“It’s like we’ve always been walking behind men”

A qualitative study on how machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements in Chile affect female broadcast journalists and their professional roles

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Abstract

Chile is one of the many countries in Latin America affected by machismo (Torres et al 2002, p. 163-164). In the year of 2017 the Me Too-movement sparked a fire in Chilean media and the feminist movement grew bigger and stronger. These movements affected many institutions, organizations and industries. The journalism industry being one of them. The purpose of this study is to investigate how female journalists in Chile perceive themselves, these movements and their journalistic roles in the context of a country affected by machismo and movements trying to fight it.

To investigate these themes a qualitative approach has been used by conducting semi-structured interviews with eight female Chilean journalists that are currently working or have worked in broadcasting. The theoretical background of this study is based on the Hierarchy of Influences model by Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese (2016), which has been combined with the concept of journalistic role perceptions by Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim P. Vos (2018).

The results indicated that the majority of the women interviewed had positive opinions towards the Me Too- and feminist movements in Chile, and that these movements have also had a positive impact on Chilean society and the journalism industry. And so the effects have also been visible in the women's private and professional lives. Even though machismo and harmful patriarchal norms have been and is a part of their lives, the social structures have not gotten in the way of them feeling strong, fighting for their rights, and other women's rights in the industry. Machismo and the movements have all played important parts in how these women have taken on their journalistic roles.

Keywords: Machismo, Me Too, Discrimination, Prejudice, Feminism, Hierarchy of Influences, Role Perception, Chile, Broadcasting, Journalism.
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1. Introduction

In 2017 the hashtag #MeToo went viral all over the internet. Victims, or survivors of sexual abuse and harassment took a stand started talking about what has happened to them, all over the world. Chile was one of the countries that the movement affected. Actresses, university students and many other found the courage to tell their stories. University students protest on a daily basis in cities like Santiago and Viña del mar for “una educacion no sexista”, a non sexist education (CNN Chile, 2018).

Chile, as many other countries in Latin America has been influenced by machismo culture (Torres et al 2002, p. 163-164). Some may say that one of the events that triggered the women’s rights movement was the brutal assault on Nabila Rifo in Coyhaique, southern Chile. Rifo was found an early saturday morning in 2016, three blocks from her house. She had suffered beatings that resulted in a fractured skull and teeth but worst of all her eyes had also been removed by her ex-boyfriend (Molina, 2016). Her case was heavily discussed throughout Chile but focus on her personal life and subjects that were not relevant for the case were also discussed. An example here is the daytime show Bienvenidos on Canal 13 that decided to talk about Rifos sexual life and her gynecology exam without her consent. The results being Rifo suing - among others - the director of the show (La Tercera, 2017).

Because of machismo, people feel, think and act a certain way, as is shown in Rifo's case. And there are many other similar cases of husbands, boyfriends, ex-boyfriends and ex-husbands that won’t take no for an answer and the results being beatings, assaults or in the worst-case scenario, femicide, which is sadly enough not uncommon for Latin America. (ECLAC, 2018)

When journalists write about cases like Rifo’s, it is important that they are aware of how they choose to portray the victim and how the portrayal might affect the public and their view on the case, or more importantly the victim. Was Rifo’s gynecology exam, that was not related to the case, of any importance to the public? Was it relevant to the case? In short, no. These kinds of portrayals or news reporting on victims, especially female victims, are harmful and makes way for these women to experience victimblaming (Harber et al 2015, p. 603).

Since the movements started taking place the same year as Rifos case, it stands to reason question oneself: have the movements had an effect on how journalists reason and think around cases like Rifos?
I want to examine if and how the movements of Me Too and feminism have affected female journalists in Chile and the way that they work and what they think about when creating content. It is necessary to investigate the effects of these movements, whether they are positive or negative, because they are in fact movements that in the end have changed and are changing people's lives forever. These movements question social structures that have an effect on, in this case, the social status of women, how women are treated etc. This has the potential to change the way people think. It is important to investigate the way journalists work and create content because they affect the public.

2. Purpose

Because of the impact the Me-Too movement has made, and the feminist movement is currently making, it is of importance to examine to see how in this case, female journalists in Chile experience these movements, not only on a personal level but also on a professional level. What affects one personally can influence what you do professionally and affect your professional role, the journalistic role. The purpose of this study is to highlight the thoughts and experiences of these female journalists in Chile. But also, to investigate if they’ve experienced any changes in their workplace, in the work that they do or simply just to see how they view themselves as women working with journalism in a country affected by machismo.

It is important to specify that the journalists that have been interviewed have all a primary background or are currently working in broadcasting, i.e. television and radio. And so, the research questions that are about to be presented and the results that will be presented later in this study solely apply to journalists working within broadcasting. My observation has been that these are the journalists that are most visible and present, that are heard most during the public's everyday life. This could be an advantage because of the connection they have with their audiences.

The following research questions have been formulated:
RQ1: In a country affected by machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements, how do Chilean female broadcast view themselves as journalists today?

RQ2: What are their thoughts on the movements and the said movements possible effect on the industry?

RQ3: As women working as journalists, have these movements had an effect on how they work and/or the way they think and their journalistic role?

3. Background

Machismo is a Spanish term for masculinity and has been used to explain male gender stereotypes in Latin America. Today machismo is used commonly all over the world and is not only used in the Spanish language, but also in English (Torres et al 2002, p. 163-164). The meaning of machismo has been widely discussed for decades, and in this study I am going to refer to machismo as a social structure and its role in Chilean society as a structure upholding patriarchal norms. In the earlier chapter called Introduction one can see how machismo is used to explain that Latin America is affected by machismo.

The Me Too-movement had its start in 2006. Tarana Burke, a social activist began using the phrase on MySpace, a social media platform. The phrase was a part of a campaign to promote “empowerment through empathy” among women of color who have experienced sexual abuse. In 2017 actress Alyssa Milano wanted to spread awareness about sexual harassment and used the hashtag #MeToo and encouraged other survivors to participate. The hashtag “MeToo” spread all over the internet, there was no social media platform that was not affected. This eventually led to a movement that affected many countries. (Harris, 2018)

Chile was one of the countries affected by the movement. With a culture stained with machismo, Chile is one of the countries highly affected by femicides and overall violence against women (van der Spek, 2019) (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública 2017). Following the Me Too-movement, many Chileans have reacted and taken a stand to fight machismo, sexual harassment and fight for women’s rights overall, for example the legal right
to abortion or students fighting against sexual harassment and discrimination in the universities. The Me Too-movement has put its mark on many industries, journalism being one of them.

Chilean women began working in media outlets at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The first newspaper founded by women appeared in 1865, *El Eco de las Señoras de Santiago* (The Echo of the Ladies of Santiago). But contrary to what one might assume, the newspaper defended conservative values rather than a pro-feminist perspective. A few years later, to be specific 1905, *La Aurora Feminista* (The Feminist Dawn) was founded and published by working women (Lagos & Mellado 2013, p. 229).

