Glass Ceilings

Women and men in Southern Africa media









Edited by Pat Made and Colleen Lowe Morna

Gender Links (GL) is a Southern African NGO that is committed to a region in which women and men are able to participate equally in all aspects of public and private life.

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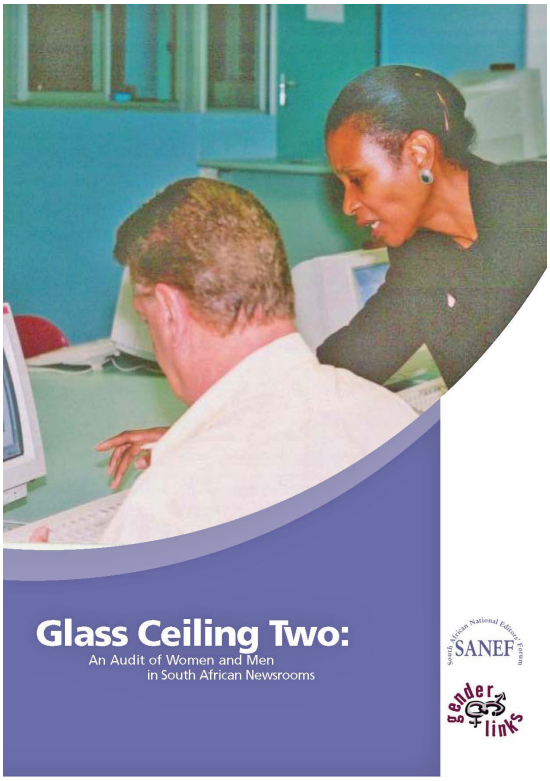
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The study forms part of a trilogy of regional studies conducted by Gender Links and partner organisations in the Southern African region. These include the Gender and Media Baseline Study (2003) that analysed media content from a gender perspective and the Gender and Media Audience Study (2005) that analysed audience reception and preferences from a gender perspective.

The Glass Ceilings research, which builds on a pilot project undertaken with the South African National Editor's Forum (SANEF) in 2007, completes the series by providing baseline data on the internal institutional make up and practices of the media from a gender perspective. The study was conducted in 14 Southern African countries. The Angolan Researcher was not able to deliver the findings on time.

Gender Links (GL) designed, coordinated and managed the research with support from partner organisations in the region. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) assisted with the conceptualisation and design of the study. The 14 country researchers, drawn mostly from the Gender and Southern Africa Network's (GEMSA) chapters, with training and support from Gender Links gathered the data in each country. Media Watch Organisation (MWO)-GEMSA in Mauritius provided technical support in the Francophone countries.

Independent data analyst Lukhanyo Nyati analysed the data from the 14 countries. Marie



Annick Savripene and Loga Virahsawmy from the Gender Links Francophone office in Mauritius translated the French questionnaires and qualitative responses.

The country researchers comprise a mix of staff in GL satellite offices; GEMSA country co-ordinators and policy facilitators of the Media Action Plan (MAP) on HIV AIDS and Gender. They are Keabonye Ntsabane and Roos Van Dorp (Botswana), Anna Mayimona Ngemba (Democratic Republic of Congo) ; Sophia Tlali (Lesotho); Flavienne Ramarosaona and Marie Annick Savripene(Madagascar); Pushpa

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The regional report draws on country reports written by Kubi Rama, Deputy Director Gender Links, Dumisani Gandhi, Gender Links Assistant Director (Media Research and Policy), Rochelle Davidson Mhonde (GL Senior Researcher) and Sikhonzile Ndlovu (GL Media Literacy Co-ordinator). Doreen Gaura (GL intern) proof read the initial reports. Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) Programme Officer Seanna Chingamuka conducted the literature review for this report. GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna and Deputy Director Kubi Rama edited the country reports with assistance from independent media consultant Helen Grange.

Colleen Lowe Morna and independent media consultant and trainer Patricia Made edited this regional report.

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Through the partnerships created by the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) the findings of this study have been used to inform the design and methodology of a global study of a similar nature being conducted by the International Women's Media Foundation, (IWMF).

GL expresses its sincere gratitude to the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA) and the MDG 3 Fund of the Netherlands government for making this research; the regional report and 14 country reports possible.

We also wish to place on record our appreciation to the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) that has supported the policy work of the Media Action Plan (MAP) on HIV and AIDS and Gender, which has given GL access to 140 newsroom in the region; an essential building block for this research. Our thanks also to the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung that has supported pioneer work on developing gender policies and codes of conduct with media houses and media regulatory authorities; another cornerstone that we intend to build on through this research.

