The role of the female Balinese journalist

– A qualitative field study covering the complex role of women journalists in the Balinese society

By: Akvelina Smed

Supervisor: Liudmila Voronova
Södertörn University | Department of Social Sciences
Bachelor’s Thesis 15 ECTS
Journalism C | Spring semester 2017
Journalism and Multimedia studies
ABSTRACT

The Hindu island of Bali is a patriarchal society and the Balinese people’s everyday tasks are woven together with their many cultural and religious rituals and actions. Bali is one of the most famous and most visited islands of the wide spread island nation of Indonesia. Here, the concept of cultural tourism is established – a concept which regards the rich Balinese culture as a tourist draw, something that motivates the Balinese people to safeguard their regional identity and culture. These strives although tends to collide with the strives towards a more gender equal society.

This study investigates the role of the Balinese female journalist – both within the newsrooms and in the society in general. It is based mainly upon in-depth interviews with women journalists in Bali. The theoretical framework orbits around a gendered approach to the theory of Journalism Culture, which combines concepts such as doxa and social fields to explain the dynamic and dichotomizations within the professional field. Masculine domination theories are also used.

The results of this study reveal a complex situation where the female journalists perform a challenging balance act in order to perform their very best both at work, at home and in the society.

Key words

Indonesia, Bali, journalism, media, women, gender.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) for funding this Minor Field Study that took place in Bali, Indonesia, March 1st – April 29th, 2017. I would also like to thank all the people on site who welcomed me with open arms, contributed in every way possible and helped me to understand the Balinese culture better. A special thanks to S. who introduced me to people and organizations important for my study and helped me with the interpretation. Another special thanks to Liudmila Voronova, my supervisor at Södertörn University, who has been the best of mentors and supported me throughout the entire process.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................................................. 5
   1.1 Purpose of my study and research questions ......................................................................................... 5
   1.2 Background ............................................................................................................................................ 6
      1.2.1 Indonesia’s historical background ................................................................................................. 6
      1.2.2 The contemporary Bali ................................................................................................................. 8
      1.2.3 Women in Bali ............................................................................................................................. 9
      1.2.4 Journalism in Bali ....................................................................................................................... 11
   1.3 Summary ............................................................................................................................................... 13

2. Previous Research ...................................................................................................................................... 13
   2.1 Female journalists worldwide ........................................................................................................... 13
   2.2 Female journalists in Southeast Asia ................................................................................................. 14
   2.3 Other research of interest ................................................................................................................ 16
   2.4 The research gap ............................................................................................................................... 16

3. Theoretical framework ........................................................................................................................... 16
   3.1 Journalism culture ............................................................................................................................... 17
      3.1.1 Habitus .......................................................................................................................................... 17
      3.1.2 Social fields .................................................................................................................................. 17
      3.1.3 Doxa ........................................................................................................................................... 18
      3.1.4 Strategies and tactics ................................................................................................................... 19
      3.1.5 Gender ....................................................................................................................................... 19
      3.1.6 The gendered perspective of previous concepts ......................................................................... 20
   3.2 Bourdieu’s three practical principles ................................................................................................. 20
   3.3 Summary ............................................................................................................................................... 21

4. Methodology ............................................................................................................................................ 21
   4.1 My role as a foreign researcher .......................................................................................................... 21
   4.2 Conducting a field study in Bali ......................................................................................................... 22
   4.3 Selection of informants ....................................................................................................................... 23
   4.4 Semi-structured interviews ................................................................................................................. 23
4.4.1 Conducting interviews with an interpreter ............................................................ 24
4.4.2 Drop-outs ............................................................................................................. 25
4.5 Complementary sources of information ................................................................. 26
4.6 Conducted interviews .............................................................................................. 27
4.7 Grounded analysis ................................................................................................... 27
4.7.1 Combining grounded analysis with theory and previous research ...................... 29

5. Analysis ...................................................................................................................... 29
   5.1 The role of the female Balinese journalist ............................................................ 29
   5.2 The general role of women in the Balinese society ................................................. 36
   5.3 Combining these roles .......................................................................................... 40

6. Conclusions ................................................................................................................ 45
   6.1 Suggestions for further research .......................................................................... 46

7. References .................................................................................................................. 48

8. Appendix .................................................................................................................... 51
   8.1 List of interviewed journalists .............................................................................. 51
   8.2 List of interviewed experts within their fields ...................................................... 52
1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a multiparty republic (McDivitt, et al., 2017) and recognized as the world’s fourth biggest country by population (Worldometers), but when it comes to democracy – it is ranked as low as 48 in The Economist’s Democracy Index of 2016 (The Economist, 2017). During the regime of Suharto, the former authoritarian president, Indonesia’s press freedom as well as freedom of speech was abolished. The Suharto regime lasted for 32 years and ended in 1998 (Sidharta, Damiana, Meidiana, & Hutomo, 2016). Right now, the country ranks low as 130 out of 180 countries in the 2016 Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders, 2016). An interesting aspect to add to this is that Indonesia hosted Unesco’s 2017 World Press Freedom Day on May 3, 2017 (Unesco, 2017).

After visiting Indonesia and Bali two times around, in 2014 and in 2016, I was impressed by the strength of the Balinese women, managing everything from kids, house and marriage to religious tasks – and on top of this having full time jobs. I could also tell that the gender differences were huge, especially in the rural areas I was visiting. While the women always seemed busy, the men did not. A majority of the Balinese men I met was simply hanging out with their friends, smoking and laughing. There were of course exceptions to this, but I started to distinguish a pattern. I began to consider the question of gender equality in Bali and the more I read, the more my questions started to line up. For example, I came across an article (De Suriyani, 2010) that announced that the rights of Balinese women were in October 2010 extended: It was from there on openly acknowledged that Balinese women were by law entitled to inherit family property, obtain marital assets and the ability to gain rights to the custody of their children in case of a divorce. According to the Balinese paternalistic customary laws, they had not had these rights up until then. I was astounded to find out that this was a law change that had taken place only seven years ago. I knew that Bali was a paternalistic society but it was not until I read this very article that it realized to what extent the paternalism applies there.

Since I am studying journalism in Sweden, my thoughts went towards the women in journalism in Bali: What are the women’s role in the journalistic field of Bali? What would it have been like for me if I would have been born as a Balinese woman instead of a Swedish one? What would it have been like for me to work as a Balinese female journalist? When I realized that no study concerning the role of the female, Balinese journalist was conducted – nonetheless any with a gender perspective – the seed to come back to Bali to conduct this type of field study was planted in my mind.

1.1 Purpose of my study and research questions

The intention with my thesis is to look deeper into the everyday life of female journalists in Bali. My research questions are following:
A) What is the role of the female Balinese journalist?
B) How is this role shaped by the social, cultural and religious contexts and dynamics?

In order to answer my research questions, I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with female journalists working on Bali. Two additional expert interviews with persons who provided me with information about the region and its media were conducted as well (I present these experts below). These two latter interviews are presented as parts of the introduction, in order to provide the reader with the important contextual knowledge.

This thesis will contribute to the field of media studies by filling the gap of research in this topic in this part of the world. This field study and the writing of this thesis has also provided myself with useful knowledge and experience that will be beneficial in my personal career and development in the field of journalism. Apart from this – I hope that my field study and my curiosity has affected the people I have met, talked to and discussed this topic with. Discussing and questioning normative and customary behavior from an outsider’s point of view might have made them reflect about the being of things and got them to look at their everyday life from new perspectives.

1.2 Background

In order to collect the necessary information about Indonesia and Bali that I present to the reader to contextualize my research questions as well as the place of the field study, I addressed both the published sources and two experts in the field, who provided me with necessary knowledge about the region and its media. I present them below:

Luh Putu Anggraeni, general secretary of LBH Apik Bali (The Women’s Legal Aid Organization Association for Justice in Bali).


Since the gathered information from these interviews are used in order to contextualize, I present this as parts of the introduction, and not in the analysis part of the thesis.

1.2.1 Indonesia's historical background

Indonesia’s history is a tale of discovery, oppression and liberation. During the 1300s, Islam came to the region by Arab traders who had settled in northern parts of Sumatra. Islam began to spread among the inhabitants and came to be the dominant religion of the country (Lonely Planet; Globalis, The Swedish UN Association). The first Europeans to settle in the country were the Portuguese in the early
1500s, as a step in their aspiration to gain monopoly over the valuable spice trade from the eastern parts of the world. Another actor who came to realize the profit potentials from the eastern spice trades was the Dutch government. They managed to merge competing merchant companies into the government-run United East India Company which soon became the main competitor in the field. For the Dutch government to control the trades, they sent armed fleets instructed to attack Portuguese bases and in the early years of the 1600s, the Dutch had defeated the Portuguese and taken control of the country (Lonely Planet). Indonesia continued to be controlled by the United East India Company up until their fall in 1799. After that, Indonesia formally became a Dutch colony.

During the second world war, Japan invaded Indonesia and they were also the ones to start the country’s liberation process (Globalis, The Swedish UN Association). The Japanese occupation of Bali began many weeks earlier than their occupation of the neighboring island Java. When the occupation of Bali ended in 1945, no great bloodshed or destruction had been caused such as it had in other parts of Indonesia (Hanna & Hanningan, 2016, p. 223). After the war, the Dutch tried to regain the control over Indonesia, but under the regime of the new Indonesian nationalist leader Sukarno, Indonesia became independent in 1949. Sukarno had strong bonds with the communist movements, which the American CIA didn’t like. Hence, the CIA supported a coup in 1968 which resulted in a new Indonesian president, the auctorial general Suharto. Suharto launched a political program called ‘the new order’, where foreign investments were prioritized – and during his regime, Indonesia experienced economic growth. The Asian finance crisis in the end of the 1990s did although strike the country’s economy hard. Violent protests against Suharto emerged and he resigned shortly after that (Globalis, The Swedish UN Association).

Up until the end of the Suharto regime, the president as well as the vice president were elected every five years by the legislative body of the People’s Consultative Assembly, Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat. After the end of the Suharto regime, a legislation passed in 1999 which limited the coming presidents to only be allowed to run the country for two five-year terms. Another law decreed that from 2004 and on, not only the People’s Consultative Assembly, but also the president as well as the vice president were to be directly elected by the people. It is also after the fall of the Suharto regime as the country has expanded the democratic institutions to consist of political parties, a revised constitution and a successively freer press (Globalis, The Swedish UN Association; McDivitt, et al., 2017).

Religious, cultural and ethnic disagreements among the population are an issue in some areas of Indonesia. Some provinces also have issues with violent separatist movements and in some places, such as the Aech province in the island of Sumatra – guerilla war has occurred (Globalis, The Swedish UN Association). During the last years, Indonesia has, however, become more politically stable.
Foreign investments have sharply increased, the country’s BNP has risen and at the time of writing, Indonesia is the largest economy in South East Asia. The biggest part of the economic growth is focused on the island of Java and to the capital Jakarta. The economic growth has although brought issues along, such as that the gap between the rich and the poor has increased. The poverty is biggest in the countryside and in the rural areas of Indonesia (Globalis, The Swedish UN Association).