During the 1960s and 1970s there was a progressive incorporation of women into the labor market and formal politics, and so the arena for female journalists broadened. Even though more female reporters appeared, not many of them were directors or editors. At the time that Claudia Lagos and Claudia Mellado wrote the chapter “Chile: Female Journalists Without Access to Power” (2013), there were only 1 woman out of 11 directors at Canal 13, at Chilevisión there also only one woman that had gained access to the all-male executive board. At the time there were no female directors of newspapers, and only one female director of an online media outlet (Lagos & Mellado 2013, p. 230).

Journalism has been traditionally known as a male-dominated industry (Kleberg 2006, p. 35) in many countries, Chile being one of them. According to the most recent research on gender equality, the Country Report on journalists in Chile from *Worlds of Journalism* (2017) written by Claudia Mellado, Lydia Frost and Thomas Hanitzsch, the typical journalist in Chile is male, in his mid-thirties, has a university degree in either journalism or communication. However, the Country report found in their research, out of the 491 journalists they interviewed, 212 of them were women, which is 43,2% of the overall sample (Mellado et al. 2017, p. 1).

In *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* (2011) by Carolyn Byerly, men outnumbered women by 2:1 in the Chilean journalism industry. However in the more recent country report by Worlds of Journalism, one can see that the number of working female journalists are increasing. But there is an absence of women in the higher ranks within the companies (Byerly 2011, p. 164). Nevertheless, this is evidence that the industry of
journalism is changing, albeit slowly, and not as male-dominated as it once was.

4. Previous research

In the previous chapter “Background” I presented some earlier studies done on Chilean female journalists in Chile, specifically the statistics about them in the industry. In this chapter I will however investigate more qualitative studies, regarding female journalists from all over the world and their experiences. This chapter will start off with an article that is meant to give a deeper insight on how machismo looks like in Chile.

All of these articles and studies touch the subject of inequality in some way, and how women choose, or are even forced to handle in order to continue their work and lives. These findings gives one an idea about what the women interviewed in this study might face in their lives.

Ana Maria Ledezma discusses in ‘Mijita Rica’: The female body as a subject in the public space (2017) the practice of piropos, which in general terms can be described as flirtatious comments, usually made by anonymous men on the streets (Ledezma 2017, p. 1293). Piropos could be categorized as a form of street harassment, but Ledezma explains that it is seen as a form of flattery because it is framed within a politeness system that exists in Chile (Ledezma 2017, p. 1294). She argues that the politeness system involves a range of norms that we as a society agree to accept and conform to “in order to conduct harmonious social relationships, communication and speech”.

Through piropos the traditional roles of women and men are visible; men can speak to women whenever and wherever and may objectify women as they please and women are to accept any comments by men, and they are to be interpreted as flattery. When men express piropos they often compare women to food, cars, prizes that can be won etc. Ledezma means to say that women are responsible for men’s desires. Women provoke that kind of behavior and men expressing their feelings is a form of flattery that should be accepted.

In Block her entry, keep her down and push her out - Gender discrimination and women journalists in the Arab world (2014) Jad P. Melki and Sarah E. Mallat investigate why female journalists in the Arab world continue to be marginalized. Melki and Mallat hypothesized that interrelated factors such as sexual harassment and lack of a legally and socially enabling
environment work together to systematically discourage and block women’s entry into the news field. There were several methods used in this study which included a survey of 250 Lebanese, Arab and international female journalist that were currently working in Lebanon. Qualitative interviews with 26 female journalists and also an analysis of ownership documents and minutes of board meetings. Melki and Mallat concluded that women are still affected by structural, institutional and cultural factors and it is a very visible problem in Lebanon. Why this study is relevant to this one is because the Arab world as much as Latin America suffers from a patriarchal society where women are not deemed equal in many different ways.

In their article called *No Country for (Women) Journalists: Reporting on Religious nationalism and Sexual Violence in India* (2018) Shakuntala Rao addresses the challenges female journalists face on a daily basis within the context of the rise in religious nationalism and social media use in India. Rao used a historical approach and analyzed the situation of female journalists and journalism in India throughout time. Rao’s conclusion being that there is a light in the future for women in Indian media. One of the examples being the Indian newspaper *Lahariya*, the first and only newspaper being staffed, edited and run entirely by women at the time the article was written. It is also important to note that the women mostly are from low-caste and rural backgrounds. Rao emphasizes that India is going through a transformation, from a postcolonial society to a functional democracy, and in Rao’s opinion female journalists “are a part of an evolving national identity” (Rao 2018, p. 51).

However, there are still challenges these women must face, which Rao suggests needs to be countered by civil society organizations, state actors and journalist unions. Since Chile also has a colonial background it is important to take this article into consideration. Rao considers female Indian journalists to be a part of an evolving national identity, and so it’s not far off to consider the same with female Chilean journalists if one takes into consideration the changes that are occurring in Chile because of aforementioned movements.

In their study *African American Women in the Newsroom: Encoding Resistance* (2016) Marian Meyers and Lynne Gayle posed the question whether the social location of journalists (who identified as African Americans and women) affected their work practices in ways that increased racial and gender diversity. To answer the question, they began with the starting points being on cultural studies model of encoding/decoding, intersectionality and standpoint theory. Interviews were also conducted with 10 African American female tv and newspaper
journalists who were living in a major metropolitan area with a majority Black population. Meyers and Gayle came to the conclusion that the journalists that were interviewed were using “a variety of strategies to resist normative constructions of race” in order to be able to present positive Black images and voices in the news, however the journalists did not feel the same need regarding news constructions involving gender.

In ‘You really have to have thick skin’: A cross-cultural perspective on how online harassment influences female journalists (2018) Gina Masullo Chen, Paromita Pain, Nina Springer, Victoria Y Chen, Madlin Mekelburg and Franziska Troger have conducted 75 in-depth interviews with female journalists who work or have worked in Germany, India, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United states of America were conducted and revealed that the journalists faced online gendered harassment that influenced how the journalists did their jobs. The female journalists that had to engage with their audience online – being a job requirement for many of them – were faced with sexist comments on a regular basis. Comments that criticized, attacked or even threatened the journalists based solely on their gender or sexuality. The journalist reacted similarly to the journalists interviewed in African American Women in the Newsroom: Encoding Resistance (2016) by creating strategies, but in this case strategies to dealing with the abuse. Such as limiting what they posted online, making selective choices on the stories they reported and also using technological tools to prevent people from posting offensive words on the journalists’ public social media pages. The study’s results showed that the harassments limit the female journalists in their work and how much they can actually interact with their audiences because of the risks that they may face while doing so.

These studies, Ledezma’s study being an exception, demonstrate that many of these women have had to some way evolve and adapt their journalistic role to what they face not only while doing their work, but also outside of their workplace. Their journalistic role suddenly not being traditional and “only” entailing creating content to inform the public, but also how to protect oneself as a woman from potential attacks and harassment.
5. Theoretical framework

The model of *Hierarchy of Influences* is a useful tool in this study because I will be able to use this model as a means to understand how cultural factors, in this case machismo, affect journalists. Not only on a personal level but how it in fact may affect the work that they do.

5.1 Hierarchy of Influences

Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese created the *Hierarchical Influences Model* to analyze the factors that shape media content (Shoemaker & Reese 2016, p. 392). The model contains five levels of influence: *Social Systems, Social Institutions, Media Organizations, Routine Practices* and *Individuals*. The innermost level, Individuals, focuses on individual communicators. The model is introduced in their book, *Mediating the message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (1996) and is discussed further in a more updated setting in *Mediating the Message in the 24st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective* (2013). The model is shown as an illustration of a circle with five inner rings representing the different levels mentioned earlier (Shoemaker & Reese (2013, p. 9).