List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GMBS	Gender and Media Baseline Study
GMDC	Gender and Media Diversity Centre
GEMSA	Gender and Media Southern Africa Network
GL	Gender Links
GMPS	Gender and Media Progress Study
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
IWMF	International Women's Media Foundation
M&G	Mail & Guardian, South Africa
MAP	Media Action Plan
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MWO	Media Watch Organisation
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OSISA	Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa
PCFM	People's Choice FM, Lesotho
PDMM	Post-Graduate Diploma in Media Management
RTNC	Radio Television Nationale Congolaise
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAEF	Southern African Editor's Forum
SANEF	South African National Editors Forum
SAPA	South African Press Association
UNESCO	United Nations Scientific, Education and Cultural Organisation

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Foreword



Since the launch of the South African Glass Ceiling report by Gender Links (GL) and the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) in 2006, this regional report has been eagerly awaited by those of us who promote a more enlightened media in the region.

So far, most of the gender and media research in Southern Africa has focused on content and audiences, with little on the make-up of media houses themselves, except in so far as content gives us a glimpse into these institutions. For example, the 2003 Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) provided gender data on who reported, wrote and presented news. But it did not tell the backroom story: who leads, edits, sub-edits, produces, distributes and administers the media.

Now, almost a year to the date since the adoption of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in August 2008 that calls for gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015, we have the first comprehensive picture of women and men involved in the Southern African media.

There are some positive signals. Two countries ~ Lesotho and South Africa ~ have achieved this target in aggregate terms. At 41%, the overall regional average for women in the media is respectable. However, when South Africa is taken out of the equation ~ it has by far the largest media density ~ the figure falls to 32%. Four countries are below the one third mark, with women comprising a shameful 13% of media workers in troubled Zimbabwe. While this figure does not include the state broadcaster which declined to participate, it is nonetheless a major concern.

The South African figures also need to be read in context. As the 2006 national Glass Ceiling report covering only newsrooms showed, when South Africa's figures are disaggregated by race, the picture is far less rosy, with black women, who constitute 46% of the population, only constituting 18% of newsroom staff.

From where I sit as the head of the only university-level media leadership institute in Africa, it is Chapter Four entitled "Access denied: Women missing from top jobs", that raises the most concern. The research shows conclusively and across every country that glass ceilings in the media are not just a mirage; they are alive and well. Bar a few bright spots ~ for example in Namibia ~ women are conspicuous by their absence in boardrooms, at top and senior management. There are also significant gender gaps in conditions of service; earnings and on who covers which news beats.

While many institutions in the region at least make a token effort to be gender "correct", if not sensitive, in media houses sexual innuendo and harassment are common. The report resonates with the voices of media women who are fed up, have left or are considering leaving the noble profession. It also, unfortunately, has many examples of unrepentant male colleagues and bosses, who believe that women in the media should "know their place"; stick to the "easy" beats and stay out of the boardroom.

But the report is lifted from this morass by inspiring examples of strong women leaders like Gwen Lister, Ferial Haffajee and Pauline Banda who have not been afraid to wear their feminist colours with pride and "make it" in an unequal, male-dominated world. It is also full of practical suggestions and examples of how media culture and practices could be positively transformed to be more accommodating of women and men.

The report goes beyond numbers to show that gender-aware newsrooms are more likely to deliver balanced and responsive news coverage so integral to Southern Africa's democratisation efforts. There will be a clear synergy between this report and the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS), a sequel to the GMBS, planned for 2009/2010.

In typical GL fashion, the report does not leave any of its recommendations to chance. For the last three years we have partnered with GL as part of the Media Action Plan on HIV and AIDS and Gender in recognising media houses that have adopted and implemented policies to fight the pandemic. This has been achieved in 140 of the 180 media houses targeted: a remarkable achievement by any stretch of imagination.

Now media houses need to go the next step: develop and adopt gender policies to achieve the targets of the SADC Gender Protocol with regard to both the composition and content of the media.

As many media leaders in this report argue, this is too important an endeavour to be left in the hands of a few passionate individuals. It must be built into institutional practice. This is where inspired leadership comes into the picture. And it is where we, as the Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership, are happy to continue the partnership with GL for ensuring a media that is true to the aspirations of all the people of Southern Africa: women and men.