1.2.2 The contemporary Bali

From a religious and cultural perspective, Bali differs from the other Indonesian islands by being a Hindu island located in the middle of the world’s biggest Muslim majority nation (Nag, 2017). Every year, Bali is visited by vast amounts of foreign as well as domestic tourists: In 2016, the island was visited by some 4.92 million foreign tourists and surpassed the target number of 4.2 million. Bali has in 2017 been awarded the title of "the best island destination" for the 12th consecutive year by the DestinAsian Readers Choice Award (RCA) and Bali’s goal for 2017 is to reach 5.5 million foreign tourist arrivals (Antara News, 2017). Domestic tourist numbers are harder to track but most observers estimated Bali in 2010 to receive around twice as many Indonesian tourist as foreign ones (Hanna & Hanningan, 2016, p. 275) and tourism has since long surpassed agriculture as Bali’s dominant economic activity (Hanna & Hanningan, 2016, p. 267). In 1969, Bali’s upgraded airport, Ngurah Rai, was inaugurated and ready to serve as the island’s international gateway. The Balinese provincial authorities did although begin to get nervous as they predicted that all the tourism might cause the Balinese cultural manifestations to decrease significantly. They held a series of seminars and concluded to launch a concept called “cultural tourism”. The concept’s strive was making the local culture the main attraction of the Balinese tourist industry, something they argued would turn culture into a concrete holder of economical capital and thereby create a strong motivation to preserve and safeguard it (Hanna & Hanningan, 2016, pp. 254-255).

The fall of Suharto in 1998 also meant the end of three decades of dictatorial rule. The policy of the new Indonesian government was to establish regional autonomy by devolving power to the various Indonesian regencies, to decentralize the country (The Bali Times, 2010). While the old Suharto regime strictly subordinated customary law to national law and concentrated the power to Jakarta, the new and democratic Indonesia are pursuing to achieve a vast more regional autonomy and are striving for a greater deference to traditional systems of law (Belford, 2010). Article 18B (2) of the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia, state the following about the traditional laws of Indonesia: “The State shall recognize and respect, to be regulated by law, the homogeneity of societies with customary law along with their traditional rights for as long as they remain in existence and in agreement with
societal development and with the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia” (Wikisource, 2002).

As a response to the decentralization process, the Balinese customary law – adat – has made a strong comeback in the 21st century. These adat laws, which also can be referred to as pakraman (Seibel, 2008, p. iii), conflict with some aspects of the official – national – Indonesian laws. However, in Bali, the local communities choose to rely on the customary adat laws in favor of the national ones in a wide variety of cases. This complicates matters for the authorities when it comes to deal with conflicts found at community level (The Bali Times, 2010).

The rising concern of maintaining Indonesia’s various regions cultural identities strong has been related to the decentralization. These concerns have led to re-conservatism and the reinforcement of patriarchal values, something that has had considerable repercussions for the Indonesian women. The consequences have been major in the Islamic parts of Indonesia, but also in Bali (Creese, 2004, p. 2). The Balinese society is patriarchal (Mostafanezhad, Norum, Shelton, & Thompson-Carr, 2016, p. 37) and the traditional views on – and the diverse rights of – men versus women in Bali are deeply rooted. Balinese women are found in charge of things concerning family, household, and economics – as well as ritual and spiritual tasks. As mentioned on page 4, it is only seven years since Balinese women were by law entitled to inherit family property, obtain marital assets and able to gain rights to their children’s custody (De Suriyani, 2010).

1.2.3 Women in Bali

Luh Putu Anggraeni speaks about a double, and very big, responsibility of the Balinese women, who have both the public and domestic responsibilities of the family, while she also has a career. The domestic responsibilities concerns caring for the family – taking care of the kids, cleaning the house and such. While the public responsibilities include duties in the community – handling rituals and caring for the social life. This relation to this, she states that men in general only needs to focus on the career – since women already handles what falls under the other sectors of responsibilities, the domestic and the public one. She also states that the burden is not only physical but also psychological:

Why? Well, if the family of the man doesn’t respect or appreciate our work we will think ‘why don’t they appreciate my food, why don’t they appreciate my hard work...?’ It’s a psychological burden. – Luh Putu Anggraeni

She also tells me that there now are three types of marriage in Bali: The first type, which also is the most common – as well as the traditional – one, is when the woman moves in to the house of the man.
when they’ve married. Then the woman becomes responsible of all tasks connected to the house of the man – domestic as well as public, religious, ones. The second marriage form is when the man moves to the family of the woman – something called *nyentana*, which is not commonly happening. Then there is a third form of marriage – a result of the changes in 2010 concerning women’s rights in obtain marital assets and the ability to gain rights to the custody of their children in case of a divorce (De Suriyani, 2010). In this third marriage form – they have the same position, the same rights:

The woman is not going to the man, and the man is not going to the woman. They are in the same positions. – Luh Putu Anggraeni

The customary marriage form is the first type. According to Anggraeni, this is the reason why the woman’s family didn’t give their daughter any inherit rights to the house she grew up in, once married:

They thought that when we marry and go to the house of our husband’s, we don’t do anything anymore in the house of our own parents… that we don’t have any responsibilities anymore because we are already out of their house. – Luh Putu Anggraeni

Mostly, it is the women who manages the finances in the family. Often, accordingly to Anggraeni, the man doesn’t really care about the needs of the family, but rather spend money on pleasures of his own. This leads to a concern for Balinese women about the importance of being independent, or at least being able to cover the expenses of herself and the children. The key to independency is working harder. It is also a strive for Balinese women – when they enter marriage, they want to be able to present an independent image to the family of the husband. This is something Anggraeni states will make the new family respect the woman more:

If the woman has a good job, a good amount of salary… if she lives well, the family will automatically respect her. Not underestimate her like ‘you don’t have any job, you are just taking money from your husband’. – Luh Putu Anggraeni

Anggraeni is active in educating people around Bali about the rights of women and children. She states that there is a new thinking among the women in Bali, who are starting to feel like they put all their time on their husband, their kids and the society – they now demand to have some ‘me-time’, time to spend just on themselves. She has also observed a general trend lately – how Balinese women have been getting more and more brave:
Especially the women living in the city, they are brave enough already to be the ones saying: ‘I want to divorce’. – Luh Putu Anggraeni

This new braveness, she explains, is a result of Balinese women’s new level of independence and the fact that she handles her own financials. This new mindset of women is something that she has found to be quite worrying for the Balinese men who are wondering why this braveness comes from:

Balinese men, they get spoiled a lot. Like ‘oh, you are a boy – don’t do this kind of job, just let the girls do that...’ and it keeps on going like this even after they get married. They always say like ‘oh, you make a coffee for me’ and so... – Luh Putu Anggraeni

She says that strong and brave women tend to make a lot of Balinese men uncomfortable. She also argues that some Balinese men tend to be quite worried about having a wife who are very active and smart. That they will prefer to marry an ordinary girl, one who will serve him.

Anggraeni also highlights that there still is a difference between women in the city and women from rural areas – the latter, she states, is still widely unaware of their rights and often simply accepting what their husbands tell them to do. This is also why Anggraeni finds the work of her and others so important, fighting for – as well as informing the citizens of Bali about – the rights of women and children.

1.2.4 Journalism in Bali

Hari Puspita tells me that the number of daily newspapers in Bali is eleven. There are also some papers that are published every two weeks, monthly or every six months. The TV channels Bali are seven and the online medias are more than 20. The existence of online media outlets is although less stable, according to Puspita.

When it comes to the internal ranking of the status of journalism jobs – he ranks the status of working within different media forms in Bali accordingly; television, printed media, online, radio. Radio receives the lowest rank since he says that people in general don’t really pay attention to what they hear on the radio. He ranks TV the highest, with the motivation that people tend to feel proud to work in TV. According to him, being seen on TV is considered as a high level of social publicity – this applies both to the reporter and to those being interviewed:
If you are seen in the television, you mom and your family can say ‘oh, that’s my son, that’s my daughter…’ – Hari Puspita

Since Puspita began to work as a journalist, 25 years ago, he has seen the numbers of women journalists rising. When it comes to the number of employed journalists in newspapers in the beginning of 2017, there are – according to him – about 85% men and 15% women. These numbers apply to those who work as journalists, doing reporting in the field. When it comes to the higher positions – working as editors or chief editors – the percentage of women drops even further. However, concerning those working in media companies as non-editorials, working in advertising, marketing, administration, as secretaries i.e. – they are majority women. Concerning the salary, women and men are payed equal salaries. Editors and those with higher positions are payed more than the reporters, but there is no difference between gender.

Puspita says that the biggest problem faced by female journalists in Bali is about how to handle the working times. The job demands for the journalists to meet deadlines and work under pressure. He also states the journalism atmosphere of Bali to be masculine:

“I think the reason the number of female journalists is low is probably because of the times of working and also the dynamic of working. Because if you are a woman and you work as a journalist, you time is not stable. You can work from the night to the very early morning. It is more of a man’s job. If you compare with someone from another division, such as administration or marketing, they work day time. It’s a normal working time. And also because of the atmosphere of being a journalist here… because most of them are men – the woman who enters this kind of life, they will be more masculine, willing to merge and engage with the life of men. Like the way how they communicate and also like how men talk”. – Hari Puspita

As an example of this struggle, Puspita tells the story of a woman who used to work as a journalist but since she was not strong enough facing the deadlines and handling whatever problems that might occur in the field, she resigned and applied for another job:

“…she chose to work in the government’s office because the times are more fixed. You go to the office at nine and go home at four, five”. – Hari Puspita
1.3 Summary

Indonesia is a post-colonial country and the majority of its inhabitants are Muslim. The island of Bali differs by being mainly Hindu. The contemporary Bali is a patriarchate and the strives to keep the customary culture and rituals are strong. The island, however, seems to be going through a period of change that affects the gender division: Women’s rights – and the general knowledge about these – seems to be on the rise. In general, the women of Bali seem to struggle with combining their professional role with their other responsibilities – those for their family and their society. What goes for the media in Bali, it seems to be characterized by gender differences in many aspects: It is for example dominated by a majority of men and the values and atmosphere of the field also seems to be masculine.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The first global study of journalists was made in the middle of the 1990s and showed that the journalistic workforce was getting both better educated as well as younger and that the proportion of female journalists was increasing fast in many countries (Örnebring & Nygren, 2015, p. 29).

2.1 Female journalists worldwide

The work conditions for female journalists has been the topic for research carried out in many parts of the world, nonetheless the western parts. The Global Report of the Status of Women in the News Media (Byerly, 2011) is a survey study of women’s standing in the journalism profession across the world. 59 countries are in the study – but not Indonesia. The results show that men occupy 64 % of reporter jobs and holds 73 % of the top management jobs within news organizations.

One general trend that can be distinguished when it comes to the question of gender distribution within the western world’s media industry is that women are more likely to gain employment in specific parts of the media industry – such as public relations, advertising and magazines (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 50). This is an example of the vertical segregation of the media workforce – which also is horizontally segregated in the sense that women are harder to find in senior management positions (Allan, 2004, p. 121; M. Byerly, 2013, p. 452; Melin, 2008, p. 114; Van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 50-51) and tend to get paid less than their male counterparts (Melin, 2008, p. 116; Van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 50-51).

