the camera. But real TV is not about beauty it is about telling stories.

When it comes to TV-journalism, Oksana said that young people have more advantages, although older journalists gets appreciated because of their experience.
As a TV-journalists ideally you should look good and people prefer young faces. Of course, there are some experienced journalists working in television but ageism exists and women must be much more good looking than men.

8.3. Combining motherhood and journalism

We did prepare some questions about parental leave, and how it would affect careers in journalism. This was a subject that almost all the women we spoke to could relate to and talk about. A clear pattern that evolved after all the interviews were done was that it is hard for a female journalist to work and have children at the same time. If a woman gets children (within a heterosexual relationship) she is expected to take care of them, while the man is expected to work.

Maria told us that she had some personal problems when it comes to different roles at home.

For example, my first husband didn't want me to work at all. He said I could succeed only if I slept with the editor (laughing). That was his attitude towards me and it was abusive. But probably because of that, I was trying to do my best to prove him wrong, that I can do everything without sleeping with someone (laughing). It became a motivation.

Maria said women usually get parental benefit for a year if you are staying at home with your children. The first four months you get fully paid and after that it is significantly lower. A lot of women work from home to make sure they can keep their job. Maria thinks that one of the reasons for women to stay at home is because their husbands generally earn more money. Another reason is that that it is a cultural tradition that the women takes care of the children.

According to Galina the working climate for journalists is tough. They are expected to work long and inconvenient hours. When Galina once applied for a job, the manager asked her if she was going to have a child soon because she had got married a few months earlier. The manager was unsure if she would have time juggle being a parent and an employee.

It’s up to me if I want to have children or not. It’s a pity when you realize that your work depends on your marital status. But luckily, I got the job.
Because of the tough working climate among journalists in Russia, and that you are expected to work from early morning to midnight, it can be difficult if you are a parent. One of the journalists, Olga, decided to quit her profession as a political reporter around six years ago when she got children. Olga did not want to work as a journalist because of the hectic schedule.

It is possible to get parental leave, but when the editors know that I have two children they all say “no, we can hire a student instead”. They know children get sick and that I would need some privacy time for my family. I can’t work 24 hours anymore.

According to her it is easier for men to have children than for women, “because they have a wife who can take care of the children”.

Elena, who works for a radio station, said it is illegal to discriminate and not hire a woman because she has children. According to her women in Russia are expected to “hold the fire”. The expression “holding the fire” means to take care of the family and literally to keep food warm on the stove, while the men are expected to bring in the money. She also said it can be difficult to come back as a journalist after parental leave.

Usually, it is a big deal for women to come back after having a baby, because in this profession everything changes. Your personal connections are very important and most of them can be lost. There is a big rehabilitation period for a woman and even harder to get promoted.

Both Elena and Veronika brought up the fact that it is difficult to get your child or children in to a public nursery school because of the long waiting lists. It is also expensive to hire a nanny for example, if you want to continue working. Therefore, most women stay at home and take care of their own children. Some female journalists continue to work from home part time.

Dominika, who worked as a freelancer her whole career, went to a conflict zone while she was well into her pregnancy. She said that some of the people she met commented on the fact that she was working in that kind of environment while she was pregnant, and some did not care. According to her it all depends on how you act.
If you tell everyone that ‘I’m pregnant, don’t touch me, be careful!’, they will pay attention to you. If not, people are usually not that interested. Journalists are interested in life of other people but in general people are not that interested about you. You can ask billions of questions to people, hardly anyone would ask anything in response.

Dominika believed that women are more tender and show their feeling more than men do. She says that it is partly because women are carrying children and that makes them more sensitive.

8.4. Stories about sexual harassment

One of our main questions during the interviews was if the journalists ever experienced sexual harassment or comments about their sex. Either at their workplace or out on the fields while they are working. Almost all of them gave us examples, from their own experience or from colleagues.

Working as a political editor, Galina said she has received comments on social media.

“It is quite common to get comments like ‘Oh she is so angry because she is not married, you should get children and get married and you won’t write that stuff’. In the comments, they can be discussing about you ‘oh she is so beautiful that’s why she is a journalist’ or ‘she is ugly why should I read something by her’. It’s quite common but I do not care about it that much.”