Francis Mdlongwa

Director
Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership
School of Journalism & Media Studies, Rhodes University
August 2009

TABLE ONE: SUMMARY OF KEY QUANTATIVE FINDINGS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN MEDIA HOUSES

CATEGORY	REGION %		BOTSWANA %		LESOTHO %		DRC %		MADACASCAR %		MALAWI %		MAURITIUS %		MOZAMBIQUE %		NAMIBIA %		SWAZILAND %		SOUTH AFRICA %		TANZANIA %		ZAMBIA %		ZIMBABWE %	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Percentage of employees by sex	41	59	46	54	73	27	22	78	33	67	23	77	33	67	27	73	40	60	40	60	50	50	36	64	33	67	13	87
OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS																												
Non-permanent	36	64	38	62	0	0	17	83	60	40	17	83	52	48	21	79	24	76	56	44	56	44	55	45	33	67	7	93
Unskilled	29	71	67	33	74	26	28	72	58	42	23	77	30	70	29	71	47	53	36	64	23	77	39	61	21	79	16	84
Semi-skilled	55	45	98	8	78	22	34	66	26	74	41	59	35	65	61	39	57	43	57	43	55	45	0	100	67	33	45	55
Skilled technical	45	55	32	68	45	55	23	77	17	83	31	69	22	78	19	81	42	58	50	50	51	49	25	75	54	46	18	82
Professionally qualified	31	69	28	72	57	43	15	85	46	54	15	85	40	60	28	72	33	67	21	79	42	58	38	62	37	63	30	70
Board of directors	28	72	24	76	47	53	18	83	10	90	27	73	36	64	25	75	39	61	33	67	38	62	22	78	27	73	38	62
Senior management	28	72	39	61	50	50	8	92	20	80	26	74	22	78	35	65	35	65	29	71	35	65	30	70	33	67	10	90
Top management	23	77	30	70	56	44	18	82	13	88	19	81	25	75	17	83	42	58	33	67	25	75	21	79	11	89	13	88
CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT																												
Part-time	23	77	100	0	0	0	16	84	60	40	23	77	40	60	29	71	33	67	56	44	61	39	35	65	40	60	5	95
Full-time, fixed term contract	37	63	25	75	0	0	20	80	42	58	31	69	31	69	21	79	48	52	23	77	55	45	24	76	10	90	50	55
Freelance[1]	43	57	22	78	25	75	22	78	50	50	35	65	53	47	40	60	21	79	33	67	54	46	59	41	38	62	22	78
Full-time open-ended contract	42	58	51	49	74	26	23	77	26	74	23	77	26	74	23	77	42	58	41	59	49	51	36	64	30	70	18	82
DEPARTMENTS[2]																												
Human resources	44	56	81	19	100	0	21	79	44	56	75	25	32	68	51	49	67	33	0	100	74	26	68	32	32	68	58	42
Advertising/Marketing	57	43	38	62	36	64	34	66	62	38	36	64	38	62	43	57	56	44	63	38	61	39	32	68	46	54	40	60
Finance & administration	54	46	67	33	80	20	33	67	58	42	21	79	46	54	26	74	70	30	71	29	59	41	56	44	49	51	25	75
Editorial	42	58	36	64	48	52	29	71	31	69	28	72	39	61	27	73	44	56	35	65	52	48	36	64	38	62	17	83
Design	31	69	38	62	20	80	21	79	10	90	22	78	13	87	19	81	44	56	23	77	40	60	51	49	11	89	50	50
Production	30	70	50	50	0	100	23	77	7	93	22	78	23	77	14	86	39	61	0	0	34	66	33	67	23	77	33	67
Printing & distribution	24	76	50	50	50	50	17	83	18	82	25	75	6	94	11	89	23	77	19	81	33	67	0	100	6	94	0	100
Technical/IT	16	84	0	100	0	100	9	91	0	100	6	94	16	84	3	97	5	95	3	97	23	77	30	70	17	83	0	100
POLICIES																												
Gender policy	16		20		25		0		7		40		33		7		27		0		9		21		22		0	
Sexual harassment policy	28		60		50		20		0		30		56		7		36		0		82		21		11		25	
Want gender policy	68		60		75		100		73		70		78		71		45		33		64		50		78		75	

[1] The conditions of employment refers only to freelancers in the production department of the media house.
[2] The statistics are inclusive of managers within these departments.

Executive Summary



Looking ahead *Photo: Trevor Davies*

The *'Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Media'* study is the most comprehensive audit ever undertaken of women and men in Southern African media houses. Spanning 14 countries over a year starting in July 2008, Gender Links (GL) conducted the study in partnership with a network of researchers, gender and media activists and partners in the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) network as well as the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC).

Scope and context

The research covered **media houses** (as opposed to newsrooms)[3] in countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) - Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - except Angola[4].

While there is an urgent need for data from newsrooms across the region, equally as important is data that covers all areas of media operations, since gender disparities are not only found in newsrooms. This study, therefore, presents the data and findings from 126 media houses (approximately half of all media houses[5]) in 14 of the 15 SADC countries, representing 23, 678 employees. Some 471 respondents (46% women and 54% men) filled in the perception questionnaires. These included senior managers, marketing, editorial and administrative managers as well as media practitioners.