In her doctoral dissertation (Melin, 2008), Margareta Melin examines the work conditions for journalists in Sweden and England. She points to the fact that work tasks in the editorial offices are horizontally divided between genders: Men generally cover “hard” news while women cover “soft” news. Hard news being defined as things that concerns the public sphere and subjects considered
important for the society; foreign news, politics, business and crime news. Soft news concerns the private sphere and are considered unimportant; nurturing and caring values (Melin, 2008, p. 116). That women journalists covers the private sphere is a trend with deep roots to life in general life where the private sphere is traditionally considered to be a female sphere (Melin, 2008, p. 116; Bourdieu, 2001 pp. 93-94). Many editors tend to automatically ask women to cover the “feminine” stories, a gender-typing that contributes to reinstate men as the norm and define feminine subjects – and women – as the “other” (Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p. 100).

In general, women tend to be predominant in the fields of journalism that can be seen as an extension of their domestic responsibilities – such as educational, consumer, domestic, human interest, feature, entertainment and children’s sections (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 51). Sometimes this sectioning is a result of the women’s own preferences, and sometimes it is the result of the choices of others, for example their bosses.

Studies about how female journalists perceive their professional role indicated that it is a tricky and problematic balance – on one hand having to live up to social and cultural expectations of femininity while on the other hand living up to the professional criteria (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 54). Some female journalists believe that values they consider to be feminine, i.e. compassion, kindness and humanity, might be lost when they as professionals are expected to possess other qualities, i.e. certain amount of directness, distrust and toughness (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 54). After having children and getting older, the women’s status typically drops significant compared to men (Allan, 2004, p. 124). In Senegal, women journalists are accused of having lost their femininity since their jobs require them to be away from home, ‘neglecting’ their husband and their children (Van Zoonen, 1994, p. 54).

2.2 Female journalists in Southeast Asia

A recent study made by Unesco concerns the gender balance within the journalistic profession in some of Indonesia’s neighboring countries in Asia and the Pacific, namely in Cambodia, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Vanuatu (Unesco, 2015). Some conclusions from the study are following: Female journalists tend to be better educated and have higher professional qualifications than their male colleagues. They also tend to be multi-skilled and usually work across more fields than the males. Despite this, the women remain restricted by the stereotypical fields of topics. They face gender discrimination, more job insecurity and lower wages than men. On an average across the studied geographical area, about 29 percent of the media employees are women. The percentage is even lower in decision-making roles in media organizations (Unesco, 2015). According to The Global Report of the Status of Women in the News Media (Byerly, 2011), women in Asia and Oceana only hold 13 % of the top management jobs within news organizations.
An Indonesian case study from the island of Java (Urari & Nilan, 2004) highlights the gap between the number of women enrolling in communications studies and the number of women who end up working in the sector. Without giving any specific digits to the gap, the writers choose to give the Indonesian women who graduates in communication studies and gets a job in the media or communications industry the nickname “the lucky few”. According to this study, many of the women that initially enrolled in communication studies simply concluded that certain kinds of media work were not suitable for them. They considered it to be too demanding and usually far from glamorous. And what goes for the less motivated women, the study found that it probably became obvious to them that most media jobs challenged the very foundations of traditional femininity and hence, they actively sought work in more traditional occupations. These women instead became receptionists, sales assistants or clerical workers. Although, some highly motivated women did find the work interesting and challenging. These women were also the ones who put down effort to find a job position in their chosen sector of the media sphere. Another conclusion from the study was that the employers often hesitated to hire female graduates because they thought the women would not make reliable employees. Some media employers said they employed women because of certain qualities that women brought to the job, qualities which turned out to rarely have anything to do with professional skills and capacities – but rather qualities and assets such as physical attractiveness, patience and social skills. Most of the questioned employers mentioned that female media workers tend to have trouble balancing their career with their family responsibilities (Urari & Nilan, 2004).

The Unesco study (Unesco, 2015) was based upon a survey, which means it was a quantitative method. I find it to be educative and interesting but although think that it since it is not a qualitative method, it is lacking a deeper level of analysis. The Javanese case study (Urari & Nilan, 2004) was based upon a combination of methods for data collection, combining surveys with in-depth interviews. I found this study to better capture the essence of the complex situation for women in media, hence the in-depth interviews made it possible for us readers to gain a better understanding of the interviewees and being able to relate to their various situations. The results and conclusions of these two studies give me basic information concerning the situation for female journalists in other countries in the region as well as in other parts of Indonesia. I can assume that the situation in Bali will be somewhat similar, even though Bali distinguishes itself from the rest of Indonesia by its inhabitants being mostly Hindu and not Muslim. Bali is still a part of the same country and hence having the same president as well as general conditions. Not to mention that it is, geographically, very close to the other islands – for example Java.
2.3 Other research of interest

When it comes to research carried out in Bali concerning other fields than the media field, an ethnographic study (Wikan, 1990, pp. 67-68) points to extreme gender differentiation – not only in ritual and symbolic activities – but also in more mundane life. Apart from rank and age, gender is highlighted as one of the status-modifier which inflects interactions. Gender-specific norms apply both to men and women and the women’s norms are found to be much more rigorous, detailed and numerous than those of men. The normative body language of the man differs a lot from that of a woman. Wikan states that body language is nothing like an extra layer which can be added onto one’s appearance in order to gain a certain approach. Rather, it is a part of the social performance on a moral level. Hence, tone of voice, gestures, mimicry and posture is not things as the Balinese people chose at will or even experiment with in order to find a suitable approach that highlights one’s personality. Body language is a dead serious matter since the nonverbal codes are parts of the social conduct upon which the appearance of the person in question is being judged. Women should act soft and gentle, keep an exquisite posture and her movements should be carried out with grace. She is expected to walk and talk slow. Men are expected to take the lead, sit with his legs apart and speak loudly, women are not. If a woman would behave in the same way, it would be considered offensive or ridiculous. Men should also be brave, a quality considered unfitting for women (Wikan, 1990, p. 71).

These observations are made 25 years ago but despite they are not up to date, I find that they are still applicable to a certain extent. Upon being in the Balinese context, I have been observing and comparing how the Balinese women in general tend to act and perform in social interaction, comparing this to the way Swedish women do. I have concluded that there is a significant difference. The Balinese women’s patterns of body language do match the ways described by Wikan. They might not be as extreme as she describes them, but they are still present and visible.

2.4 The research gap

When it comes to the female Balinese journalist working in the Balinese society, I identify a research gap. There is no research that covers their role and their work conditions. Yet, it is of a high relevance for journalism research, as these women live and work in a society where paternalistic customary laws still apply.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I choose to follow Melin’s approach (Melin, 2008), where she combines the concept of doxa with the concept of journalism culture and use this as the core of my theoretical framework for the analysis of
my study. I hope that by looking at the results of my field study from a cultural angle, I will be able to approach the data collected from my field study from the right perspective. Since I am a part of another journalism culture, I will be able to study it from a neighboring – yet distant perspective. This is also why I think that it is essential that I keep the culture as my theoretical base.

The theory of journalism culture will be combined with Bourdieu’s theory of three practical principles that are applied when it comes to the choices of women on the labor market.

3.1 Journalism culture

Melin’s definition of journalism culture emerges from the definition of culture, being a system of power as well as a set of human praxis and practices (Melin, 2008, p. 70). This implies that journalism culture as such may be defined as what a particular set of journalists – at a certain point in history – feels, thinks, acts and is: “Journalism culture is creation and re-creation of meaning and reality, constantly negotiated and determined by power. Journalism culture is, thus, a shared world-view – reality – for a group of journalists, which of course comprises a set of ideals, values and rules of how to handle things (like news) and how to enact that perspective. As culture, journalism culture is not homogenous. There is a constant fight between the dominant culture and different oppositional cultures, a fight for the symbolic power of creating the meaning of journalism” (Melin, 2008, p. 70).

For me to study the concept or journalism culture according to the approach of Melin, I need broaden my theoretical framework with a selection of adequate concepts that according to Melin (2008, p. 69) contributes to the creation of journalism culture. These concepts are habitus, social fields, doxa, strategies/tactics and gender – explanations to these concepts follow.

3.1.1 Habitus

Habitus, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, is “a system of shared social dispositions and cognitive structures which generates perceptions, appreciations and actions” (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 279). Habitus can be envisioned as our personal system of social outlines, adopted through our social background and our way of life. It is our habitus that gives us a position in the multi-dimensional web of relational social fields that our society consists of, such as the field of science and the field of journalism. These fields are universes of belief, self-governing but still inflected by each other (Melin, 2008, p. 70).

3.1.2 Social fields

Bourdieu (1999, pp. 40-42) defines a social field as a structured social space, a field of forces, consisting of people who are in dominate positions as well as people being dominated. According to
Melin (2008, pp. 70-71), the social field can be envisioned as an organized and limited space where its players are positioned hierarchically, depending on their capital and their habitus. Those within the field strive to find strategies they can use to master the game, to achieve a better hierarchical position in relation to the other players. This makes the fields social constructions – competitive, conflict filled arenas. What might be the most important struggle within these arenas is the fight for symbolic power, the right to define reality. Entering fields is somewhat like entering a select club. Hence, defining the borders of the field is another reason for conflicts. Within the field there are groups of players who hold the dominating as well as the dominated positions. These unequal positions cause a permanent struggle for the power to dictate the legitimate vision of the world. The dominating group consists of the established elite who desires to conserve the field the way it is, keep it unchanged, to guarantee their remained high power and status. The dominated groups are often the field’s newcomers, the challengers, who strived to change the field according to their own wishes and beliefs. Fields of cultural production exists to produce field specific products considered important to the field. For the journalism field, this would mean producing news (Melin, 2008, pp. 70-71).

3.1.3 Doxa

The concept of doxa traces back all the way to Aristoteles who defined it as beliefs and presumptions that are to be find within social fields of people – simply what the specific group of people believe about the world and themselves (Melin, 2008, p. 72). Bourdieu broadened this term to include the whole thought and action sphere, and includes for example patterns of thinking, speaking and dressing – as well as ways of acting and being – that are perceived as natural to the particular social field. Doxa is a kind of common sense within social fields, something that is taken for granted. No one within the social field questions the doxa – in fact no one would even think of questioning it since it is so natural that no one thinks about it (Melin 2008, p. 72; Bourdieu, 2010, pp. 165-169). To every social field, there are many different, overlapping, doxas tied. This implies that although a field has a certain doxa – the term for the common knowledge that applies within the field as such – conflicting doxas are still to find within the field (Melin, 2008, p. 72). Doxa is defined by the dominant group of the field and doxa itself defines what is perceived as reality. The right to define doxa is the main reason for the unending power struggles between the diverse groups of the field. The opposition-groups have an allodoxa, a different, opposing way of seeing reality, which they argument through various tactics (Melin, 2008, p. 72; Bourdieu, 1988).