Shoemaker and Reese investigate how these individuals’ personal and professional backgrounds, characteristics, beliefs and experiences might affect the content they create. In this study I’ll will be looking at the innermost level, individuals, and see how other levels such as Social Systems and Social Institutions have an effect on individuals and vice versa. In the chapter *Influences on Content from Individual Media Workers* which is focused on the aforementioned innermost level, Shoemaker and Reese look into the characteristics of communicators, their personal and professional backgrounds to see how the journalists’ education influences their work (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p. 61). They also investigate the influence from communicators’ beliefs, the attitudes individual communicators hold as a result of their backgrounds and/or personal experiences. And lastly, they investigate for example the role conceptions journalists might have about themselves, in this example if they “perceive themselves to be neutral transmitters of events or active participants in developing the story” (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p.61). Their research showed that the communicators
characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, religious background, sexual orientation etc, shaped the communicators way of thinking and being.

Shoemaker and Reese argue that these characteristics not only shape the communicators’ personal attitudes but also direct the communicators’ professional backgrounds and experiences. This in turn also shaped the communicators’ professional roles and ethics. This automatically influences the content that communicators’ produce, but Shoemaker and Reese see this effect as an indirect action from the communicators side and operates only to the extent of the communicators’ power and position within their media organization.

In Mediating the Message, the chapter The Influence of Ideology dives into the outermost-level, Social Systems (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p.212). They refer to Social Systems as ideologies that represent a social level in society where ideology is considered a total structure. Which is in contrary to some scholars that believe ideologies to be individual belief systems (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p. 214). In the more recent (2013) version, Shoemaker and Reese specify that they treat this level as the structure of relationships among people and the institutions they create (p. 64)

Machismo or patriarchal norms are a part of a social structure, and so they fit the outermost-level and will be treated as such to see how Social Systems affect the innermost-level, Individuals.

5.2 Role perception

As mentioned before this study will be looking into the views and opinions these chilean women have of their journalistic roles. So I will be looking into Thomas Hanitzsch’ and Tim P Vos’ studies around role perception/journalistic roles and use their tools to analyze these women’s roles.

According to Hanitzsch and Vos the studies on role perception within journalism tend to be thin on theory (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p. 1) and also has a tendency to be from a Western perspective (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 146). In Journalistic Roles and the Struggle Over Institutional Identity: The Discursive Constitution of Journalism (2017) Hanitzsch and Vos suggest that journalism should be reconsidered as a discursive institution and that journalistic roles are discursively constituted. Their thoughts are that journalistic roles do not have a “true essence”, that they solely exist because we talk about them.
Journalistic roles most generally allude to a set of normative and cognitive beliefs as well as real-world and perceived practices of journalists situated and understood within the institutional framework of journalism. It is for this reason that we prefer to speak of “institutional” roles rather than “professional” roles of journalists (Hanitzsch, 2007), as it helps us avoid potentially premature delimitations of “journalism” as necessarily a professional undertaking – (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p.123)

Hanitzsch and Vos discuss how journalistic institutional roles can be explained through what they call The Process model. The model is divided into two levels of analysis: Role Orientations and Role Performance and within these two levels there are four categories: Normative, Cognitive, Practiced and Narrated. The model is displayed as a sort of flow chart, showing how all of the levels affect each other (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p. 123).

Role orientation refers to how one perceives the roles, in this case journalistic roles. That is; attitudes, beliefs and discursive constructions of institutional values. Normative and cognitive reside within role orientations, normative roles indicating what is generally desirable to think or do in a given context and cognitive ideas providing recipes, guidelines and maps for concrete action.

Role performance refers to the journalistic roles as executed in practice or also observed and narrate by the journalists. Practiced and narrated roles capture the behavioral dimension of journalists’ roles. It is important however to distinguish practiced and narrated roles because what journalists do or say are not necessarily the same thing (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p. 124). In other words, any journalistic action that you reflect over and act on in turn creates a norm around the journalistic role.

Much alike the hierarchy of influences, the process model of Hanitzsch and Vos function must the same, all of the levels and categories affect one another and cannot function without the other, or directly affect one another.

In Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life (2018) Hanitzsch and Vos construct a map, a structure over 18 different journalistic roles that they think account for the universe of politically oriented roles of journalists in Western and non-Western societies. These 18 roles are mapped into six elementary functions of
journalism addressing essential needs of political life, this is illustrated into a circle with six different bits containing the 18 roles (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 153).

**Informational-instructive:** The idea that citizens need to have relevant information at hand in order to act and participate in political life.

**Analytical-deliberative:** Journalistic roles that tend to be more politically active and assertive by making a direct intervention in a political discourse (e.g. by news commentary) by engaging the audience in public conversation, empowering citizens etc.

**Critical-monitorial:** The ideal of journalism acting as a ‘Fourth Estate’, hold in most Western countries. Journalists voicing criticism and holding powers to account, further creating critically minded citizenry.

**Advocate-radical:** Journalists within this dimension are seen as participants in political discourse who bring an ideological bias to the discussion.

**Developmental-educative:** Similar to previously mentioned dimension. It is considered interventionist because it compels journalists to not stay apart from the flow of events but rather participate and intervene.

**Collaborative-facilitative:** Journalists acting as partners of the government and supporting it in their efforts to bring about development and social well-being. Journalists within this dimension tend to be defensive of authorities and routinely engage in self-censorship.

If I dive in deeper in the country report on Chile by Mellado et al (2017) in the chapter of journalistic roles, one can see that they have displayed several different roles of a journalist (Mellado et al 2017, p. 2).

Chilean journalists found it most important to report on things as they are and also to provide analysis of current affairs, educate the audience and to promote tolerance and cultural diversity was of importance. Basing the findings on the earlier mentioned Process model Hanitzsch and Vos it is clear that these Chilean journalists’ cognitive idea is to be categorized as truth tellers, educators that promote tolerance and cultural diversity, and this is what they want to practice. These are the norms that they strive for. These journalists could fit in several dimensions of the structure mentioned above, such as Informational-instructive and Developmental-educative, because how they prioritize truth telling and providing the audience with facts and wanting the audience to be more tolerant and approving of cultural diversity.
6. Methodology

This study has a qualitative approach. Semi-structured interviews with female Chilean journalists have been conducted to see how they experience their roles as journalists in Chile and their thoughts on how the Me Too and feminist movements may or may not have affected their workplace, their work in general and the journalists themselves. The purpose of the chosen method is to get to know the interviewees’ thoughts and feelings, to get an insight to their view of the world (Kvale, 1997, p. 13). Thus, the purpose of this study is not to quantify these women’s feelings and opinions, but it is meant to understand and see how these women think and feel, which is why a qualitative approach is a better way to research these questions than a quantitative method.