On the question of if someone touched her inappropriately she says that “people can touch you but it does not happen very often”. Galina also told us about a colleague who experienced a more serious case of sexual harassments and that situations like that affects women within the profession. She says that it is unpleasant and uncomfortable.

During the interview with Dominika, the freelancer, she questioned the fact that we separated female and male journalists. We explained and said that we do that because we are interested in women’s experiences when it comes to sexual harassment, for example threats because of their gender. We said that in Sweden journalists can get comments and being called ‘whore’ or ‘cunt’ from readers or colleagues. But according to Dominika, sexual harassments or comments have nothing to do with the profession, it must be your gender, and if someone want to comment on a woman being the weaker sex they will do it. Dominika explains that she gets threatened because of her political position. She gets threats saying she is not a Russian patriot and that she should leave the country. During her career, she has been
in situations where it has only been men around, for example soldiers or male journalists. No one has ever touched her physically in an inappropriate way but people have been rude.

Maria who also worked as a war correspondent, had similar experiences. She had sometimes only been surrounded by men. Men who were politicians or militaries. Maria also received sexual comments from readers via the internet, such as “you need a good fuck”. She tells us that she does not care about the comments since it is normal to receive them. Maria said that sexual harassment has happened to her and that it is common among journalists. She tells us that whenever she was entering some military base or other male dominated area in war, she would get strong reactions from the men and that they make sexual advances.

It was a problem. I felt that they didn’t wanted to talk with me as a serious person. They just wanted to play with me as a woman. I couldn’t make them talk to me seriously which was offensive.

Veronika, the TV-journalists, explains that it is sometimes difficult to be a woman. Veronika has not given much thought about how to handle the harassments. That the “flirting and joking” female journalists face when they practice their profession is a part of the Russian mentality. She does not think of it as a problem, if you do not make another person uncomfortable or “cross the line” which according to Veronika is rape.

When somebody cross that line, I think women don't speak about it. They are afraid and it's a shameful thing for them.

According to Veronika she has never experienced sexual harassments or sexism during her time as a journalist. Olga, who used to work as a journalist, said she did not get discriminated against because she is a woman. Mostly she got comments about her age and being “young and stupid”. She has never been sexually harassed. The reporter Dina has the same experience as Olga.

For me in that cases, I can handle it because they are nice and can talk to me. It is not like “oh I want you” or “if you want this information just sleep with me”. I have never faced something like that. Maybe because I am too strict and serious.

Dina said that she has not faced any discrimination because of her gender. She said that if it happened to her with an interview subject for example, she would stop the interview.
When we asked about sexist comments she said that one of her colleagues is openly homosexual and that her readers often comment about her sexuality and not about her writing.

According to Elena, the radio journalist, it is more common for her and her female colleagues to get comments about their gender than their male colleagues. That interview subjects often flirt with them during an interview. Most of the journalists do not say anything because they do not want to disturb the interview and not get the information.

If a man says something and people doesn't agree with him, they don't point out that it's a man or make comments about the gender. But if there is a woman who says something people say, 'oh she's a woman, she's stupid'. I have faced that, in comments very, very, very often that if people not agree with the issue they first mark on my gender. For example: I don't agree with this girl, she is not pretty so I disagree with her.

Elena tells us that on another radio channel in October this year, a man ran into the building and stabbed one of the female journalists with a knife. According to her, a lot of different papers wrote about this and it was normal that readers commented that it was the women’s own fault. That she should stay at home, that she should not work, and that she had done things to provoke the stabbing.

Oksana, who worked as a journalist since she was 16, said that women get more threats than men and that it is not something specific to Russia.

Women are much more often threatened with sexual violence, sexual violence towards their children and family members. Many women left the field.

Anna, who currently works outside Russia, said that “you are alone as a journalist” and that it is a very dangerous occupation.

### 8.5. Using your femininity as a tactic

The female journalists that we interviewed all have the view that the working conditions for male and female journalists are different in terms of what means one can use to get information. A pattern among the interviews is that colleagues and the people they interview sometimes treat them as a woman first, in a traditional sense, rather than just a gender neutral professional.
Maria, who is a columnist and has a long experience of working as a war correspondent used to work in the context where she was surrounded by only men. She argues that all women got a lot of attention from men in a sexual way when she was out on the field and considers this to be a resource while looking for information as a reporter. At the same time, she says that she does not like these norms particularly.