I consider the concept of doxa is important when it comes to media studies because earlier research shows that within all social fields in a society, inequality as well as dominance and subordination between the different classes of the field are present. In the field of Swedish journalism, the generally
valid association of power and leadership with masculinity applies. Though men and women over time have gained various access to places and positions in the journalistic field, men still possess the doxa of the field and hence women have generally throughout the 1900s been the dominated class of the field (Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p. 97; Bourdieu, 2010, pp. 168-169).

Furthermore, Melin considers the conclusions from most research with a feminist perspective to be that journalism itself is a male construction. It is men who have created the tools used in everyday journalism and men that define the doxa of journalism (Melin, 2008, p.123). This implies that the female journalists from the very beginning are subordinated within the journalistic field. This would also make their approach to the journalistic field allodoxa.

3.1.4 Strategies and tactics
Melin chooses to use the social linguist Michel de Certeau’s definition of the concepts strategies versus tactics. She argues that these concepts are useful to explain the conflicts and struggles between diverse groups of journalists over the power to what define journalism is. Strategies and tactics are defined as two different social practices which are used in the social power struggle between the dominating and the dominated (Melin, 2008, pp. 73-74). The distinction is whether the social group is relying on place or time: Organizing strategies are the acts of the powerful, the dominating, those that have access to a place such as a business, army or city as a base for their power. They defend their status, doxa and place of power in the social field uses various strategies. Tactics arise in the absence of power and are limited by the possibilities of the moment. Since the act of open warfare against the dominating only would lead to defeat, the dominated aims to find the weaknesses of the dominating and then use deceptive tactics in their struggle to augment their position (Ibid).

3.1.5 Gender
I chose to define gender according to the definition of Melin (2008, pp. 74-76) who argues gender to be a system of hierarchical power and gender to be habitus.

Furthermore, she argues journalism culture – the social field of journalism – with its doxa, strategies and tactics to be “inherently gendered” (Melin, 2008, p. 74), driven by the conclusion that social space as well as all social fields are gendered universes. This implies that there is a gendered logic, which separates man from woman – male from female and masculinity from femininity. While what is considered to be feminine or masculine varies, the gender logic always puts man, male and masculinity above woman, female and femininity: Whatever is associated with masculinity is considered
dominating. And in the same way as social space is a gendered universe, everything – even the smallest act or thought – is inherently gendered and valued accordingly (Ibid).

3.1.6 The gendered perspective of previous concepts

Melin’s definition of gender applies to the concepts of habitus, social fields, doxa, strategic and tactics. Hence, here follows a summary of her interpretation of these concepts with an explanation to her gendered defined perspective of these:

Melin interpret gender logic as habitus. Since being socially and culturally learned just like other habitus, it is physically a part of our bodies and spines (Melin, 2008, p. 74).

She also argues that the power of the dominant group of a certain social field lies in the construction of doxa and the definition of social reality. In every patriarchal society, men are the dominant group and those who have the power to define doxa. In order to uphold this system, women are defined as the opposite, the allodoxa. In these systems, men are the norm – hidden behind objectivity, and women are the object of male dominance. This hierarchical system between men and women is upheld through a system of separation. Bringing light to – and showing the nature of – this hierarchical system is hence always a political act and seen as an act of aggression, whatever the context (Melin, 2008, p. 75).

Women, as the dominated group in patriarchal societies, use tactics in the strive to change their conditions, take place and power or even just to put public light onto patriarchy or doxa. The dominant groups, which consists of men, respond to this by using strategies to fight back and defend their position and power (Ibid).

Although, Melin adds that she does not consider this gender system to be a black-and-white dichotomy where men always are above women. As she considers gender to be habitus – a social construction and a cultural process – there are other factors than gender that affects the hierarchic place in the social pattern of society, such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexuality, class, marital status and physical functionality. This means that a female habitus can be compensated by acquiring capital that is more worth in social space – i.e. getting higher educated or marrying somebody of a higher class, or somebody rich (Melin, 2008, pp. 75-76).

3.2 Bourdieu’s three practical principles

According to Bourdieu (2001, p. 94), the old structures of the sexual division act through three practical principles which women – and their social circles – apply in the choices they make when it comes to the labor market. The first principle is that appropriate functions for women are found to be those that are an extension of her domestic ones. The second is that women cannot have authority over
man and hence it is very likely for a man to be favored when it comes to a position of authority – other factors being equal. Principle number three is that the monopoly of handling machines and technical objects are given to men. I consider this theory to be applicable on the field of media studies and might be used in analyzing gender issues within the media workforce. Particularly applicable do I find this to be in a society such as Bali, which is patriarchal (Mostafanezhad, Norum, Shelton, & Thompson-Carr, 2016, p. 37) and the women are found in charge of the domestic responsibilities of the family (Anggraeni, personal interview, April 2, 2017). It is also of relevance considering the limited number of women who are found in decision-making positions in media organizations (Hari, personal interview, March 24, 2017).

Bourdieu (2001, p. 92) also highlights that women always occupy less favored positions than men on the labor market – other things being equal. This subordination is something that applies to every level of the social sphere. According to Bourdieu, while women are to be found at all levels of the social sphere, their chances of access – and representation rate – drops as they move towards the rarest and most wanted positions. (Ibid, p. 91).

3.3 Summary

The theories defined and explained in this chapter is what forms the theoretical framework of this thesis. I will apply these theories to my analysis of the role of the Balinese female journalist and refer to these theories to explain the tendencies and dynamics of the gender segregations within the journalistic field of Bali. The concept of Journalism Culture is the hub of my theoretical web of concepts. I have chosen this set of theories since they allow me to study the gender characteristics of the Balinese journalism field in general as well as in-depth.

4. METHODOLOGY

I could have chosen to research both what it is like for female journalists from other parts of the world to work in Bali as well as what it’s like for the Balinese female journalist to work in Bali. I chose to research the latter of these two options because not only did I find it more complex, but also more interesting. It meant that I interviewed people who look upon the Balinese culture from an insiders’ point of view. This demanded for me to take that into account in my analysis.

4.1 My role as a foreign researcher

Prior to my arrival to Bali in March 2017, I had already visited the island twice before, in 2014 and in 2016. These previous trips had although only been for holidays and I knew that this trip would be very
different from those. I knew that me as a researcher – the way I acted and how well I knew the context – would affect the results of my field study. As one of the preparations before leaving for Indonesia, I reflected a lot about my upcoming presence in Bali and how my behavior could affect the results of the study. While studying the essentials of conducting qualitative interviews, I learnt that when conducting a qualitative interview, the researcher acts as the “human instrument” of data collection and hence, the outcome and the result of the research depends much on the performance of the researcher (Hoepfl, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 250). This is also why the researcher must develop the level of skill necessary before conducting the study, since he or she is the instrument through which the data will be collected and interpreted (Ibid).

For this reason, I did not schedule any interviews for the first weeks after my arrival. Instead, I spent that time adapting and adjusting to the Balinese environment – observing the way people in my surrounding moved and talked, how they interacted and tried to pick up some of their behavior patterns and contextual guidelines. I also read about the history of Indonesia and the history of Bali, tried to keep up with the general topics of discussion and made sure I had some clues about the present issues and happenings in Bali. I also worked on my Bahasa and picked up basic phrases as well as journalistic key words.

When I later began the study, and started to conduct the interviews, I was more than happy I had taken all this time to prepare. I would not say that I had an abundance of pre-knowledge, but I had enough to be able to conduct meaningful small talk to the journalists I met about recent happenings that had affected their society and when they told me details about upcoming religious holidays or historical events, I did not feel out of place. My observations and my curious questions to some of my Balinese friends contributed to me knowing how I was expected to act and behave when I moved outside the tourist areas: When I met local Balinese people, I knew about local customs and I knew how to not break any religious principles. It also helped me a lot, being able to communicate in basic Bahasa to people that did not speak English. During my interviews, I had altered the way I have been dressing – wearing everything from simple dresses to jeans and T-shirts.

That I, myself, am a woman has simplified for me to contact and connect to the female respondents. If I were to be a man, the interview situation would have been very different. The gender perspective of the interviewer plays a significant role, especially in a field study like this – where the research questions have a gendered angle.

4.2 Conducting a field study in Bali

Something that I did not expect before carrying out my field study, was the Balinese way of arranging meetings and contacting one another. Contacts for interviews have been informal compared to what
they tend to look like in Sweden. Where we in Sweden use e-mail for the matter of arranging research interviews, the Balinese people prefer to use smartphone chat-applications such as WhatsApp. I adapted and changed my communication forms accordingly.

Another difference from Sweden was how flexible the Balinese people are when it comes to arranging meetings. In Sweden, we tend to plan our days down to every minute. In Bali, the majority don’t. If I would have been to conduct this type of study in Sweden, I would have had contacted the people I wanted to interview several weeks in advance. In Bali, the people I contacted were in most cases available for interviews already the next day and many wanted us to meet already the very afternoon. This was something I expected to some extent and hence, I had not been stressed by the fact that I did not have any interviews booked upon boarding the flight to Bali. When planning with Balinese people, always expect for them to show up later than your meeting is scheduled. Late arriving is not considered as rude behavior as it is in for example Sweden. I cannot say if these trends are applicable to every sector of the Balinese society, but at least it is for the female journalists I met.

4.3 Selection of informants

I decided to interview 12 female journalists. I did not narrow them down to where in the media field they preferably worked or of what age they should be. The only requirements I had were for them to be female, Balinese, journalists who permanently were living in Bali, Indonesia. In addition to the 12 female journalists, I decided to interview one representative from a Balinese feminist organization as well as one representative from a Balinese journalist association.

Since I found it hard to get contact information to female journalists without established connections to the media sphere in Bali, I decided to use the snowball technique to find informants. Snowball technique, or snowball sampling, means that the researcher initially contacts a small group of people who are of interest for the research topic, to further on use these people to establish contact with others (Bryman, 2016, p. 188; Larsson, 2013, p. 63). This technique was suitable since the it was a qualitative interview and the informants did not need to be randomly or statistically chosen.

4.4 Semi-structured interviews

I chose to conduct the interviews in a semi-structured way, for me to be able to keep to the same topics for all interviews, while still being able to keep my set of questions flexible and even stray from these in order to adapt to the outcome of the various interviews. I followed the guidelines for the semi-structured interviews as described by Cohen & Crabtree (2006) where I as the interviewer developed a list of topics I wanted to cover during the interviews, as well as questions linked to these topics.
Since I had mostly open-ended questions in my interview guide, the follow-up questions varied between the interviews, accordingly to the answers of the informants. Some of the respondents needed more follow-up question than others.

I was happy with my choice to conduct semi-structured interviews since it allowed me to keep my selection of questions flexible and contributed to building the atmosphere of a relaxed and easy going conversation rather than building up a stiff interview situation. Conducting semi-structured interviews allowed me flexibility while still being able to provide reliable, comparable qualitative data (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

For this study, I consider the chosen way of collecting data to have served its purpose very well. Compared to a survey, this method of data collecting allowed for me to ask pin pointed questions that took the respondent’s previous answers into account. It also paved the way for longer and more in-depth reasoning. If I had used surveys, I would have gotten more respondents and a bigger quantity of data to analyze. This would have given me a broad perspective but not a deep one. The same goes for if my interview would have been structured – the answers would have been easier to analyze since they all would have followed the same setup.