6.1 Sampling

The method of interviewee selection for this study has mainly been snowball sampling. Snowball sampling consists of existing interview subjects recruiting subjects that they know of. Thus, the sample group grows like a rolling snowball (Ekström & Larsson, 2010, p. 63). The first interviewee was found through social media, through her contacts another interviewee was found, and so the snowball grew bigger. The subjects chosen to the study had to identify as female and work as a journalist or at least have an extensive career as a journalist. Eight journalists were interviewed. Four of the journalists are currently working in radio, three are working in tv and one has experience from tv and is currently working with strategic communication.

The problems that could occur with this selection method is that most of the interviewees could end up with the same characteristics. Age, type of journalistic work, even thoughts and opinions are some of the things that could somehow repeat themselves if the interviewees are too much alike. This however was not the case for this study. An example would be one of the contacts made with a journalist in Concepción. I got in contact with PC7 and through her I got in contact with PC5. These two women had different experiences and opinions regarding some of the questions asked, which will be shown in the results chapter.
6.2 The interviewees

The table shown below presents information of the journalists that have chosen to participate in this study. Their code stands for *Periodista Chilena*, or female Chilean journalist in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PC1</td>
<td>Mid-20s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC2</td>
<td>Late-60s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC3</td>
<td>Mid-30s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>Radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC4</td>
<td>Late-30s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>Radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC5</td>
<td>Early-30s</td>
<td>Concepción</td>
<td>Radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC6</td>
<td>Early-40s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>TV &amp; Radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC7</td>
<td>Mid-20s</td>
<td>Concepción</td>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC8</td>
<td>Mid-20s</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Table showing the code for every interviewee, age, city and the medium they work within.

6.3 Semi-structured interviews

This interviewing technique was selected because in semi-structured interviews it’s the theme and the research questions of the study that set the tone of the interview (Ekström & Larsson, 2010, p. 60), the questions should not dictate the interview. The task is not to quantify the interviewees answers, what is important is to get an insight to the interviewee’s experiences and thoughts. It being qualitative gives us also the opportunity to compare the interviewees perspectives on the research questions, and also an opportunity to analyze and see why there’s a difference in opinions, if there is one.

Five of the interviews were held physically and three of the interviews were done through phone calls because of some of the interviewees living in different cities. Doing the interviews through the phone can have an effect on the results simply because on the phone it is impossible to see the interviewees body language and facial reactions. Interviewing through the phone, depending on what the interviewee is most comfortable with, may not give the interviewee the same reassurance or level of comfort as it could when doing the interview in a safe space, face to face. But at the same time, someone who is a bit shyer could feel more comfortable with a phone interview done from the comfort of their own home.
All of the interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded for the sake of reliability. The interviewees gave their consent in the audio recordings and they were also given written consent forms. They were all offered anonymity and were made anonymous even though all of them did not mind having their names published.

I made the decision however to make them anonymous because many of these women are visible in media, and so I do not want to risk that any of these women receive any backlash for sharing their thoughts and experiences.

After each interview had been done and recorded, they were later transcribed and divided into four categories according to the questions that were asked.

The main questions that were asked during the interview were constructed as such to set off the right tone for the interview. The point is to get the interviewee to talk about their personal experiences. However, the questions are not very personal to start with so the interviewee would not feel pressured to open up immediately about all their innermost feelings and thoughts. It is important that the interviewee feel that they hold the power and that they in general feel comfortable, so comfortable that they feel that they can stop the interview at any given time, or even decide to withdraw their comments after their participation. The subjects of this study can after all be very personal depending on the interviewee’s experiences (Kvale, 1997, p. 39).

The interviewees have been asked four main questions during the interviews in order to get their opinions and thoughts regarding: how they view themselves as women in journalism and thoughts/experiences on prejudice and harassment in the industry. And also, opinions on how or if the movements have affected the industry. Below the interview questions will be displayed in according to which research question I am trying to answer.

The main questions for every interview were:

**RQ1: In a country affected by machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements, how do Chilean female broadcast view themselves as journalists today?**

• **Interview: Have you come across any prejudice or harassment in the industry because of your gender?**
• **Interview: What is it like being a female journalist in Chile?**
RQ2: What are their thoughts on the movements and the said movements possible effect on the industry?

• Interview: What effects do you think the Me Too- and feminist movement has had on the industry?

RQ3: As women working as journalists, have these movements had an effect on how they work and/or the way they think?

• Interview: Do you feel any responsibility for how you portray women in your work?

6.4 Reflection and ethical considerations

Sharing one’s experiences of prejudice or harassment is not an easy thing, especially if it’s about your current workplace. In this case it was important to make sure that the interviewees were aware about the option of anonymity (and as mentioned earlier, why I made the decision to make them anonymous), their right to stop the interview or the right to not want to participate in the study anymore at any given point. The rights that the interviewees had were all stated before and after the interview and they were also presented, as mentioned, with a consent form that assured them of their rights.

The interviews were all conducted in Spanish. There have been some difficulties translating the interviews because of the nature of the Spanish spoken in Chile. This might present a problem for the reader because some of the translated “Chilenismos”, Chilean slang, might not fully come through in the translations. And because of this some these typical Chilean words that might show up in the following chapter are presented in Spanish but also with a direct translation, so the reader has an idea of what the word means.
7. Results and analysis

In order to understand these women’s roles, thoughts on the movements and if and how they’ve experienced any changes both personally and professionally, there needs to be a better understanding of how their everyday life looks like.

This chapter will dive into their experiences first. Secondly, I will visit their journalistic world, how do they experience being female journalists in a male-dominated industry, in a country affected by machismo? This subchapter will end with an analysis of the first research question: *In a country affected by machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements, how do Chilean female broadcast view themselves as journalists today?*

Thirdly I will get into their thoughts on the movements and its possible effects on the journalism industry, which also will be followed with an analysis on their thoughts and opinions revisiting with the second research question: *What are their thoughts on the movements and the said movements possible effect on the industry?*

Last, but not least, if the movements have had an effect on the industry, did it have an effect on them and their work process? This will be answered with the third, and last research question: *As women working as journalists, have these movements had an effect on how they work and/or the way they think?*

7.1 Prejudice and harassment

Even though society has evolved for the better, there are still women who are facing prejudice, harassment and discrimination not only in their private life, but also in their workplace. And the industry of journalism is one of them. As mentioned, this subchapter will start off with telling the experiences the interviewees have regarding prejudice and harassment.

PC1 feels that she comes across as social, bubbly and happy. These traits in her opinion, have made some of her male co-workers think that it’s okay to make inappropriate comments that have made PC1 feel uncomfortable.

When she’s had to face inappropriate sexual comments and gestures, she has immediately put her foot down and said that it’s not okay to speak to her in that way and that it makes her feel
uncomfortable. The situations did not worsen or escalate after she’d spoken up. PC1 points out that the men that acted inappropriately towards her have not been men high up in the hierarchy, but “normal coworkers”. PC1 feels that it’s important to speak up and educate colleagues, in this case men, when they speak inappropriately. She means that some of them don’t know any better because some of the men are older and have an outdated way of expressing themselves. At the beginning of her career she felt that is was difficult to stand up for herself, but as time passed it became easier and she found her voice.

I said to myself that I had to stop it, what else could I do? How can I keep quiet?