Relevant country comparisons are made throughout the report. The report should be read in tandem with national reports on the *Glass Ceilings* findings in each country have been produced and can be accessed on www.genderlinks.org.za. The country reports are also contained on a CD ROM that accompanies this report.

[3] Newsrooms are places within a media house where reporters, editors, producers, among others, produce the editorial content for the print and broadcast media. Media houses can be viewed as the entire structure which includes newsrooms, advertising/marketing, finance/administration, public relations services, among other services. All activities sit within the structure of the media house, which is governed by a board and other top management not directly involved in the production of news content.
[4] The Angolan researcher failed to deliver results on time.
[5] The Media Action Plan on HIV and AIDS and Gender, led by the Southern African Editor's Forum (SAEF) estimates that there are 255 media houses in the SADC region.

The report draws on methodology developed by GL with the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) for the 2006 Glass Ceiling Two report which provided a qualitative element to an initial survey conducted by SANEF that revealed key gender concerns around newsroom culture and practise. This study expands the initial methodology by moving from newsrooms to the media as a whole; adding perception questionnaires; profiles and case studies and extending the research to 14 countries.

The Southern African findings will also be used in a global study carried out by the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) through the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC). The GMDC, housed at GL head office in South Africa, is a partnership between media development organisations, training and higher learning institutions for the "collection and connection" of knowledge and "collaboration" to advance gender equality and diversity in the media across the globe.

The GMDC also has facilitated partnerships around the fourth Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), and second Southern African Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS), to be called the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) that will take place in 2009/2010.

This study on gender employment patterns in media houses took place in the context of the August 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which urges the media and all institutions in the public and private sectors to achieve gender parity in decision-making positions by 2015. The Gender Protocol also calls for the mainstreaming of gender in all media laws, policies and training. It urges the media to give equal voice to women and men; challenge gender stereotypes; and, ensure balance and sensitivity in all coverage, especially that relating to gender violence.

Key findings

Key findings of the study include:

- ***Men are the predominant employees in media houses in Southern Africa.*** The media sector is largely a male-dominated industry in the region with men constituting 59% of the employees in media houses compared to 41% women. If South Africa, which constitutes 40% of the population in the region and over half the employees in the sample is excluded, the figure for women is 32%.

- ***Only two countries have achieved the parity target:*** The tiny country of Lesotho has the largest percentage of women (73% women compared to 27% men) employed in media houses, followed by South Africa with equal percentages of women and men (50/50). Seychelles, with 49% women, is a close third.

- ***But these figures need to be read in context:*** Lesotho's media is dominated by a government ministry with a high proportion of women. In the case of South Africa, the figures were not disaggregated by race, due to the regional nature of this study. The 2006 Glass Ceiling report on South African newsrooms showed that black women, who constitute 46% of the population, account for only 18% of newsroom staff.

- ***Four countries are below the one third mark:*** These are Mozambique (27%); Malawi (23%); DRC (22%) and Zimbabwe (13%). The Zimbabwe figures do not include the Zimbabwe National Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) which declined to participate, with the result that the figures are skewed towards the print media, in which women are typically less well represented than in broadcasting. However, it is a substantial sample, which even the inclusion of the ZBC would be unlikely to significantly alter.

- ***Women constitute a little over a quarter of the directors on media house boards:*** The governance structures of media houses in Southern Africa are firmly in the hands of men (72%), with women constituting only 28% of those on boards of directors.

- ***And, they are less than a quarter of top management:*** Only 23% of the top managers in media houses in Southern Africa are women. The only country in the region with 50% or more women in top management is Lesotho (56%), followed by Namibia with 42% women in top management. Only 11% of the top managers in Zambia are women, and Seychelles, the lowest, has no women in top management.

- ***Women hit the 'glass ceiling' in the media at senior management positions:*** Women constituted between 20-39% of the senior managers in media houses in 10 of the 14 countries and only one, Lesotho, had 50% women as senior managers. On average, however, women are only 28% of those in senior management positions in the region, pointing to where they meet their first challenge of breaking into the higher echelons of media management.

- ***Men get better working deals***: Men (58%) are more likely than women (42%) to be employed in open-ended full time contracts. And, a larger majority of women in the region are semi-skilled (55% compared to 45% men) and are not professionally qualified (31% compared to 69% for men). These factors reflect a much higher level of job insecurity for women than for men in the region.

- ***Men dominate in the editorial, production and technical departments:*** The production of media content from the beginning of the chain - reporting, editing - right through to production, printing and distribution is in the hands of men, who dominate in the editorial (58%), design (69%), production (70%), printing and distribution (76%) and technical/IT (84%) departments in the region's media houses.