All female journalist informants were given anonymity and the collected data was treated cautiously, to make sure their personal information was kept safe for them not being able to be identified. In this thesis, they are coded by numbers and also referred to as such – for example “Female Journalist 1”, abbreviated to “FJ 1”.

4.4.1 Conducting interviews with an interpreter

I tried to find English speaking journalists since that allowed for me to conduct the interviews in English, not having to use an interpreter. It although turned out that English speaking female journalists were not that easy to find. This lead to having to use an interpreter anyway. Out of the 12 interviews with female journalists as I both conducted and analyzed, I used the help of an interpreter for seven of them. The interpreter as well helped to contact several of the respondents as well as conducting a short prologue to introduce me and my study.

Upon using an interpreter, the risk is always present that she or he might misinterpret and/or not translate essential details which would affect my analysis of the answers. When using an interpreter, she also becomes a human research instrument – just like me as the researcher (Hoepfl, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 250). Since using an interpreter in research interviews often are referred to as an issue of validity and trustworthiness, I found an interpreter whom I strongly trusted for the interviews where the informants chose to speak Bahasa, the Indonesian language. The interpreter had the required linguistic abilities since her first language is Bahasa and she holds a University degree in English.
Literature. The interpreter is furthermore a Balinese female who is working as a journalist herself. This meant that she already was familiar with the vocabulary and the technical terminology of journalism as well as a part of the culture arena. All this contributed to strengthen the validity of her as an interpreter (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002, p. 56). Furthermore, I used the same interpreter for all interviews conducted in Bahasa to better being able to evaluate the translation – and in a wider sense the validity and reliability (Björk Brämberg & Dahlberg, 2013, p. 246). However, as earlier mentioned, the interpreter works as a journalist herself. Before I hired her to be my interpreter, I conducted an interview with her – which made her one of my anonymous informants (FJ 1) as well – and hence, I can not write her full name.

When conducting qualitative interviews with an interpreter, it is of vital importance to match the interpreter and informant with respect to ethnicity, gender, age, and other characteristics (Björk Brämberg & Dahlberg, 2013, p. 241). The interpreter I used matched very well with the informants, given that they came from the same culture, worked in the same field, had the same gender and were quite close in age. The fact that the interpreter I used was not only female, but also a Balinese journalist herself, served as an excellent bridge between me and the respondents – by participating in two cultures while at the same time being in-between (Björk Brämberg & Dahlberg, 2013, p. 243). The cultural and contextual gap between us was still existing in her presence – but she made it less noticeable. I am convinced that using a woman interpreter instead of a man interpreter contributed to the outcome of the study. Since I was interviewing women and I use a gendered approach in my study, it might have affected the results if a man had been present.

I followed the advices of Björk Brämberg & Dahlberg, (2013, p. 245), who recommends that research interviews conducted through an interpreter should focus on the essential meanings of the spoken words. Björk Brämberg & Dahlberg argue that in this kind of interviews, the interpretation style is rarely a precise word-for-word translation – although the strive of course is to keep it as close to verbatim as possible – but rather, it is about translating and mediating meaning from one language to another, bridging the different horizons between researcher and informant (Ibid). For this very reason – I decided to analyze the interviews using a method of analysis that focuses less on details in the language (for a description of this method, see chapter 4.7, Grounded analysis).

### 4.4.2 Drop-outs

In total, fifteen women journalists were asked to be interviewed for the field study. Although, two of these interviews were never conducted – and a third one were subtracted from the material before the process of analysis. This makes for three non-completed interviews in total.
The first drop-out works as a journalist for a newspaper. She recently married a Javanese man and hence converted from Hindu to Muslim. We scheduled an interview and I found it to be of great interest to meet her because I would like to ask her if – and in that case how – her career and her role as a journalist had been affected by the conversion. Did she find it harder or easier to work as a journalist, being Muslim? I did unfortunately never get to know the answers to my questions since she agreed to meet me for an interview only if we did not discuss the matter of religion. She was very firm on this point and hence, I decided to cancel the planned interview since I knew my questions and my points of interest concerned these matters. I did not want to change the direction of the interview – since I wanted to be able to analyze it and compare her answers to those of the other respondents. Neither did I want to conduct the interview and ask my questions that concerned religious matters. This would have meant that I disrespected her expressed request and I would have risked stepping on her toes.

The second of the drop-outs works both as an editor for a newspaper and as a writer of books. She initially said yes to the interview – but when I arrived at the meeting place, she told me that she didn’t feel well and that she only had time for a very brief interview. I had asked for 1.5 hours but now she told me that she only had 10 minutes to spare. We conducted a brief version of the interview, and her answers were much alike the other respondents’. Although, since the interview was conducted in a rush – there was not much time or space for her to deepen her answers and her arguments. For this very reason, I decided to subtract her interview from the material I analyzed. This is although her answers fell in line with the other respondents’ answers and would also have strengthen my hypothesis.

The third drop-out works a journalist for a paper in Denpasar. She initially said yes to an interview, but the hours before the interview was going to take place, she did not answer her phone to reconfirm our meeting. This despite numerous of text and calls. Then she finally replied, saying that she could not make the scheduled time. She did not answer when – or if – she could meet us later. Since I already had scheduled the interpreter for these hours, we made the decision of not rescheduling her interview but to meet another female journalist instead. A journalist that we knew were available (Female Journalist 11, FJ 11).

4.5 Complementary sources of information

As earlier mentioned, I conducted two complementary interviews in Bali. Both these interviews were conducted in Bahasa, with the help of the interpreter.

The first of these interviews was with Hari Puspita, the chairman of Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Kota Denpasar (The Independent Journalist Association of Denpasar city). This interview was conducted to get more information about the journalism in general in Bali, as well as an insight in such issues as wages and job conditions for Balinese journalists.
The second of these interviews was with Luh Putu Anggraeni, the general secretary of LBH Apik Bali (The Women’s Legal Aid Organization Association for Justice in Bali). The interview with her was conducted to collect more information about the status of women in the Balinese society.

4.6 Conducted interviews

All interviews were conducted in Denpasar, the main city of Bali, between March 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2017, and April 9\textsuperscript{th}, 2017. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed for analysis. The interviews with the female journalists lasted between 00:38:31 and 01:27:19 with an average time of 1:04:09. The interview with Luh Putu Anggraeni, general secretary for The Women’s Legal Aid Organization Association for Justice in Bali, lasted 02:35:27. The interview with Hari Puspita, chairman for The Independent Journalist Association of Denpasar city, lasted 01:12:16.

To avoid distractions and environments that could possibly affect the outcome and the result of the interviews, I preferred to meet the informants at neutral, public places – such as cafés. I would rather not conduct the interviews at their workplace. This was also what I suggested to the informants, but I also told them that the decision was up to them – that we would conduct the interviews at whatever place they felt most comfortable. As a result of this – the vast part of the interviews took place at various cafés in central Denpasar. The interview with Anggraeni was held in her home while the interview with Puspita was held in his office.

During the interviews, a couple of various situations have occurred. Since the interview situation itself is depending on a numerous of different variables and the main part of these are outside of my control as a researcher’s control, I found it essential to be able to adapt and quickly being able to handle whatever comes along. One of the situations I did not see coming was when a respondent mid-way into an interview almost burst out in tears. I had asked her a question and her answer touched the topic of her father who recently had passed away. The interview was held in Bahasa which complicated the situation even more since I did not understand her emotional state until it was translated.

The quotes that are cited in this thesis, have all been slightly adjusted to correct language and grammar mistakes.

4.7 Grounded analysis

I was thinking about conducting a discourse analysis of the transcribed interviews or a grounded analysis of the very same. One of the main reasons of not conducting a discourse analysis was the fact that the main part of the interviews was conducted in Bahasa, with the help of an interpreter. A discourse analysis would pay too much attention to details in the language for the result to be reliable.
My choice then fell upon the later of these options – analyzing my qualitative interviews with a grounded form of analysis, using an inductive approach. An inductive analysis is when the researcher enters the process with an open mind and lets the observations he or she makes while analyzing the raw data form the central patterns and themes (Patton, 2002, pp. 55-58). This process can be referred to as “open coding” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, pp. 12-13).

The analysis process of a grounded analysis begins with an open coding of the raw data, the transcribed interviews. During the open coding, the researcher creates – and temporarily names – conceptual categories which emerges from the analyzed data and into which the observed phenomena will be grouped. The goal is that these thematic categories will form the preliminary framework for analysis – each category consisting of words, phrases and phenomena that appear similar. During the upcoming steps of analysis, these categories might be modified to various extent (Hoepfl, 1997).

The next stage of the analysis process is to reexamine these themes or categories to find links between them and determine how they are related, something that might be referred to as "axial coding" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, pp. 13-14). All the researcher’s hypothetical relationships between categories found within the stage of open coding are here tested repeatedly against the data. No relationship is to be taken for granted until verified, and any hypotheses that do not withstand after tested against the data must be revised or discarded. To be able to discard or verify (meaning regarded as increasingly credible), the hypothesis must be supported by data repeatedly times. Single incidents are not enough. Unsupported hypothesis should be critically evaluated in order to determine if it should be discarded as false or if the observed events rather points towards a variation of the hypothesis (Ibid). While axial coding, the researcher compare and combine the categories in new ways as he or she begins to assemble the big picture, forming a conceptual model. One of the most important results of coding is to gain new understanding of the case. Therefore, all aspects of the case must be identified and explored, as well as the details of it and the things contributing to form it (Hoepfl, 1997).

The third and last stage of grounded analysis is selective coding. It is here the researcher pinpoints the core category of the saturated conceptual model (Hoepfl, 1997). According to Corbin & Strass, all categories should in the process of selective coding be unified around a core category which represents the central phenomenon of the study. This core category should be the main analytic idea presented in the research and conceptualize the main phenomenon of the study. It should explain the variation observed between and among the categories. The core category can either emerge from the categories already identified, or a more abstract term may be needed to explain the main concept. The other categories will always stand in relationship to the core category and serve as conditions, action/interactional strategies, or consequences (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 14).
4.7.1 Combining grounded analysis with theory and previous research

My choice of conducting a grounded analysis of the material was established a few interviews into the research process. Upon my conduction of interviews, certain relations between the categories that began to emerge struck me of not being fully covered by earlier research or theories – such as the relation between – or rather the balancing act of combining – the categories of the different roles of Balinese women. Hence, I realized that a grounded analysis of my data would allow me to analyze these relations and map down connections and conditions that was specific for the female Balinese journalists. When conducting a grounded analysis, the analyzing process runs parallel with the collection of material and material is collected until the point where the data collection is saturated, dense enough, to establish the categories that emerges from the data. I realized that conducting a grounded analysis was mandatory in order for me to establish the new hypothetical relations between the emerging categories.

However, other categories that emerged was greatly in line with theories applied to previously conducted studies of the gendered journalism sphere as well as in line with the findings and conclusions of previously published research, covering this topic. Concerning these categories, the grounded analysis made it able to establish whether the tendencies and the state of Bali’s journalism sphere was in line with global trends and theories within this sector.