(PC1)

PC4 feels that she has experienced discrimination. When she used to work in television with press and reporting in the field there have been cover stories with hard hitting subjects and she noticed that editors preferred to send out male reporters instead of female reporters because of the nature of the cover stories. PC4 thinks that male reporters were given those jobs because the editors were maybe thinking that men can tolerate more and cope with “tougher” situations better than women. Which is also something PC8 has experienced. PC1 has had similar experiences when attending university, where male students were usually responsible for the camera, even though PC1 felt that she was just as capable of using the technical equipment.

PC6 does not feel that she’s experienced any prejudice in the field while reporting or in general as a journalist. If anything, she’s felt that she’s always had the support when reporting subjects that usually men report on. However, she started to notice that she was treated differently from her male coworkers when she started working as a news anchor.

I’m not sure if it has to do with how I act, but never. But I noted a change when I started to show up more on the tv screen every day. And then it started to become a bit exhausting, because imagine it, I come from (a background) of reporting where I never came across that kind of thing and suddenly, like seriously is it that relevant what color dress I was wearing?

(PC6)
Regarding some of the interviewees feeling like they’ve experienced harassment because of their “bubbly personalities”, PC6 said that she does not recall a specific moment with a coworker. But that she does feel like she must be aware of how she acts around men in general, like some of the other interviewees also have mentioned that they do.

Really I’ve had to stop being simpatica (friendly) and make jokes because no, they’ll probably misinterpret what I mean. But I think that happens everywhere, and that’s why I like the movement of Me Too. … And I like that we’ve become aware of situations that we used to normalize. I like that men need to realize that it’s not okay, it’s not normal. … Just because I’m buena onda (good spirit/chill) does not mean that I’m flirting.

(PC6)

PC8 feels that she has been exposed to inappropriate jokes that have made her feel uncomfortable and she has felt a pressure to look a certain way.

But they are just comments, and you need to take them with a sense of humor. But still, it depends on the personality on how you take it and how you choose to react and if you let it affect your life. And many times when people have said like ‘Ayay, she’s not good enough for television’ because of how she looks, because they think she’s ugly or doesn’t know how to dress well and things like that that are very judgmental and should not occur.

(PC8)

When it comes to the pressure on women’s appearances PC8 says that “no one notices the men”. She explains that men may get remarks on that they should wear a different color on their shirt or maybe that they should trim their beards, but no one really focuses 100% on their appearance. But when it comes to the appearance on women PC8 has heard comments that someone should change the color of the hair, or that they have too much makeup and that they have to dress a certain way.
PC8 feels that her younger coworkers do not make those kinds of comments. She feels that those who tend to make those kinds of comments are in their fifties, in higher ranking positions. “But it’s like they start to notice that it’s not funny anymore because not even the younger guys are laughing at their jokes.”

PC8 says that she’s a strong personality and that she’s used to stop those kinds of comments and jokes. And as a previous quote of her demonstrates, she chooses which comments she lets affect her which comments she should simply laugh off. PC3 has similar thoughts on her personality, that she is tough and that she doesn’t allow “those type of comments”.

PC5 started the interview with saying that she’s never experienced discrimination or prejudice. However, she has experienced that some editors have not given her the opportunity to perform some jobs with certain subjects, similar to PC5, PC8 and PC1. But those have been rare occasions and in general she feels that she’s been treated well. PC5 feels that her experience has generally been good. If anything, she feels that she’s been given the confidence to execute certain big projects and she’s been given space to grow and do her work, and that’s why she feels lucky.

PC3 and a female coworker of hers had an experience last year where a male journalist acted very coarsely and rudely towards them. However, PC3 does not feel that she was a victim of harassment. She thinks of her having a strong personality and that she has always stood up for herself. In this instance she always told him off whenever he would say something offensive and so the situations never escalated, which is why PC3 does not feel as a victim. PC3 points out though that it should not matter what kind of personality one has; it is never okay to act that way towards someone the way the man acted towards her and the other woman. The journalist in question was fired and PC3 felt very supported by her bosses and her workplace in general but according to PC3 he continued his behavior at his new workplace.

PC7 explains that she’s never really felt unsafe or experienced any discrimination, but at the end of the interview, PC7 said that she has felt violated and harassed. Not in the workplace but on social media. Anonymous men who have written to her on social media, commenting the outfits she has worn on television and alike, which have left her feeling very uncomfortable.

According to PC2, she’s never experienced any prejudice or sexual harassment. PC2 says it has to do with the fact that she has a strong character and would never allow it to happen. PC2
thinks that women have a responsibility of the things that happen to them. She thinks that the women that experience harassment and alike “don’t know how to stop the guys at work”. In her opinion these things happen to the women that don’t defend themselves, that they invite that kind of behavior by being too friendly and flirty and then regret what they’ve done and report their male coworkers. In conclusion PC3 thinks that some women that have been abused or been subjected to inappropriate behavior have allowed that behavior to happen.

The consensus these women share is the experience that men are given tasks that are deemed ”too dangerous” for the female journalists. But at the same time some of them feel that their workplaces are not lacking when it comes to equality and so they feel positive. Several of them have noticed that older men are in higher ranking roles and some of the women feel discriminated because of their age by these men. As one can see regarding their experiences of prejudice and harassment, several of the women have difficulties pinpointing what counts as discrimination and prejudice, even though their stories can be perceived as discrimination and harassment.

7.2 Being a female journalist in Chile

The interview question being: What is it like being a female journalist in Chile? How do these journalists feel about being women, in a country affected by machismo, working in an industry that could still be perceived as male-dominated? How does this affect their view on their journalistic roles?

And so this subchapter will answer the first research question: In a country affected by machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements, how do Chilean female broadcast view themselves as journalists today?

PC7 and PC5 have noticed that those working in the field are mostly men reporting. PC7 feels that there is a lot of competitiveness out in the field and that she’s sometimes made to feel inferior, but she thinks it has more to do with her young age than her gender. PC5 does not experience the discrimination to be obvious, but it is there, and you must make yourself known.
Yes, sometimes with my colleagues, not the ones from my workplace but from other mediums, suddenly I feel like inferior, cachai’ (do you understand?)? But I think it has more to do with me being young, I’m only 24 years old, just starting, it’s been going well thank God. … This world is very competitive, especially in press, a lot of competition and ego. And there’s a lot more men (in the field) than women, that is true. Or at least in press work in the field.

(PC7)

PC8 thinks that those working in higher ranking roles, for example as editors, are usually older men. She finds that they act towards women in a differently compared to how men her age, treat women at the workplace. She has a hard time putting her finger on it because she thinks it a complicated subject, because of the effects of machismo she feels like the jokes they sometimes tell are not okay. She does however find that there’s been an improvement, but there is still a normalization around jokes with sexual connotations. PC8 thinks that since most of her bosses are from another era it makes things a bit more complicated to eradicate that kind of behavior because of a more “outdated” way of thinking they might have.

The following quote from PC5 concludes the thoughts of some of these women.

The majority are men. And so, you need to gain some ground, because when they see that you’re a woman, ehm, I don’t know if it’s rejection, but there is a distance held (towards me). … I haven’t felt discriminated against but like being treated as “more delicate” in the sense that like suddenly they don’t tell you things or they don’t tell it like it is. But has there been difficulties – no. Discrimination? Maybe, but it hasn’t been so obvious. The most difficult thing is to gain some space in that circle because most of them are men.