- ***While more women are in the support departments:*** Women, on the other hand, are more numerous in areas considered to be "women's work" (clerical and administrative support) in the finance and administration (54%), advertising/marketing (57%) and human resources (44%) departments.

- ***The gender division of labour in beats is still pronounced:*** Male journalists dominate in what are considered the 'hard beats' such as investigative/in-depth reports (80%), sports (76%) and political stories (75%). Women journalists predominate in coverage of gender equality and gender violence (71% each) and health[6] (59%).

- ***Male chauvinist attitudes abound:*** As one male respondent in this study put it: "We expect women to be home at 6pm cooking, and not at press conferences mingling with ministers."

- ***But women journalists are challenging gender stereotypes in some countries.*** In Botswana, there is gender parity (50/50) in the coverage of sports, while women constitute 40% of sports reporters in South Africa. Women (83%) also dominate in the coverage of economics/ business/finance in South Africa and in Namibia (71%). The study also found that in South Africa, there is gender balance in the coverage of entertainment/arts/culture and of gender equality.

[6] Excludes the coverage of HIV and AIDS.

- ***There are no specific targets in place for achieving gender parity in media houses:*** None of the media houses in the study could point to specific targets for ensuring gender equality in decision-making positions in line with the SADC Gender Protocol 2015 parity target. Several media houses in Namibia, Lesotho and South Africa have 50% women or more, but many of these women are located in support as opposed to key decision-making posts.

- ***Career pathing for women in Southern Africa media houses is not a priority:*** Of the sample, only 10% of media houses in the region have strategies in place to fast track women within the organisation. A higher percentage of media houses (32%) said that gender is a consideration for promotions.

- B***ut, there are efforts to target good women candidates:*** Fifty-four percent of the media houses in the region stated that they target women specifically for jobs, but a lower percentage of them (36%) have a database of women candidates.

- ***Earnings vary drastically and are generally lower, on average, for women than for men:*** Less than half the media houses surveyed shared information on remuneration. Those that did reflected the wide variation in earnings from an average of $2737 per annum for women media workers in he DRC to $31 082 for men in the South African media. With the exception of Namibia where women in the media houses that disclosed wages earn more, on average than men, and Lesotho where the figures are at par, women in the media industry across the region earn anything from 42% (Mauritius) to (77%) DRC less than their male counterparts. These average figures do not reflect income differentials at the same level of work. They encapsulate the extent to which women are less well represented in the higher paying areas of media work.

- ***Commitment to maternity, but not paternity leave:*** A large percentage of the media houses (81%) offer maternity leave, but not paternity leave (only 33% of the media houses). The low commitment to paternity leave across the region perpetuates the belief that child rearing is a female responsibility.

- ***Child care is not a priority but flexi time is high on the agenda in Southern Africa media houses:*** Only 15% of the media houses in the region offered child care facilities, but a large majority of them (75%) did offer flexi time.

- ***Sexual harassment is a serious concern:*** Media women across the region complained about being treated as sexual objects in media houses and men showed little appreciation and understanding of what is meant by sexual harassment. Only 28% of media houses said they have sexual harassment policies.

- ***Gender policies missing in media houses:*** Only 16% of media houses surveyed said that they have gender policies and often these could not articulate what the gender policy consists of. Employment and editorial policies, with clear targets and guidelines for achieving gender diversity in media houses and in editorial content are not just elements of good practice, but are key elements of good governance within the media and of the media's accountability to the public.

- ***Gender awareness in media houses is low among both women and men:*** Half of all the women and men surveyed thought that gender means women and men. Less than a fifth were aware that the term refers to the socially constructed differences between women and

men. Half of all those interviewed did not know the specific target set by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development for is for achieving gender parity in decision-making.

- ***But there is an appreciation that having a critical mass of women in newsrooms makes a difference:*** Women and men in the media gave several examples of how having women in the media, especially at a senior level, changes newsroom culture and impacts positively on coverage. Research shows that women reporters are more likely to consult female sources and that they bring fresh perspectives to media creation, a view strongly endorsed by many male media managers.

- ***Yes we can!*** The report gives several examples of progressive women and men in media houses across the region that are working in systematic ways to ensure gender balance and sensitivity both in the composition and content of the region's media. The main recommendation is that these findings be used, along with those of the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) on media content taking place in 2009/2010 to assist media houses in developing gender policies. This work builds on the Media Action Plan on HIV and AIDS and gender, coordinated by the Southern African Editors Forum (SAEF) that has witnessed 140 newsrooms in the region adopting policies to address the pandemic in and through the media over the last three years.