5. ANALYSIS

My analysis is divided into three sub-chapters, where sub-chapter one focuses on answering the first of my initial research questions while sub-chapter two and three focus on answering the second research question. While the first sub-chapter has a more descriptive form and search to define the roles of the female Balinese journalists, the second and the third sub-chapter is more analytical and search to explain how the Balinese surroundings characterize and affect the female journalist’s role.

5.1 The role of the female Balinese journalist

The research question in focus in this sub-chapter is: “What is the role of the female Balinese journalist?” My aim is to map the characteristics the Balinese women working within the journalist profession from a gender perspective. This sub-chapter focus on their role within the newsroom and includes aspects such as general work conditions as well as how the gender impacts their professional role. I have chosen to focus on the same key points as previous studies covering this topic, such as Djerf-Pierre (2007) and Melin (2008), in order to be able to compare my findings to previous research. Hence, this chapter covers aspects such as what kind of news men and women journalists covers –
where the diverse themes and genres are categorized as hard and soft news. The theoretical concepts of doxa, journalism culture and masculine domination are as well being referred to, while presenting a picture of the gendered journalism culture in Bali.

My informants do not experience any gender difference when it comes to salaries – instead they agreed on other factors affecting the salary, such as the number of years working as journalists, the length of working times, responsibilities at work as well as your job position:

I think it is the same. It is not based on whether you are a boy or a girl. it depends on your job position, I guess. And I think it is mostly fair. It is not… gender is not a reason to get different paid. – FJ 4

I think the only reason to make the salaries different are the length of the working times. I mean – which one is more senior and which one is more young… like junior. It’s not about the different genders. – FJ 3

Their impression of a non-existing payment gap between gender is something that contradicts the results of earlier studies (Melin, 2008, p. 116; Van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 50-51; Unesco, 2015). The only informant that mentions anything about a payment gap between genders is FJ 12 who says that a male colleague of hers, who was hired at the same time as her, gets a higher salary. She says she is not sure about the exact reasons for this payment gap but her guess is that it could do with their different family situations:

Probably because he is married and he has someone to cover for. – FJ 12

All informants said that the clear majority of journalists within their newsrooms were men – this applied to newspapers as well as those working within radio and TV. This shows upon a male domination within these newsrooms in terms of gender of the employed journalists. FJ 1 states that within almost all media companies in Bali, the bosses are men. Some women are however to be found as editors or are found as vice chief editors, but these are few:

I can say – yes, we still have lower positions. Especially for the leading positions. Heads of things, they still usually are men. But now they are trying to put like 30 percent of spots for women… but it’s not really happening. Most of them, still – if it’s possible – men first. – FJ 1
This observation is in line with Bourdieu’s theories of masculine domination concerning how women gets less favored positions than men on the labor market and that women’s representation rate – drops as they move towards the rarest and most wanted positions. (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 91-92). It also in line with the second of his three practical principles (Ibid, p. 94) – that women cannot have authority over man and hence it is very likely for a man to be favored when it comes to a position of authority – other factors being equal. FJ 9 is the only one who has a majority of women in the top positions of her media company – given that all three of her producers being women. It is as well in line with the previous research of the media industry that shows a horizontally segregation where women are harder to find in senior management positions (Allan, 2004, p. 121; M. Byerly, 2013, p. 452; Melin, 2008, p. 114; Van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 50-51) The two positions above these women are although occupied by men. FJ 9 is the only female journalist I’ve met who has had a majority of women in top positions at her media company:

I think there is no difference between men and women in my office. It’s just that the top positions are women’s, and it’s them who tell the men to work… to move everywhere… they are the queens. – FJ 9

Since women within the journalist world is the non-dominant group, they are the ones who are allodoxa (Melin, 2008, p. 72; Bourdieu, 1988). The fact that FJ 9 chooses to refer to these female bosses as the “queens” might be a tactic (Melin, 2008, p. 75) in order to bring extra light to this contrast to the established hierarchical system of Bali – where women traditionally are the object of male dominance (Melin, 2008, p. 75). A segregation between topics are found – to a certain extent. FJ 1, FJ 5, FJ 7, FJ 11 and FJ 12 says that women in general cover soft topics while men cover the hard ones:

The women journalists more cover soft issues. Like educations, health, social, art and culture… and the men mostly take more risky topics – murders, criminals, the demonstrations… things that are bloody. – FJ 5

Men are more covering bloody things… crimes and tragedies. Perhaps this happens because of the policy of the chief editor. The chief editor probably feels that it’s not right if he puts a woman to cover crimes… it’s not appropriate. – FJ 11

This segregation is not a trend that seems to apply throughout the entire sector of Balinese media, although it indicates that this gender division exists to a certain extent, something that is in line with Melin’s (2008, p. 116) observations concerning how the work tasks within editorial offices are
horizontally divided between genders, men covering “hard” news while women covers “soft” news. It is as well in line with the first of Bourdieu’s three practical principles (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 94) – being that appropriate functions for women are found to be those that are an extension of her domestic ones.

FJ 9, who works for the TV, says there is no difference between men and women when it comes to the news topics they cover. FJ 10 says that she can’t distinguish any difference either, apart from the topics of crime, which she finds to be covered mostly by men. This is also my general conclusion from analyzing the interviews – the female journalists agree upon that the topic of crime is covered by a majority of men. Furthermore, FJ 12 is the only journalist I’ve met who has covered the topic of crime, something she says she found to be scary:

Why? Because what I’ve been reporting about… killing people, murderers and also the suicides… when I did reporting, I joined with the police […] and watched how they did the investigations and so on. We went to the rooms of the victims […] I saw the bodies of the victims. – FJ 12

FJ 8 is of the opinion that her editors tend to give the female journalists the easier tasks, such as issues that are easier to cover or interviewees that are easier to contact. FJ 9 says that the general approach of her media company – as well as that of her – is that men and women are the same and that their work tasks and conditions should be the same. Although, she says that sometimes women are shown more understanding than men and are given easier conditions – such as not having to work nighttime:

We can do it. Why not? Sometimes I do it with them too […] but sometimes the boss tell us to take a rest and let the men do it. – FJ 9

She, however, admits that she sometimes wishes that her media company would treat her different than her men colleagues:

Sometimes, because I am a woman and I have that much responsibilities… sometimes I feel that I need to be treated special, different... But then I see that we all work here, both men and women, and they also have their social responsibilities and so… so, I can’t be like that. […] That’s okay, because I understand them – everyone must work here. – FJ 9
When it comes to work conditions and the employers’ treatment of the journalists, the journalists I’ve interviewed think that they are treated equally to the men reporters – or rather that the women were treated the same as men:

They [my male colleagues] treat me just normal. But probably because I’m also not that feminine, so they feel that I’m just the same with them. – FJ 11

This indicates that it is men who sets the norms and standards for the journalism field of Bali. This also suggests that a male doxa to apply to the journalism culture of Bali, which is in line to earlier research that states that men define the doxa of journalism (Melin, 2008, p.123).

Concerning the journalism culture – the informants speaks about an including atmosphere, although a masculine one. In the field, female and male journalists are treated the same, women journalists rarely get the same benefits. FJ 7 says that while on duty, she competes with the male reporters while doing reports – they are then treating her the same way as the other men. Also after doing reports, they keep the friendly sense:

They seem like brothers: Very welcoming, there is no gap at all. We hang out together – going for social drinking, karaoke. Just like friends. […] – FJ 7

She says that she adapts her way of acting while in the field, acting more masculine to be able to compete with the men. In other words, she will adapt to the set, masculine, doxa of journalism. The general attitude of female journalists, concerning if the terms of the job demand for them to adapt masculine features and ways of acting to fit in or get the reports they want – seems to be divided: Some agree with FJ 7 and states that they act masculine while working, others say that the masculine work conditions more affect their ways of thinking than acting:

So far, I feel no difference between men and women. And I thinks that ‘if a man can do it, I can also do it’. Like ‘I can compete with them, I can do what they can do’ […] The influence [of being a journalist] is not really about the masculine things… masculine in terms of physical… but it’s more about the spirit, like ‘okay, I want to fight’. In that way, it has influenced me. – FJ 3

I think that in a physical way, we don’t really need to change ourselves. But what is important – more about our spirit. Giving ourselves the same spirit as them, putting belief in ourselves: ‘I can do the same, I can compete with them’. – FJ 10
FJ 10 as well as other of the journalists, such as FJ 1, said to find the appearance of female journalists in general to be less feminine. Something they linked to the conditions of the job, conducting reports in the field demands for simple and comfortable dressing and not for the usage of things as high heels. Some female journalists highlighted the possibility – and their desire – to keep their feminine look, despite working in a masculine field. In other words, state the allodoxa of the journalism culture (Melin, 2008, p. 75):

The first time I applied for this job, the big boss – the interviewer – said ‘wow, you are a beautiful girl – why do you want to be a journalist? Won’t you be disappointed because you will be on the field, in the sun… getting dirty and dark… are you serious you want to be a journalist?’ So, you know, one who has already been a journalist for years and years and years, still have that kind of mindset. Like ‘oh, a journalist will be a woman who not really is pretty in a general way, not having white skin and so…’ – FJ 2

I think I don’t have to be a man to do the job. I can also cover the news although I am just a woman. And I don’t need to be so boy-like, cut my hair or anything. No, I don’t need to do that. I still can be pretty in the field but also doing what they do… running, chasing the interviewee, but still look good. – FJ 9

Concerning the role of female journalists in Bali, some women reasoned that it came down to act as guardians. Although – their opinions about what to guard were different. FJ 3 and FJ 5 regarded the guarding role of women journalists as maintaining and preserving the Balinese culture through their reports and writings. Apart from this, three of the other journalists (FJ 2, FJ 10 and FJ 11) also spoke about a guarding role, although concerning the protection of other women and children. Especially reports about sexual harassments and sexual abuses where women and children are the victims. They argue that female journalists and female editors makes sure to describe these things in more proper words, politer than men. Hence, they think it’s important that these texts are either written or edited by women to make them less vulgar and keep the victim from being yet another victim, a victim of the media. FJ 2, who works as an editor, compares the drafts of male and female journalists – concerning these matters:

Especially when it comes to sexual harassments, sexual abuse… women being the victims… I find the writings of men journalists to be very vulgar. And also, the titles are so open… and so bombastic. It seems like the woman, who is already being a
victim, becomes another victim of the media. Because the men journalists write every detail […] And I think the reason why men write like that is because they are not putting themselves in that position, in the shoes of being a woman. And concerning the bad impacts… it may lead the opinions of the public, if they write in that way. It seems as if they blame the woman, like ‘that’s because she was using a sexy t-shirt’ or ‘why are you going in the night? It’s not proper for ladies’. – FJ 2

What goes for the informant’s choice of careers, they state that the journalism profession suited them well as persons. Many of the female journalists were mentioning freedom as a clear advantage of the profession – both freedom of time, space and expression. Other factors they found beneficial was that the work itself is challenging and they keep learning and increasing their knowledge within a broad range of subjects as keys to why they choose to work as journalists. Another benefit mentioned by the journalists is how the profession serves to bridge the gap between classes and levels within the Balinese society:

By being a journalist, there is no gap. I can meet everyone. I can meet very poor people from the lowest level, up to the very highest level […] – FJ 7

Being a journalist is actually like you have the same… not status… but you can interview the president, even. When you become a journalist, there is no gap between people in the many fields. – FJ 4

The Balinese society has a cast system, a class system, that affects the interactions in social life. FJ 3, who comes from the highest cast – Gung, says that she rather not brings her cast background out in the field. When meeting people in the field, she only introduces herself with half her name – leaving out the part that gives away her cast association:

“[…] the first time I introduced myself as a Gung, the interviewee treated me different… communicating by using more polite words… ‘ah, yeah – Gung’. I don’t really feel comfortable with that. I just want to be treated in a normal way […] Not using Gung feels friendlier, like we are on the same level.” – FJ 3

She also adjusts her vocabulary when working in the field compared to when she is around her family and other people of the same cast as her. When socializing with people who are also from the high
cast, she says that she speaks politer and use a more proper set of words. Upon reporting, on the other hand, she mainly meets people from lower casts:

“When I am doing reports, I just normally speak like I do with my friends, using common words.” – FJ 3

This is in line with Melin’s considering of how a female habitus can be compensated – by acquiring capital that is more worth in social, for example belonging to a higher class (Melin, 2008, pp. 75-76). This capital although placed FJ 3 at a position she considered as too high, so she decided to drop the class association.