(PC5)

PC6 feels that her capabilities were never doubted when she used to report in the field. But she did start to notice a difference when she began working as a news anchor. She noticed that there’s a greater demand on the physical appearance on women than for men.
PC6’s experience is that social media also demands that women look a certain way and the ones usually commenting on her looks are other women. Comments that are about her clothes, the hairstyle or shoes she had worn etc.

That’s more important than the content of what you said, what questions you asked, what interviews you made or what cover story you did. And it’s the first time I felt that demand, solely for being a woman.

(PC6)

This might have an effect on these women’s journalistic role, because the work they actually do, the content they create is deemed worthless if their looks are not up to society's standards of what is deemed “beautiful for television”.

PC4 feels that it’s not easy being a mother working as a journalist in general because of the harsh working hours that may occur. It’s not something she’s personally experienced, but it is something she has seen happen. Something that occurs in many societies around the world is the fact that caretakers of children in Chile are still predominantly women. And so the working hours one might have as a journalist are sometimes not compatible with raising a child. In the case of PC4 friends some of them have opted to work instead within public bodies because the working hours are not as harsh. This is another issue that adds another responsibility for female journalists and their journalistic role.

PC7 has in general very positive experiences and feelings towards the industry and her workplace. In her experience she’s equal to her male coworkers, not only in how they are treated but also when it comes to the salary. PC1 finds that in her workplace the majority of the journalists working are female, and to her that is very positive and proof that the world is changing. In her opinion the change for the better has been slow, but it is happening, and she feels that it’s something that can be seen. PC2 is another who feels positively about being a female journalist in Chile. She feels that female journalists have gained a lot of ground in general in the world and she finds it very noticeable in Chile.

PC3 has been working mostly within radio and her experiences have been very positive working as a woman. She points out that the bosses she has are all men, but they are very supportive and if anything, always believed in her and her coworkers and never doubted their
decisions or looked down on their ideas and creativity. PC3 feels that there’s no discrimination at her workplace, if anything there’s a family atmosphere.

The (female) journalists are very brave, the ones you see on television, hear on the radio or read about in the newspaper are women who are very overwhelmed. I have no doubt that they have their private life well lead. They take care of their husbands; they take care of their families. And besides that, they go out in the streets and fight the struggle and they do it well. They have the attitude; they have the personality but above all they have the training. And they have learned to make a substantive step in Chile that wasn’t there before. Back in the day journalists couldn’t say their opinion, today they can, and they do it a lot.

(PC2)

7.2.1 How the female journalists have been affected

The general response was that they did not find the industry particularly sexist, but there are instances where some of the journalists have had problems with an individual, whether it being a coworking journalist or an editor. But overall, every interviewee said that they have positive experiences from their workplaces in the sense of feeling supported and not discriminated against, when at the same time some of the interviewees have felt hinders from their editors when it comes to the tasks they get to perform, an example not being able to report on demonstrations/protests because of the “potential danger”. This seems not be the only hindrance they face as female journalists. PC4 spoke about the injustice of how being a mother might stop one's work as a journalist. Having to give up one’s career in order to be a good mother because it’s seems almost impossible to be a good mother and a good journalist without compromising both, according to PC4. These obstacles they face as women choosing to be mothers, has had an effect on their journalistic role.

Revisiting “The Process model” (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p. 123) it can be assumed that the said obstacles can have an effect on Practiced within Role Performance. These women go into the industry with an idea of the journalistic role, of what tasks they are going to perform. But being stopped from doing these tasks, for example reporting on a protest, disrupts the
flow within The Process model and suddenly the journalistic role they had taken upon
themselves was not what it was sought out to be. This also shows how machismo works on a
Social systems level according to the Hierarchal Influences model, affecting the Individuals
level
Them not blaming the industry is interesting, but almost all of them mentioned that the
problem is not the industry in itself, but in fact machismo. In other words, it’s a cultural factor
that one can point a finger at. Going back to the Hierarchy of influence, one can pin
machismo at the outer-most ring, which is the Social systems-ring. Machismo serves as the
ideology, or culture that has an effect on the inner-most ring, individuals, or in this case the
interviewees that are affected (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, s. 212). This combined with The
Process model effects Role Orientations and the categories within, Normative and Cognitive.
Machismo being the norm and value in these women's lives, whether they agree with it or not.

7.3 Thoughts on the Me Too- and feminist movement

My observation has been that the Me Too-movement and new wave feminist movement have
had a huge impact on many countries around the world, Chile being one of them. These
women report on these movements and the impact they have on their country or the world, so
it is of interest to look into their personal thoughts on these movements. In this subchapter we
will answer the second research question: What are their thoughts on the movements and the
said movements possible effect on the industry?

PC1 feels that both of the movements have had positive effects on the industry, but also her
workplace, like mentioned before, she feels that change however is slow. At some point she
had mentioned her own personal experiences of harassment to some of her editors, and they
said that back in the day you just had to accept those kinds of comments and keep quiet,
which is something PC2 confirmed in an earlier quote where she stated that female journalists
had difficulties voicing their opinions.
One positive outcome PC1 has seen in her workplace is that they’ve implemented a phone
line for people who feel like they’ve been harassed. Also, a new protocol is in effect in order
to stop that kind of behavior and actually protect those that feel like they’ve been harassed.
PC4 feels that sexist comments definitely have been reduced since the movements started. In her experience men now tend to hold back and think twice before cracking a joke, however in the beginning comments regarding a joke such as “Oh no, she’s going to get angry now” or ”They (women) get angry about everything, they are so sensitive”. She explains, similarly to PC8 in the first subchapter, that it’s important to tell them off whenever they make inappropriate jokes and comments, and that she’s starting to see a difference in how people react negatively to those kinds of jokes.

I think it’s a movement (Me Too) that should make us proud, as women and professionals. Because here in Chile machismo still comes from the family home. I think that women in my age and your age (20-30 years) still come from homes where machismo and the patriarchy have been and still are very present. And it’s been a part of our upbringing, it’s been a part of how we act. And it’s present in our family lives as well as our workplace.

It’s like we’ve always been walking behind men. Because we come with that way of being from our family home.
And so this very real revolution that Me Too provoked, it was like an awakening and a reason to be proud of living in this era and being a protagonist of this story. Because we are all being a part of the change that’s happening in our homes, with our children, in our workplaces with our colleagues.

We are making a generation that’s creating these changes. At first personally I said, “No, why do we have to have a movement? We just have to do our jobs and do the same as always!” But when you see that it’s necessary and so difficult, like women in Chile get paid less than men, or that they choose men over women for some jobs… So when you starting seeing that you say to yourself, ”Damn, this movement is really necessary.

(PC4)

PC4 means that so many women started realizing that the things that happened to them, the things they’ve experienced were not normal or okay. However, PC4 feels that when it comes to the industry, she has not seen any big changes, similarly to PC8 who feels that the changes have been slow. What PC4 does see today though is that in every project that starts in her workplace, there has to be a woman involved. Whether it’s reporting, whether it’s
photography. There’s an awareness that women have to be included. PC4 that there far too few women working as editors, or in high-ranked positions in general. She also mentions that the subject of equal pay, why there’s still a difference in salary she is not sure of, but it’s something that she feels needs to be discussed. PC7 does however feel that that is a change that has been made, that there is equal pay now. And that female journalists can generally earn more than their male coworkers.