Well, first I can use it but it I was sometimes ashamed of using it. I believe that it was not fair for my male colleagues that I used my femininity, because I could get some information that they couldn’t just because I was a woman. It was not fair!

Dominika, who also has experiences of reporting from wars, says she could not tell if she was treated differently than men because she could not know how they treated each other. She does have experiences of being “the woman” in the group though, especially among journalistic colleagues that she met while reporting from the war. She does believe you have some advantages as a female journalist though. For example, she believes it would be easier for a woman to get an interview with military officials just because often in those situations, there are few women.

They could probably mock you in a way. But if you’re clever enough you would use your privileges of your sex as well as they use the privileges of their sex. I mean, it’s normal to do that, not in an inappropriate way but more generally.

Dina, who works for an independent newspaper, tells us that sometimes when she is out working as a reporter she uses this “sexist thing” that she is a girl which means she sometimes plays helpless to get information for her work. She travels a lot and write mostly about “ordinary” people. Sometimes people have objectified her, but Dina has not faced any discrimination because of her gender. According to her it is more about talking to her as a nice person, not as a sexual object. Even though she has done it to some degree herself, she is skeptical about playing on her sex to get information. She believes there is a limit in how you should use it and that limit goes somewhere near flirting and playing on your sexuality.

If I feel that someone just see me as a sexual object I would stop the interview even if I need the information. For me it’s not okay. You should not use your appearance. You have your intelligence and your press card. First, you are a journalist and I am against the separation between women and men.
Galina, who works as a political editor, says that for a female journalist it can be difficult to be treated as a gender neutral professional.

It’s common when you interview people that they are flirting with you. Men always pays in cafes and restaurants even if you’re a journalist and it is a business lunch and you should pay for it. People can also touch you but it doesn’t happen very often. Of course, it affects you. It’s unpleasant and you can’t deal with it. It’s very uncomfortable.

Elena believes that men often experience femininity as disarming.

I don't look aggressive, I don't look like I can do any harm. People usually speak more to me because I don't look like I'm going to write something bad and they feel more comfortable sharing information with me, because I'm like the innocent one. I think that I get more information because of my appearance.

Veronika, who works with criminal journalism on TV, has another picture of the situation. According to her, the people who she interviews for her job (policies, lawyers, judges etc.) are more interested in talking with men than women.

They want to talk with men. They think that men are clever, that they understand. The police for example, are very difficult to contact. The same with old people working in the court. And they think ‘oh, it's a girl, she can't understand, she is stupid’. Every time I need to prove that I am not stupid.

Veronika believes a lot of women need to act like men to get respect. Another topic that has been identified several times during our interviews is that women are encouraged by bosses and colleagues to look attractive or to play stupid in order get more information from men in power. Olga, who used to work as a political journalist learned from colleagues to play with female stereotypes to get information.

A woman is not as scary for a man in power. I can come to some higher bureaucrats and say: “I am a stupid little girl, please tell me what happened”. And it works. My colleagues taught me to do that, in Russia it is a normal practice.
8.6. No support system when facing sexual harassments

Among our nine interviewed journalists, few of them worked at a workplace where they had policies on how to handle sexual harassment or systems in place that promote equality at the work environment. The respondent who had policies on these issues told us that nobody had read it, not even herself.

It was also clear that none of the interviewed felt that they had support from, for example, working unions in this matter. Security was regulated between individuals. Most of the women would call their colleagues or bosses if anything would happen or if they would be in danger, while others would prefer to keep abuse or harassment for themselves if it would occur. This differs from the situation of the freelancer among our population, Dominika. She states that she does not have any contact with other journalists, other than the editor and her personal friends where some of them are journalists.

I don't think so but don’t forget I’m a freelancer. I do whatever I want to do and if I don’t like something I just turn and walk away. Nobody is begging me. Nobody is for me and nobody is against me. So, I’m on my own.

According to Oksana, who is active in the Russian Union of Journalists, there are laws to protect journalists but the law enforcement does not work as it should.