Concerning Bourdieu’s three practical principles, (2001, p. 94), the third one – concerning that the monopoly of handling machines and technical objects are given to men – does not seem to be entirely out of line:

In our radio, it’s just the boys [who handles the technical things]. – FJ 4

Since the handling of technical instruments were not a part of my interview guide, and FJ 4 was although the only informant to mention the handling of technical equipment, it gives me too little data to define or dismiss this principle.

5.2 The general role of women in the Balinese society

The research question in focus in this sub-chapter, as well as in the next one, is how the role of the female Balinese journalist is shaped by the social, cultural and religious contexts and dynamics. My aim here is to analyze the expressed views of the female journalists on their own role – as professionals as well as part of families in the Balinese society. I search to give an explanation to why the role of female Balinese journalists is this certain way. This sub-chapter will although begin by clarifying the general role of women in Bali, where I clarify basic concepts and structures within the Balinese society. Clarifying the general role of women is mandatory to later analyze the combination of this role with their journalist role (see following sub-chapter).
My grounded analysis of the conducted interviews led me to distinguish a pattern of themes, categories, that circulated around the core theme of balance and time management (see Figure 5A). This core concept is closely tying together three main themes – family, religion and work. This balancing act is something that applies to the role of Balinese women in general – not only those working in journalism. This balancing act was also something the informants stated numerous times throughout the interview:

I think the role of women in the society of Bali is very important. Why? We can start with the responsibilities that we cover… first, we need to take care of our household and the family, our husband and our children. And second, we also have responsibilities for the society, the adat, the traditional community… and third – since we also have a financial responsibility, of course we still need to work […] – FJ 10

I think the role of women in Bali is a lot about responsibilities… very complex… she needs to handle almost everything – like the family, the culture, the religion, the financials… – FJ 3

Balancing these main themes is complex and I reason that the act itself is best envisioned as a complex scale with three axes, where each axis holds a pan – containing one of these themes. Each pan has the possibility to tip the balance of the scale one way or another. These main themes – in their turn – consist of a variation of sub-themes with factors, whom – nestled together – forming the thick web that shapes the life and the role of the female Balinese journalists. The first of the main-themes – family – are linked to the sub-themes children, husband and domestic tasks. The second main-theme – religion – are linked to the sub-themes community and rituals. The third main-theme – work – is linked to the sub-themes money and independence, see Figure 5B for a visual image of the relation between these categories.

Figure 5B: The scheme of themes
The concept of themes – the categories into which I have divided the different roles and aspects of the Balinese women’s responsibilities, duties and such – is although not as simply structured as in the figure above (5B). The reality is that the themes intersect – see figure 5C – and hence, I choose to refer to this structure as a complex web. Upon looking deeper into the first of these mail themes – *family* – it consists of the sub-themes children, husband and domestic tasks. Before the Balinese women marries, they have a share of domestic responsibilities in the house of their family, or in the house of their own – in case they already have moved away from their family and got a house, apartment or room of their own. This is although not as common and mainly occurs when their education or work demands for them to live in another city, when their original home is too far away located. After marriage, their spectra of responsibilities concerning the family-category expands and she now needs to find time to spend caring for her husband. When they have kids, this category expands even more:

> I feel guilty if my husband has not eaten yet. – FJ 5

> You know, here – the women are still taking care of the kids. More than the men are. That’s why we have bigger responsibilities than men. – FJ 9

> […] Even now, without kids, I have a big responsibility. A small example – only the two of us, we have a pile of laundry… can you imagine with a kid too? There will be another pile… – FJ 5

Next main theme, religion, connected to the sub-themes community and rituals – is another category that involves many responsibilities. Women are responsible for the daily rituals conducted in their family temples and in their homes. They also have a lot of responsibilities to cover concerning their family’s role and participation in the community:

> Here in Bali, we have more cultural responsibility. Because we also need to do a ritual at home and another middle ritual ceremony… and a bigger ceremony and every six month-ceremony, every year-ceremony. There’s so many… if you are Hindu… – FJ 1
I think the label of a family is very much depending on how the woman in that family behaves… her attitude and how she socializes. If the woman of one family cannot behave, or has a bad reputation, it’s labeling the entire family. That’s why, at the same time, the Balinese women also have a psychological burden. Because they really need to behave, and really pay attention to keep a good image. – FJ 2

The size and weight of these responsibilities although tends to vary depending on where in Bali you live: Women in the northern parts of Bali have less responsibilities for the community and the rituals than the women in the southern parts of Bali:

[…] Our traditions in the north of Bali are quite different to the traditions in the south of Bali. Because in the south of Bali, they mostly have big, big ceremonies. They have a lot of offerings and other things. But in the north of Bali, there are not too many. They say women from the north of Bali are lucky, because they don’t have to focus on traditions since there are not so many traditions, not many offerings. – FJ 6

Concerning the third main theme – work, which is connected to the sub-themes money and independence – the importance of working to cover your own expenses as a woman and hence being independent is also something that is highlighted by the informants. Traditionally in Bali, the man is the one who provides the income of the family – something that has changed rapidly within the last couple of decades:

[…] If the woman herself is not independent, and one day something happens to her – like her husband divorces her, or something else happens… then her future will be like… her life will be ruined at that moment […] Today, I think a lot of Balinese women try to work in order to protect themselves… because if something happens, they still can be independent. – FJ 3

Concerning changes – there as well seems to be a general wave of changes taking place right now, affecting the Balinese women. This is indicated by many of the informants but the one to express is boldly is FJ 11. These changes, however, still seems to be in an initial phase and focused mainly to the urban areas – such as the main city of Denpasar. My analysis of these changes indicated that it is mainly a change in the mindset of these urban women, an expressed strive for gender equality:
Concerning the geographical factor – I found that women who live in rural areas, in villages, are more enjoying their comfort zone […] If we compare with those [women] who live in the big city, who have experienced going outside of Bali, seeing another environment… this type of women will have bigger dreams. They will encourage themselves and push themselves to reach better achievements. That’s why we can say that those who live in villages, they don’t really push themselves for a career. But those who live in a big city, they try to balance things – between career, family and so on. – FJ 11

Probably a few years ago, the role of Balinese women was only for the domestic areas. But today, the Balinese women wants to be recognized on the same level as the men […] – FJ 11

Another trend, visible among urban inhabitants, is that they seem to prioritize work and their careers, some for the cost of religious and community rituals:

In my village, there are so many rituals. I mean… it’s a lot more than in Denpasar […] In Denpasar, it is more modern. People understand that people work…. – FJ 9

The general role of women in the Balinese society is complex and multi-dimensional. They balance three main themes of responsibilities – family, religion and work. The core concept of this act is balance, or time management. The main themes – and their related sub-themes – form a complex web of responsibilities. The weight of the main themes tends to vary: Married women with kids for example have more responsibilities within the family category, and women from southern Bali seems to have more rituals that weighs down the category of religion, compared to those from the northern parts of the island. There seems to be a difference in mindset between women living in urban areas and those living in rural ones – urban women tend to prioritize their careers higher than rural women.

5.3 Combining these roles

In previous sub-chapter, I clarified the general role of women in the Balinese society, where basic concepts and structures within the Balinese society were mapped down and contextualized. In this sub-chapter, I will analyze the combination of the woman’s general role with her journalist role. I will focus on the same research question in this sub-chapter, being how the role of the female Balinese journalist is shaped by the social, cultural and religious contexts and dynamics. My aim in this sub-chapter is to analyze the expressed views of the female journalists on their own role – as professionals
as well as part of families in the Balinese society. I search to give an explanation to why the role of female Balinese journalist is this certain way and also to pinpoint some tactics she uses when it comes to balancing her work life with her other responsibilities:

In general, the responsibility of the Balinese woman is already very complex. And at the same time, she also takes such a big responsibility as a journalist […] – FJ 5

Being a journalist is traditionally no typical Balinese job – this applies both to men and women. As stated in chapter one of this thesis, many people in Bali are found within the tourism area:

[Working as a journalist] is far from their expectations. They expected me to be a governments officer. That’s a favorite job for parents, they want their kids to be governments officers […] – FJ 11

Although, being a journalist is an even more non-typical profession for women than for men:

It’s hard when you have a family, to work in media. My mother was a teacher, so she could go home at three pm. She could then take care of her kids and have more time with us. But if you work in the media, you have to work from nine to five, and sometimes even longer than that… It is less time for me than for my mother […] The Balinese women take care of many responsibilities, so they sometimes pick an easy job that they can handle from home. Or a job which they can, just like my mother could, leave at three pm to go home and take care of their home. – FJ 9

The informants speak about their journalism profession in terms of ‘hard’ and ‘demanding’ – having to be flexible and move around to various parts of Bali, meeting deadlines as well as working long and ‘strange’ hours. They also come back to that they see it as a hard job to combine with their traditional responsibilities as well as their responsibilities concerning their family. This is also why they think there are not many female Balinese journalists around, in fact – they tell me that most women journalists in Bali have their roots in the Muslim island of Java and hence, they do not have the same weight of religious responsibilities to balance. The informants agree on the multi-dimensional spectra of responsibilities being the main reason why few Balinese women choose to work as journalists:

[…] we need to be really trustable and put this as a priority. Because this [working as a journalist] is like a responsibility to the public, to the society. I think that’s why not too many Balinese women want to take this kind of life. – FJ 10
The informants also agree on that the weight of the two other main themes – their responsibilities for family and religion – is a likely explanation why Balinese women are not found in top positions within companies:

One more thing being an obstacle for female journalists concerns the traditional roles in adat. Because when we get married, we will have more responsibilities. That’s why it is hard for Balinese female journalists to get higher positions: Because their time is more and their focus is also split between different things. That’s why they can’t really focus to get higher positions at work. – FJ 7

FJ 1 and FJ 6 also states that Balinese women tends to take a step back in their careers after marrying, since their responsibilities for family and religion expands.