In PC5 opinion, the movements have had a beneficial effect on journalism in Chile, in favor of women. She feels that she has seen change, but she points out that she still sees the industry as “machista”. When it comes to female presence in media, she experiences that female journalist are much more valued now. She recalls the 8th of March, the date of the International Women’s Day because many of the bigger cities in Chile organized women’s marches and she tells about how almost only female journalists were called to report the marches, which she found was a positive thing.

PC8 feels that the biggest challenge is men learning and changing their ways.

Because if you as a woman, continue to raise your sons through machismo, this will never change. And that’s why it’s important to change the minds of men, and also women because in the end there are women who accept machismo, and I don’t know, normalize as well (that kind of behavior).

(PC8)

PC8 does think that the movements have had an effect on specifically the tv- and movie industry, because she feels that the Chilean television industry has in general had “una ambiente machista” which directly translates to “a macho environment” in English. In the sense of how women have tendency to be sexualized and the standards that are applied in general for women, which is something PC6 has discussed. PC7 does however think that the movements have made an important cultural change when it comes to feminism. That it might change the machismo mentality of how some people think and feel.

PC3 says it’s had two effects. The positive one being media in general has opened their eyes and put their gaze more on women who are capable. “Perhaps, if it wasn’t because of this
movement, many women would not have been seen and other women would not have been made aware (of the problems).” The negative effect is, and she’s not sure if this is only relevant for communication industry, but she feels that there’s something dangerous with the Me Too-movement. She finds it worrying that we are, all over the world, walking around pointing fingers and accusing people, despite what the legal system might say or the final verdict. And that society accuses even though the they haven’t been judged legally. PC3 feels that society today is too harsh and has a tendency to put people into categories. “Social media does not forget”. PC3 says that we forget that we can ruin someone’s reputation, even though that person has not been found guilty. She feels that even though the Me Too-movement has had many benefits, but in the end, it has toyed with justice and everyone’s right to being innocent until proven guilty. PC3 firmly states in this case, that those who work in communications, with journalism has an ethical role to fulfill.

PC2’s opinion about the feminist movement is that it makes her sick, the mix that is made of the right to defend oneself, women’s rights and that they ideologize the discussion. PC2 finds that the discussions and fights that occur all over the world about the wage inequality, rights that women still don’t have are a good thing.

What I don’t like is the masculine things, like ideological and that it becomes political. I think that human rights belong to everyone, everyone has a right to them, and everyone should worry about making sure that these rights are not breached.

(PC2)

7.3.1 Harmful social structures and the effects of the movements

The pattern I’ve seen when the question “Have you come across any prejudice or harassment in the industry because of your gender?” has been asked is a certain uncertainty. Almost all of the journalists have started their answers with “No… I’m not sure” or a simple no, and then later in the interview realized that they have something that they want to tell but are possibly afraid to label those experiences as prejudice or harassment because of the social stigma that exists when one is labelled as a victim (Fohring 2018, p. 151-152). The risk of being accused
for “asking for it” or “attracting that kind of behavior” is high and might be a reason for why some of these women won’t recognize what they’ve experienced, even though they feel generally positive towards women and feel that it is important for women to be vocal about the abuse that they’ve experienced. Some of the interviewees simply just do not view their experiences as harassment, but from an outside perspective their experiences can be perceived as such.

Because patriarchal norms and machismo are heavily rooted in Chilean society (Ledezma 2017, p. 1292) it is no wonder that some of the interviewees have a trouble pinpointing some of the things that themselves have gone through, it can be argued that it’s deeply imprinted in their worlds to accept piropos, microaggressions (Sue 2010, p. 14-16) etc. Which interviewee PC2 is displaying in her comment regarding the movements. Does her age have anything to do with it? Some of the other younger interviewees mentioned how it’s more common in their experience that older male coworkers display inappropriate behavior. PC2 coming from an older generation might have a factor in her personal opinions regarding sexual harassment. As the articles and studies suggest earlier in previous research, it can be argued that some of the interviewees have created coping mechanisms or strategies to be able to handle comments of sexual nature or to even prevent them, by not being too “friendly” with men in their workplace, or in life in general. Feeling pressured into how they are supposed to look and dress and succumbing to the pressure can be seen as a way of coping, because if they look like “how they are supposed to” might reduce the risk of them being attacked on social media or being deemed as not enough for television.

Revisiting the Hierarchical Influences model again shows us that the Social Systems level influences these women, not only in their personal lives but also in their professional lives. This affects how they work or feel at their workplace, which can compromise the work that they do. In this case it’s been made clear that these women perceive themselves as strong and independent, but in the end, they are only human. And social structures with harmful norms can take a toll on one’s life whether one likes it or not. However, the overall positive thoughts that these women have regarding the movements might be in their favor, because these movements might make them more aware to the harmful social structures that they are subjected to and so might create new coping mechanisms that can break down these social structures. Which some of the interviewees already have displayed by explaining how these movements are challenging social structures in Chile.
7.4 Responsibilities as a female journalist

As it is known, one gets affected with what happens around oneself. Things that might change of how one perceives, react and handle matters. How news, people are portrayed in news media is of importance because as said before, it affects the public's way of thinking, their opinions etc. Journalists have a responsibility of how they portray people in their content, to be objective and let people, women, be heard. Do these journalists feel that just because they are simply women, that they are held responsible for uplifting other women in this day and age, or is it a general idea that every journalist is aware of? Shoemaker and Reese specify that values and beliefs are conceptually distinct from professional roles, but naturally they do affect and mutually reinforce each other (Shoemaker & Reese 2013, p. 210-211). And so, we can assume that it’s not strange at all that the effects of the movements have generated this sense of responsibility in these women's work, which takes us back to the third research question that I will answer in this subchapter: As women working as journalists, have these movements had an effect on how they work and/or the way they think?

PC1 tries to include more women in her news stories, but she tries not to force it. She says that in general the nature of the news stories at her editorial office are very general or lean too much to the perspective of men. PC1 feels that she needs to try to find a balance where men and women are portrayed equally. PC3 tells that she feels that it’s important and necessary to talk about feminism and uplift the struggles of the movement and women, which she tries to do within the radio channel that she’s responsible for. She thinks that other female journalists do feel the same responsibility, partially because they themselves are women.

For PC4 it is something obvious to try and help other women gain some space.

In this position I’m in at my job, if I can do it I’m going to do it. I have the option to choose, if a Juanito comes and a Pedrita comes, and if both of them have the same level of competency, I’m going to opt for Pedrita because I’ve already seen three other Juanitos this week.

(PC4)

PC5 feels that she does have a responsibility and feels that other female journalists do to and that female journalists cover stories with women with more care. "Men will never understand how women feel. … Us women have a responsibility right now to tell the story." PC5 means
to say that she feels that men don’t have the same tact as women do, that they don’t think about the words they use.