Implementation of law is another thing, we have almost everything in legislation. Those officials usually they try to punish critical voices for different things. Independent voices are neglected.

Oksana says that it is difficult to do anything about it because there are not many organizations who are ready to act for protection for journalists. She said that people do not care and do not think it is important. Anna agrees, that the power of law do not work and that the authorities do not care. She said:

There is no normal structure. All states must have a very strong structure. All professional occupations must have institutions such as unions, strong unions. They can fight for you, for your rights. I do not see any strong unions in Russia.
Elena told us that a lot of the women who are victims of rape get blamed by the police as it being their own fault. Elena thinks that because of the taboo and shame that comes with sexual harassments, not that many people talk openly about it. It is the same among journalists.

It can hurt their career; the reputation is almost everything a journalist have. If a woman has a strong reputation as a reporter and was insulted and there is no strong evidence of it, women prefer not to talk about it because it will be a spot on their reputation and career. If it is just your words against his word, his word wins. If he's a powerful man for example, his word will be stronger than yours.

9. Analysis
We have now presented the result of our study, organized around six themes related to Russian journalism: ageism, motherhood, humor, using femininity as a strategy, the lack of support systems and no discussion. Also, we have briefly pointed out two central themes in the background that is important to have knowledge about to understand the analysis of our result. These are: the neoliberal reforms of the media market that occurred in Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union and differences between working conditions based on gender. Now we will apply our theories and previous research on our own study in order to analyze and develop our understanding on how the female journalists navigates within their profession in the context of working in an environment dominated with norms of masculinity.

9.1. Laughing right back at sexism
Among our participants, we believe humour primarily fills the function of creating a resistance culture, to strengthen and build solidarity among female journalists. This according to Sorensen's theory that we have accounted for earlier (2008). Typically, among our respondents is that they share these jokes with people they trust, for example with their colleagues or friends. This goes in line with Sorensen’s (2008) argument that humour tends to be shared with people one can trust. She suggests that this way of using humour can help mobilize a movement and to empower individuals.

We believe that using humor as a tactic can help empower individuals and for our respondents, it appears as if joking was a pretty widespread way of talking and to deal with the political and social issues at stake. On an individual level, we believe talking about personal experiences of oppression might be important to be able to continue working at all.
It can reduce stigmatization and feelings of shame connected to symbolic violence and increase the solidarity between those who share such experiences.

Yet, we believe that laughing about it alone cannot create a proper resistance movement. Joking about it can at worst have a conserving effect in the sense that these problems are not taken seriously and it does not demand any political change.

None of our respondents’ workplaces had policies that promoted gender equality - quite the opposite, the interviewees had in some cases been encouraged to sexualize themselves to gain professional advantages. Taking these factors together, the widespread use of humour and the failure of collective organization in unions or of feminist movements in Russia (from the perspective of our respondents), some tactics appears to be counterproductive for an overall change.

To joke about it with friends and colleagues, also known as hidden transcripts is a starting point towards more serious discussions, also known as public transcripts, about sexism and gender inequality. We relate this to de Certeau’s (1984) understanding of tactics and strategies. Based on this theory, we understand our respondents as “the powerless”, which means they must use tactics which are determined by institutions such as the legal enforcements and the media corporations. At the same time, de Certeau (1984), suggests that using tactics should not be total submission to the power. Instead it can take shape as temporarily oppositional actions.

But what happens if you keep making jokes about traumas? Is it not important to be taken seriously to understand that one deserve the same respect, regardless of the gender? We believe that an important key to reach gender equality is to acknowledge the problem. To diminish female journalist’s bodies and feelings only maintains the power structures in the long run. If people keep making jokes about it and not take it seriously, it can never really change anything.