FJ 8 is married and lives with her husband and their kids in the house of her parents. She tells me that the people in her society don’t know that she works as a journalist. They don’t ask what she does for a living because she still lives in her big family, in the house of her parents. She doesn’t feel like telling them either, since she is afraid that they might think she neglects her role for the Hindu religion by being a journalist, having a demanding job:

I think they will think that I don’t have time to handle adat, the Balinese traditions and culture, if I work as a journalist. – FJ 8

Since FJ 8 lives in the house of her parents, she can prioritize work instead of the religious tasks since her mother helps her out with the ceremonies and rituals. This arrangement only demands her to care for her domestic tasks as a wife and mother and for her job as a journalist.

This is a general trend that emerged during my analysis of the interviews – that the female journalists tend to give one of the major themes less attention than the two other. It is common that this is the result of the woman getting external help concerning one of the themes and hence, the weight of her responsibilities is less. This arrangement provides her with an extra chunk of time, which she can divide between her remaining responsibilities. This external help is often a husband who helps with the domestic tasks or parents or relatives who helps with the religious tasks and rituals.

This trend and these arrangements are examples of tactics used by the female journalists. Tactic, being the practice used by the dominated in the social power struggle between the dominating and the dominated (Melin, 2008, pp. 73-74). I refer to the social practice of Balinese women in the social power struggle as tactics since they are the dominated group both within the patriarchal society of Bali and within the Journalism Culture of Bali. According to Melin (2008, p. 75), these tactics can be used
in the strive to change the women’s conditions, take place and power or to put public light onto patriarchy or doxa. In this case, I would say that tactics are used by women to take place and power within the Journalism Culture of Bali. However, I find that tactics mainly are being used by the women journalists in order to find a way to balance all their responsibilities. Being able to apply for – and to keep – a position within the field in the first place:

Some of the female journalists give up, decide to stop being journalists, and just spend their time with their family. Except from if their husband also works as a journalist. Then the husband understands the profession, the working times and the dynamics. But if the boyfriend or the husband doesn’t have a background in media, he does not at all know what the life of media is like. Then it might be hard for them to deal with each other. – FJ 7

Another way, tactic, to relieve the weight of one of these major themes is by getting easier responsibilities at work. An example of this is FJ 10, who is staying in a big family – the family of her husband’s. The mother of her husband is the one responsible for the traditional things concerning community and ceremonies. Her burden of balancing these three themes was also relieved by her media company: After she married, she asked them to decrease the operating pressure upon her. Her employer agreed and placed her in an easier section as well as cut down on the number of news articles she must produce in a day:

That they approved my proposal to get the tolerance is also one of the reasons why I keep working in this company […] Other Balinese women prioritize their family and their society life more. The same thing could have happened to me as well, if my company had not given tolerance to me when I got married. Then I might have stopped working as a journalist. – FJ 10

Other tactics includes hiring a baby-sitter or placing the kids in daycare. Other female journalists simply choose to stop working as journalists and choose a job they think is easier to combine with their family life:

They [women] need to manage their time between A, B, C, D… and often, since they can’t deal with all these things, they give up their careers and just stay at home, putting themselves for their family and for their community. – FJ 7
Although, many journalists have a burning passion for journalism and fight to be able to keep their jobs while balancing the other responsibilities, without any external help. In the act of working hard to balance it all – they have very long days:

The only challenge for me is managing time. But I feel I am quite good at managing my time between family, work and the ritual life. But I need to work harder. If I, for example, used to wake up at seven, I now [after marriage] need to wake up at four or five in the morning. And then working. After that, going home and doing the household work. After that for the ceremony… – FJ 2

We Balinese female journalists sacrifice quite a lot of things and we understand that perhaps we don’t have a lot of time for someone we date… for our boyfriends… we are not able to hang out a lot. And we don’t have a lot of time for ourselves either… to just go shopping… and all things that normal people probably can do […] – FJ 7

This balancing act can be regarded a tactic as well. Other conclusions from my analysis was that I observed a great strength and a willpower from the female journalists, for example from FJ 10 who was reporting until eight months pregnant, and FJ 9 who upon the time of out interview was pregnant but still is chasing the cases in the field:

Everybody says, ‘can you do that with you baby?’ And, yeah… I think she wants to be a journalist. Because every time I move, she moves too. – FJ 9

I find the role of the female Balinese journalist to be heavily defined by the social, cultural and religious contexts and dynamics of Bali. Being a journalist is not categorized as an easy job for women in Bali and in order for the Balinese women to combine the demanding journalistic profession with their other responsibilities, those connected to the categories of family and religion, they use tactics: Getting help and support with some of their responsibilities. Another tactic is learning to manage their time very neatly.

Their many responsibilities for their family and the religion is a likely explanation to why the number of Balinese female journalists is low, as well as to why Balinese women rarely are found in top positions. However, the women working as Balinese journalists seem to take their job very seriously. They also seem to both recognize and admire their own strength in finding ways to combine their ever responsibility and being able to keep working as journalists, and seem to find a considerable pride in managing to balance it all.
6. CONCLUSIONS

Most of my conclusions are to be found in the previous chapter – within the analysis. Here, I although choose to highlight certain of these points as well as put them in context to each other – as well as in context to my research questions.

The analysis of the qualitative interviews I conducted pointed towards a gender segregation that applies to the journalist employees in Bali – however, it does not apply to the entire spectra of work conditions. The journalists’ I interviewed do for example not experience any gender difference when it comes to salaries – it is although difficult to conclude if their impression of this is accurate or not. There is although a segregation within the workforce that keeps women occupied in lower positions – while the men dominate the higher ones. This segregation might be a result of the characteristics of Bourdieu’s theory of *three practical principles* (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 94), where the old structures of the sexual division applies when it comes to women’s positions on the labor market. It is also in line with other of his theories of masculine domination (Ibid, p. 91-92) such as that the representation rate of women drops upon moving towards the rarest and most wanted positions.

Although, my analysis point towards that this also might be the result of the complex role of the Balinese woman, who she combines not only with the household burdens of a woman within a patriarchal society – but as well as with the cultural and religious responsibilities of a woman who have the religious belief of Balinese Hinduism. This complex role also seems to be the reason why there are so few Balinese women working as journalists in the first place.

This low representation of women, the alldoxa, within the journalism culture leaves the established male doxa unthreatened. My analysis of the difficulties women journalists face in Bali, however, points more towards a connection to a personal level of struggle – balancing her other responsibilities – than towards a negative attitude from colleagues and employees. This is also why I conclude that if these conditions are to change, and the women’s role within the journalism culture are to become stronger, the general role and of Balinese women needs to change. There are although indications that a change is taking place at the time of writing, where the rights of women seem to win ground as well as the women seem to get more and more brave. These signs on a change in progress are positive indications on an improved position of women within the patriarchal Balinese society as such – as well as within the journalistic field and the journalist culture of Bali.

Another distinct characteristic of my analysis that I would like to highlight is the fact that the women I’ve met seems to back each other up to a wide extent – supporting and appreciating each other as well as noticing and admiring the strength of one another. This is something I find crucial in case the alldoxa of journalism will be able to win ground. Since the dominant group of the field are those who define doxa, and doxa itself defines what is perceived as reality, (Melin, 2008, p. 72; Bourdieu, 1988),
I find it very important for women to be a strong inflective and allodoxa factor within journalism – since it is the journalists who shapes and forms the content of media and hence, forms how the news are portrayed and contributes to how our world is envisioned.

My conclusion is that the role of female Balinese journalist is complex and multi-dimensional. She is underrepresented within the journalistic field and holds an allodoxa role within the journalistic culture of Bali. Although, the challenges she faces in her role seems to be more connected to balancing the responsibilities of her non-professional role. This emerges in the performance of a daily balancing act where she tries to divide her time and energy between her diverse responsibilities. Hence, it is fundamental for her to manage her time very neatly, being extremely well-planned and well-organized. She uses a wide range of different tactics in order to balance all this. Her complex role is to a wide extent affected by the context of the Balinese society – with its complex spectra of cultural and religious dynamics.

This study contributes to our knowledge about the situation for women journalists in the world by helping to fill aspects of the existing research gap of female Balinese journalists. The results from this study – as well as my conclusions – points towards relations and dynamics within this topic that seems to be somewhat unique to this particular geographical area. For students and scholars in other parts of the world, it is a relevant thesis for gaining insight in the struggles of both women as well as female journalists in the Balinese culture.

**6.1 Suggestions for further research**

I wish that I would have had more time to conduct even more interviews and talk to a wider range of people connected to journalism and feminism in Bali. This would have made it possible to analyze the situation for female journalists even more in-depth. There is much more to say – both about this subject as such and concerning the intersecting topics, such as the gender issue and the current state of women’s (and children’s) rights in Bali as well as the Balinese feminism movements. I find research gaps in these intersecting topics as well. Concerning the topic of female journalists in Bali – interesting openings for research aspects would be to conduct a more extensive, qualitative, field study where their men colleagues as well as the bosses of media companies are interviewed. A quantitative field study could also be made to map the general status of media employees in Bali and pin point their challenges as well as being used in combination with the results from this study to define or dismiss some of the hypothesis that my collected data was not sufficient for.
Concerning the intersecting topic of women’s (and children’s) rights – it would be interesting to conduct a comprehensive research which goes more in-depth and tries to define these ongoing changes in the society, mapping down how the status of women are changing.

The intersecting topic of the concept of Balinese feminism is also something worth researching and clarifying. A comparative, qualitative, study of how the definition of feminism differs within Indonesia – and contrasting these concepts of feminism to the concepts of the western world – would be very interesting.
7. REFERENCES


Larsson, L. (2013). Intervjuer. In M. Ekström, & L. Larsson (Eds.), *Metoder i Kommunikationsvetenskap* (pp. 53-86). Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.


8. APPENDIX

8.1 List of interviewed journalists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place of work</th>
<th>Working as a journalist for...</th>
<th>Date of the interview</th>
<th>Language spoken in interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>March 17, 2017</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>March 24, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>March 25, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>March 25, 2017</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>March 26, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Freelancing reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>March 30, 2017</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>April 2, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>April 3, 2017</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>April 3, 2017</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>April 8, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>0.5 years</td>
<td>April 8, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>0.5 years</td>
<td>April 9, 2017</td>
<td>Bahasa (interpreter used)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.2 List of interviewed experts within their fields

**Puspita, Hari** (personal interview, March 24, 2017)
Chairman of Aliansi Jurnalis Independen – AJI – Kota Denpasar (The Denpasar city section of the Alliance of Independent Journalists Indonesia).
Note: Interview conducted in Bahasa, interpreter used.

**Anggraei, Luh Putu** (personal interview, April 2, 2017)
The general secretary of LBH Apik Bali (The Women’s Legal Aid Organization Association for Justice in Bali).
Note: Interview conducted in Bahasa, interpreter used.