Structure of the report

The report comprises ten chapters as follows:

- *Chapter one,* "50/50 by 2015", provides a background to women in the media globally and in the region.
- *Chapter two*, "A space for women or women in every space" covers the concepts and methodology that informed the study.
- *Chapter three,* "Missing in action" details the key gender gaps in the composition of the media.
- *Chapter four*, "Access denied" concerns women's absence from the top decision-making structures of the media.
- *Chapter five*, "Different deals?" covers the subtle discrimination in areas of work; the types of beats assigned to women and men and the overall impact on earnings. It also covers work place culture and sexual harassment.
- *Chapter six,* "Breaking through", is about strategies for change.
- *Chapter seven,* "Making a difference?" details the ways in which having a critical mass of women in the media, especially at decision-making level, impacts on newsroom culture and media content.
- *Chapter eight,* "Gender is not only a woman's thing" gives examples of male champions of gender equality in the Southern African media.
- *Chapter nine,* "No more males and guardians?" is an in-depth case study of one media house, the Johannesburg-based Mail and Guardian that styles itself "Africa's best read."
- *Chapter ten* gives conclusions and recommendations.

Each chapter begins with a human interest story arising from the field work that took place in 14 countries over one year with a team of 27 researchers. The quantitative findings are interspersed with profiles, case studies and observations that bring to life the hard facts revealed by the quantitative data.



The next generation of reporters? *Photo: Trevor Davies*

50/50 by 2015: Introduction

It is late afternoon and a current affairs programme is about to go on air. But not before Namibian singing sensation Stella Kavendjii breezes in unannounced into the *Base FM* studio, baby in her arms, and does an impromptu interview on her new album about HIV and AIDS.

Such is the homely atmosphere at this woman-led community radio station that if anyone has an issue, they come in and chat about it. And they are never turned away.

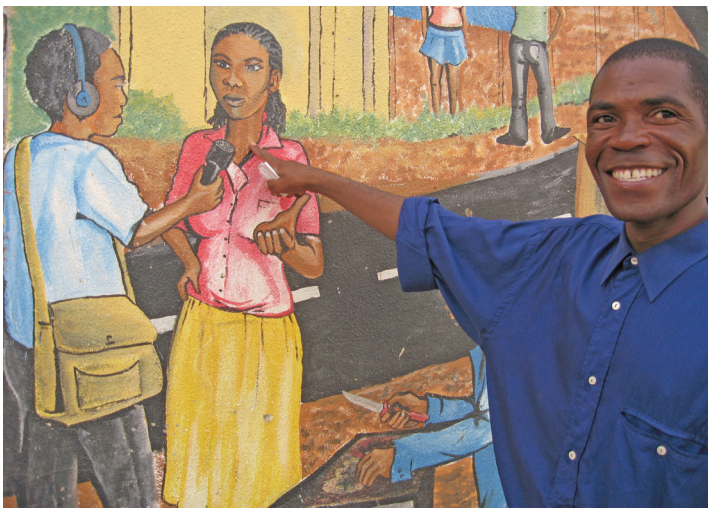
On the afternoon in question, station manager Sandra Williams had to rush off to a funeral of a family member who passed away due to AIDS related causes. She assured a visitor that there would be staff at the station able to talk about why it won the 2008 Media Action Plan (MAP) award for the best gender aware policy and practise on HIV and AIDS in the region. She was right.

Base FM, formerly *Katutura Community Radio* station, is rooted in a community in which, as



Stella Kavendjil taks to *Base FM* *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

reporter Jehoiackim Kateve puts it, "HIV is a reality, not just a story." As the station "owned" by the community, *Base FM* has been at the forefront of fighting stigma, promoting voluntary counselling and testing, and comforting those affected.



Journalist with a mission, Jehoiackim Kaeve *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

So it is with ease that Kavendjii saunters in and is welcomed by one of two female DJs at the station, to talk about her new album to be launched on National Testing Day in Namibia. Her message is simple: the best way to fight AIDS is to know your status. One of the songs, *"waifu uaripii?"* means "where were you?" in Herero. Another, *"okurama kwe temba"* means "love your body; treat it like a temple."

Alex Samuel, a senior staff member, explains that the station changed its name to "base" because it has gone national, but still has its base in Katutura, Windhoek's largest township. "Since the station's inception in 2004 we have grown dramatically. We are now a 24 hour station with a national appeal and reach. But everyone has a base."

He maintains that "what is distinct about *Base FM* is that we cater for all types. We have music, activities, talk shows, discussions about HIV and AIDS. We cater for the youth. We are in tune with the community. We are demand driven."