9.2. “The Marionette” - an unwanted, but used, tactic

A tactic among our respondents was to use their so called female qualities to get information or interviews. This can be connected to one of Melin’s tactic groups, “the sexy marionette”. Within this tactic, women journalists use their feminine habitus to get career advantages and they work with the feminine roles that are given to them. In our material, our respondents are using it in several different ways, such as letting men carry their heavy equipment, acting stupid or flirting back. The name of the tactic - “The Marionette” - implies that a person can be played with and controlled passively.
Among our respondents, we find that the women are very much aware of using these tactics. However, we got the impression that there was an ambivalence against this tactic. Many of our respondents expressed that using your body or femininity was a bit shameful and that, as a journalist, you should not do that. We question the belief that being able to sexualize yourself to get professional advantages would be a privilege. Between the lines, we could interpret our respondents answers as if they felt, somehow, forced to use it. Since the women faced sexism and some men, on beforehand, perceived them as being stupid, playing the marionette could be a way to be heard instead of getting rejected. Dina for example told us that in environments where she felt insecure, sometimes she pretended to be less intelligent to make people want to talk to her and help her. She consciously used this tactic. Although, she also said that if someone would sexually harass her she would prioritize her safety and dignity over her journalistic tasks. It is important to acknowledge that the respondents have created their own borders for what they would do and not do to get information and we believe these borders are theoretically interesting to examine.

In our results, we can distinguish that our respondents are dividing the body and the mind when it comes to the usage of a person's femininity and sexuality. It seems to be more accepted to flirt, smile or act stupid within your work than dressing in a way that arouses sexual associations or to have sexual relationships in connection to the job.

However, our respondents often claimed they wanted to be treated in a gender-neutral way within their work and be only a journalist. This identity as a professional journalist can relate to the journalist’s identity and self-esteem, and maybe because of their background.

9.3. Holding the fire: how to have a baby and keep your job

As mentioned before, the two different roles of “holding the fire” and working as a journalist seems difficult to combine for a woman in Russia. Our respondents have declared that women are expected to do the unpaid work within the family than men. None of our respondents would or have shared the parental leave equally with their husband, or even considered this to be an option. There is a pressure on women to do most of the work in the household after having children, that it is a strong cultural norm. Apart from this cultural norm, we believe the division of work between the sexes is strengthened by the fact that men in general earn more money than women.

In our theory and previous research chapters, we brought up and discussed several studies focusing on work and childcare. Melin’s flight-tactic was a seen as a realistic option
for women who have or wants to have children. For them, flight can be to work while being at home with a child, to become a freelancer or to entirely change one’s profession.

The expectations that exists on females “holding the fire” is an obstacle for women to proceed in their career. The current situation in Russia and the tactics available to women who are about to become mothers, pushes mothers away from a stable working condition. One of our respondents left the profession when she got children because of the difficulties to combine the work and being a mother. Another of our respondents, got asked during a job interview if she was planning to have children soon. According to her, if she was she probably would not have got the job. It is a structural problem for women. That they might have to plan when to get pregnant so it does not affect their career too much, or not even being hired because of a pregnancy.

We would like to suggest that the flight strategy is a useful tool in the sense that as journalist they can make their own schedules for their work. Therefore, they have more freedom and possibilities to combine taking care of the household with being a professional journalist. However, there are some disadvantages with the flight strategy, from a political and an individual perspective. It is a problem that women have less freedom professionally than men as soon as they want to become parents.

We would suggest that one of the subversive possibilities within Russian journalism is in fact that the field is female dominated. This could with time change the norms within journalism and make it more inclusive towards women, including the potential of giving soft news higher status. It could also shed some light over time on issues concerning women’s safety and other feminist issues. With the flight strategy, this potential change risks being undermined. If women already stand relatively alone toward sexism and sexual harassments in their workplaces, the freelancer is ever more defenseless, not having direct support from colleagues.

10. Conclusion

In our research, female journalists in Russia are exposed to sexual harassments, sexism and threats. Our respondents had been exposed both on the internet, for example by receiving comments on one’s article, while doing interviews and in the newsrooms.

We found that the female journalists in our study did not like this structure. They found it scary, frustrating and diminishing. To make a career they used different tactics. Some of the journalists that we spoke to openly admitted that they sometimes acted stupid,
cute and innocent to get male interview objects to share more information. This was in some cases encouraged by editors and colleagues. Our respondents also apprehended that some of the men they meet in different work situations believe themselves to be more intelligent than women.

Using humour as resistance (conscious or subconscious) should not be either rebellion or submissiveness, but as a negotiation of power. Our respondents used humour as a tactic and it was a way to be able to cope with threats and sexism while being with their friends and colleagues. This was the place that our respondents felt safe talking about these issues and make jokes about this sort of tragedy or ridicule the perpetrators.