PC8 thinks that there has been a change in how news is reported. She thinks that female journalists try not to use emotionally charged words, a more neutral way of reporting and not so sensational. According to PC8 there’s been a change in how news media reports on cases of femicide and abuse on women after the case of Nabila Rifo. When the story was most active, PC8 explains that subjects not relevant to the case were discussed and victim blaming was very common. In response to the question “Do male journalists feel the same responsibility as some of these female journalists on how they portray women in media?” PC8 scoffed and said no, that it’s probably not of interest for men to think twice about how they report on those types of cases and that men don’t have the same tact as women.

7.4.1 Female journalists with an extra task

It can be agreed that the movements indeed have affected these women, whether it being negative or positive. But how has it affected their way of working, how has it affected the journalistic role that they inhabit? Shoemaker and Reese ask themselves: how loyal should, in this case, women be to their group (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p. 76)?

Some of the interviewees who are editors or directors have stated that they do try to hire and include women more in their workplace because they feel it is important that more women are included. And most of the reporters interviewed do feel that they also must uplift women in the news stories that they cover. When asked if they feel that it’s their responsibility simply because they are women, most of them said yes. In other words, these women feel that in contrast to male journalists, these women’s journalistic role have an extra task, the task of uplifting women.

Looking back at the Hierarchical Influences model, the interviewees who are editors and directors not only work from the Individuals level, but also the Organizations level. According to Shoemaker and Reese an organization is a collective of individuals who work toward common goals (Shoemaker & Reese 2013, p. 130), and the common goal these women have is to make way for other women.
Hanitzsch and Vos discuss other studies findings regarding journalistic roles outside of the West, where Arab journalists see their journalistic mission as a driving political and social reform. Indonesian and Pakistani journalists that were keen on defending the national sovereignty and preserve national unity (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 148). These women who see that it’s their responsibility to uplift and make way for other women are not that much different. According to Hanitzsch and Vos map of 18 dimensions these women fit in the Advocate-radical and Developmental-educative dimensions. To be specific, the roles of The Advocate, who considers herself a spokesperson for a specific group of people and their causes. And also, The Change Agent, the journalist that advocates for social change and drives political and social reform. This is a role that almost all of the interviewees fit into (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 155).

8. Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this study was to analyze the thoughts and opinions of a selected group of female Chilean journalists and to see what their thoughts were on the Me Too- and feminist movements in Chile. If these movements in any way have affected not only their personal opinions but also the work that they do as journalists.

In a country affected by machismo and the Me Too- and feminist movements, how do Chilean female broadcast view themselves as journalists today? (RQ1)

Their general outlook on themselves as journalists and their roles was positive. So it can be concluded that all of them perceive themselves as strong individuals that believe that they have a say in what they do and that they have the power to affect the public as Advocates or Change agents (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 155). Once again when revisiting the Process model, the normative roles and cognitive ideas these women have taken upon themselves is the traditional role of the journalist, providing truth and facts to the public in an objective way. This has been a big contributor to how they’ve handled the discriminations, microaggressions that some of them have face. Despite what they’ve faced, they’ve chosen to
continue and fight the fight in order to provide their audience with the truth, their truth. Whether it being uplifting women in their stories, hiring more women to their editorial offices, standing up for coworkers or even confronting them. It is not strange at all that gender becomes a part of one’s identity, even one’s journalistic role when one grows up and lives in a country which culture is strongly affected by machismo. Even if these movements wouldn’t have been present in Chile during their lifetimes, it would’ve probably not have affected these women’s strong personalities. However, it can be argued that these movements could be responsible for empowering them even further and has given them more strength, and most importantly hope for the future.

What are their thoughts on the movements and the said movements possible effect on the industry? (RQ2)

Seven out of the eight interviewed found the movements to be overall positive movements for Chile. As several of the interviewees mentioned, machismo starts at home. Outdated values that not only become uncomfortable for those around, but even dangerous. The casual sexism they’ve faced and probably are still facing made them develop coping mechanisms such as toning down their personalities to no attract unwanted comments or conform to beauty standards to not risk being deemed unworthy. These coping mechanisms are used in order not to only keep on living their lives but also continue their work as journalists. Several of these women feel that these movements are breaking down, albeit slowly, the machismo they are experiencing on a daily basis, not only in their private lives but also in the industry. One of the interviewees felt negatively about the movements and her comments displayed that she is heavily affected by machismo which shows with her, for example, victim blaming other women.

As women working as journalists, have these movements had an effect on how they work and/or the way they think? (RQ3)

Yes, their norms and values have been changed in some way and when following Hanitzsch and Vos model these movements automatically have had an effect on how they work and their
routines. Feeling the responsibility of standing up for themselves as women and other women in their work is one of the biggest effects.

As Shoemaker and Reese argued, social systems, in this case machismo, do influence individuals, which by default the movements also have had (Shoemaker & Reese 2013, p. 93). However, it is to be noted that according to Shoemaker and Reese the levels are not directly caused by each other, but rather they interact with and condition each other (Shoemaker & Reese 2013, p. 94).

Both the Process model and the Hierarchical Influences model function the same. That thoughts and actions affect one another and more or less co-exist. The Process model however in this study functions more as a device to analyze the actions and thoughts of those who work on the Individuals level, being the interviewees.

For this study and the answers that have been given throughout the interviews it can be discussed which dimension and which roles best describe these women. It is worth noting that there are as said 18 roles, and several of these roles have “requirements” that these women hold. Depending on how one analyzes it is of course possible to have another outcome.

Following the structure of the 18 roles (Hanitzsch & Vos 2018, p. 153), it has showed us as mentioned before that these women are working within the dimensions of Advocate-radical and Developmental-educative.

What has been interesting to see in this study are the opinions the interviewees have on sexism and the coping mechanisms they have learned throughout their lives. Strategies that they have learned to basically survive such as toning down their personalities in order to not attract unwanted comments. But also, strategies to almost shelter themselves from the “risk” of being labelled as a victim.

One of the interviewees reacted strongly to the questions regarding prejudice and harassment, with clear contempt towards women who have been subjected to prejudice or harassment. It can be argued that the reaction however is a kind of defensive mechanism and even a way to have sense of control. Her blaming other women “for attracting that kind of behavior” is just another way of machismo rearing its ugly face, showing that women as much as men can be upholders of dangerous patriarchal norms. It is of interest though to note that not only was she the only one of all the interviewees to hold such strong opinions, she was also the oldest. Generational differences could be at play and could be of interest for further research.
9. Limitations and suggestions on further research

Searching for interviewees using the snowball method resulted in all of the interviewees working at similar fields. Which resulted in this study focusing on journalists working in broadcasting. If this study had been on a larger scale the possibilities of getting journalists from print or other fields would’ve been greater.

As with any other study, the possibilities are also endless here. It could be interesting to investigate further about female journalists in this changing world. Thoughts of maybe a study on the differences between Chilean journalists and Swedish are there, however it can be problematic comparing the West to Latin American culture. The damages of a patriarchal society are everywhere in the world, and in Latin America it is obvious that machismo has a strong hold on the cultures. Comparing a country to a country in the West can be problematic in the sense that the country compared to the western country almost instantly finds itself in a position of being “lesser” and “underdeveloped”.

Another study that could be interesting to conduct could be one of genders, to see the different views between male and female journalists on the journalistic industry in Chile.

And finally, as mentioned earlier, a study on generational differences could be of interest, especially regarding men and women in the journalism industry.
**References**

**Journal articles**


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