Of the 22 staff, ten are women, including the head of the station. Does this make a difference? "Sandra (Williams) brings special qualities," says Samuel. "She places a strong emphasis on team work; compromise; forgiveness. She is a leader with motherly qualities. She creates room for openness."

In April 2008, Williams got the Board of Trustees to approve the station's MAP HIV and AIDS policy; an example, according to Samuel, of the station's open approach. "Media plays a very big role in shaping the way we think. As a media house we realised the difference we could make."

Through its public service announcements, popular talk shows, outside broadcasts and in its news casts *Base FM* has gone about changing the prevailing message of "HIV kills" to one of "take control" and "be your own hero". According to Kateve the emphasis of the station is: "you are killing you; it's not HIV killing you."

As an employee, Samuel says the policy assures him that "if I find out I am positive, I will be treated as equal; I will keep my job and I will be supported." Other provisions are that at least twice a year, *Base FM* staff will be exposed to training on how to report HIV and AIDS and use language that reflects such awareness.

The station also commits to make every effort to access people living with HIV and AIDS: "As an auditory medium, the station lends itself wonderfully to hearing persons living with HIV and AIDS speak about themselves and how they live." Among the innovations of the station are a "speaker's corner" in which - like Hyde Park - members of the community can air their views on any matter of concern.

Gender mainstreaming is taken seriously in the HIV policy and the way news is covered. The policy states: "The station shall give equal and fair coverage to both women and men of different educational and cultural backgrounds and class when addressing various aspects concerning HIV and AIDS." It adds that "to avoid stereotyping, ads will depict the voices of a diversity of persons, both male and female."

Award winning journalist Kateve describes how working under a woman manager in a community radio station has turned him into a gender activist. It all started when a woman being followed by a man with a knife late one night phoned the station for help.

As a community journalist, he realised that the police would probably not be much help. So he rushed to the scene where the proverbial might of the pen towered over the sword.

In a community wracked by gender violence, Kateve has become a favourite among women in the community, frequently called on to report on cases that the police frequently turn a blind eye to.

Calling himself the "reporter who does not sleep," Kateve says the notion of the dispassionate journalist is foreign to this station. "We are a media that mediates," he says. "We go out to make a difference."

This first chapter provides the global and regional background to the *Glass Ceiling in Southern Africa Media* research. It provides general insights on women in the media globally and regionally, and on women's leadership and decision-making within the media and the effect that this has on media culture and content.

Glass ceilings and sticky floors - the global context

As in many other professions in this world, media houses are no exception to the inequalities between women and men. Denis Monière, political analyst and professor at Quebec's University of Montreal maintains that even if the visibility of female journalists has grown in recent years, society should not be too quick to shout victory.[7]

Women are underrepresented in positions of authority, and well represented at the lower echelons of media houses. And, they also are under-utilised in hard beats which lure the audience such as politics and the economy, and which are the stepping stones to promotion into management. Such a scenario is what is commonly referred to as "glass ceilings" or "sticky floors"[8], a practice which is not explicit, yet makes it impossible for women to rise in the ranks.

In 1995 Margaret Gallagher conducted an international analysis of women's employment in the news media for the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Gallagher's report, *An Unfinished Story: Gender Patterns in Media Employment*, found that in all regions of the world, women were not a significant part of the media workforce.

In Asia women comprised 21% of the total media workforce; 25% in Latin America; 27% in Southern Africa; and 35% in Western Europe

[7] http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/women_and_girls/women_working.cfm
[8] International Federation of Journalists. 2009. Getting the balance right: Gender Equality in Journalism. International Federation of Journalists. Brussels.

and the United States. Such findings in the 1990s were discouraging considering the fact that the feminist movement had actually pushed for expanded hiring and promotion of women in journalism since the 1970s.

Gallagher's 1995 study also found that worldwide, women comprised 79% of all part-time workers in the news media. Women in part-time positions rarely transition to full-time positions, much less leadership posts. In addition, the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)[9] noted that while women comprise 57% of all television news presenters, only 29% of news items are written by female reporters. The study found that women wrote or covered only 32% of "hard" news stories because female journalists are pigeonholed as "soft" news reporters.

Decades of research, advocacy and political lobbying at the international level have helped to locate media, information and communication among the most crucial factors that determine women's status and gender equality.