We have examined two reasons of why political mobilization within the feminist movement has not yet occurred in the mainstream politics and debate. Our subjects did not feel that they have much support from the law or specific unions. The lack of laws and legal implementation makes the women talk about these problems with friends but maybe not take any politically organized action against it. However, this hidden transcript has the potential of turning into a public transcript, which is possible as the #Iamnotscaredtospeak-campaign showed.

As we have accounted for in this essay, different tactics are being used depending on the context. This study shows that it is difficult to combine motherhood and working as a female journalist in Russia. One way to navigate through this is to keep working from home while being on parental leave. Using the tactic “flight”, for example by working as a freelancer, also can help a journalist to set their own boundaries and to get the power over one’s work, as one of our respondents did.

There are some things within Russian journalism that seems to be more equal than in other places around the world, our respondents did not experience Russia being much divided when it came to “feminine” and “masculine” journalism. The journalists we interviewed seemed free to write about what subject they wanted and some of them were war correspondents or political reporters, which are traditional “hard news”, coded as masculine.

To sum up, female journalists are in some ways, more vulnerable than men in their profession, for example when it comes to sexism. They therefore must use these different tactics and strategies to be able to cope with this structure and succeed as individual journalists.

Further research could focus on the organizational groups that does exists (like workers unions and international journalism- and equality corporations). How they work with helping female journalists who has been exposed to harassments and in general to create a
less diminishing attitude towards female journalists. Furthermore, we believe there is a need for research on which forms feminist resistance are more effective when it is not organized politically, and the sort of resistance that can be done subconsciously and/or without a feminist agenda.
11. References

11.1. Organizations

Committee to Protect Journalists (2017)
https://cpj.org/killed/europe/russia/murder.php
https://cpj.org/about/

Civil Right Defenders (2015)

Russian Union of Journalists (RUJ)

The International Women’s Media Foundation (2011)
“The Global report on the Status of Women in the News Media”

11.2. Literature

Anikina, Maria (2013). “Russian journalists: inclination toward moderate evaluations” in Anikina, Maria, Dobek-Ostrowska, Boguslawa & Nygren, Gunnar Journalists in three media systems - Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists about values and ideals, daily practice and the future. Moskva: Journalism Faculty Lomonosov Moscow State University


Mijatovic, Dunja (2016). *New Challenges to Freedom of Expression: Countering Online Abuse of Female Journalists*. Published by Dunja Mijatović, the OSCE Representative on


12. Themes and questions for our interviews

Background
1. What do you do? Where are you from etc.
2. Why did you wanted to be a journalist? What education do you have?
3. What have you worked with so far in your career and where?

Discussion in Russia
1. Do you think gender equality is an important issue, subject to talk about? In your experience, where do you see that kind of discussion taking place?
2. At your workplace do you feel that it exists a discussion about gender equality, sexual harassment at different jobs etc (for example the Me too-campaign).
3. Do you have any policy at your workplace against sexism and do you have any structure for how to handle sexism/sexual harassment/gender inequality?

Different roles and hierarchy
1. How does gender division between different genres at your work? How does the gender division look on different departments at your work? For example, on the sports office, culture office, research etc.? Who has the higher positions, men or women?
2. Do you feel limited in your work because of your gender? If that’s so, in which ways?
3. Can you tell us about an assignment where you felt you had a lot of freedom to develop things on your own terms? Or when you have not felt that you had freedom in doing so?
4. Do you have any advantages in your profession because of your gender? What kind of advantages? Can you give us an example?
5. So, given all the interesting examples you have brought up, and the complexities you describe concerning the conditions of your work, would it be correct to say that you are sometimes limited in your work because of your gender?

Personal experiences
1. Have you ever received any gendered threats (like threats of rape, words referring to your sex (like whore or cunt), threats of violence) from readers/watchers/listeners?
2. In a working situation have you ever experienced sexual harassment or violence?
3. If that is the case, what did your employee do? Did he or she followed the policies about it?
4. Did you get any negative reactions when you decided to become a journalist as a woman?
5. How does having children affect your work (if you would/have)?