The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), adopted unanimously by 189 Member States of the United Nations at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, cited the media as one of the twelve 'critical areas of concern' in which priority action was needed for the advancement and empowerment of women. The BPFA's section on media - Section J as it became known - was a historic breakthrough. It placed the media alongside issues that had long been accepted as major signifiers of social and gender inequality - poverty, education, health and so on.[10]

The International Federation of Journalists weighs in

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) also noted at a May 2009 conference that the discourse on gender equality within the media is firmly rooted within the human rights discourse. Unless "the media promote gender equality in the workplace and also in the way women are represented, both within the working environment and in the representation of women"[11] (International Federation of Journalists, 2009: 1), then they will be denying the human rights of 52% of the world's population. Gender equality in the work environment entails the equal treatment of men and women including equal pay for equal work, promotions, equal access to decision making bodies, among other conditions. Such conditions also apply to the media. Some 60 participants from 45 different countries converged in Brussels for the (IFJ) conference on *Ethics and Gender: Equality in the newsroom*. They sought to address among other things:

- What is women's representation in the news management?
- How do women journalists' make their way in today's media changes?
- What role can journalists unions play in promoting gender equality?
- How can media strengthen gender portrayal in the news?

[9] A global study coordinated by the World Association of Christian Communications which systematically monitors the representation of women and men in the global news. In 2005, groups in 76 countries participated in the study Who Makes the News: Global Media Monitoring Project 2005.

[10] Gender Inequality, Media and Development, by Margaret Gallagher in Media Matters : Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development, editor Mark Harvey, published by Internews Europe.

[11] International Federation of Journalists. 2009. Getting the balance right: Gender Equality in Journalism. International Federation of Journalists. Brussels.



GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna (right) and the World Association of Christian Communicators Lavinia Mohr at the IFJ Gender Congress *Photo: IFJ*

One of the outcomes of the conference was the adoption of the *Brussels Declaration on Ethics and Gender: Equality in the Newsroom*. Participants noted that harassment, inequality in promotion, training and pay is still rampant in the media profession. To this end, they declared that efforts should be made to eliminate "threats so that women may work in journalism in equal conditions of safety and security as their male colleagues".[12]

Women missing from the top

Research on the glass ceiling undertaken by several scholars in various countries has demonstrated that unless high potential women are afforded the same development opportunities as those granted to their male counterparts, they will never occupy managerial positions within media houses and newsrooms. And in frustration, women tend to move out the media for other jobs.

Research shows that women in newspaper newsroom management are either looking for a job in another newspaper or to change professions altogether, because of the glass ceiling. A survey undertaken by the American Press Institute in 2002 revealed that 33% of women anticipated to be promoted in their newsrooms, whilst 42% of men were confident of moving up within their organisation.

Women cited sexism, lack of opportunity and low salaries as some of the reasons which inhibit their growth in newsrooms. On the other hand, women who have risen through the newsroom ranks stressed the importance of having mentors who can share skills with women on how to break the "glass ceiling" and occupy top jobs in the media fraternity.

There are several international and regional initiatives to shatter the "glass ceiling" and move women to strategic leadership and management positions within media houses.

Women make the news

For nine years, UNESCO has mounted a campaign on March 8 (International Women's Day) known as *Women Make the News*. The campaign promotes gender equality in the media by "encouraging news media to give editorial responsibility to women editors and journalists on that day".[13] The move is a challenging opportunity to promote the implementation of gender equality in

[12] International Federation of Journalists. 2009. The Brussels Declaration-Ethics and Gender: Equality in the Newsroom. International Federation of Journalists: Brussels.
[13] http://north-america.waccglobal.org/News/women-make-the-news-2008.html



newsrooms, whilst at the same time maintaining high journalistic standards. Further, the campaign is an affirmation of the need to shatter the "glass ceiling" that pervades many media houses globally by closely monitoring and affording women journalist's oppor-tunities to cover hard news assignments[14], career development oppor-tunities and allow women to hold key editorial and leadership positions.

In 2009, the campaign ran under the theme *Gender Equality Policies in Media Organisations*, and served to remind media houses of the importance of developing policies that prevent gender discrimination in their workplaces. Media organisations, journalists' unions and women journalists were invited to use the UNESCO website to exchange experience and share best practices in the development and implementation of gender policies. This move is commendable in that by sharing experiences, women journalists can explore and strategise on best ways to become newsroom managers.

In addition, the Washington-based IWMF has convened courses that provide critical career building skills. Successful female news executives use role-playing and other practical exercises to demonstrate leadership styles and to share strategies for managing people and change, negotiating salaries, navigating politics, balancing work and home.[15]

The IWMF is also conducting a global *Glass Ceiling* Study that has borrowed from the methodology in this research through a partnership created by the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC). By establishing similar parameters, the results of this research are being made available to the IWMF for the global study. The global findings will in turn make it possible to benchmark the regional findings against the rest of the world.

The Southern African context

Since the 1995 global *Unfinished Story: Gender Patterns in Media Employment*, there has been no significant regional research on women in newsrooms and media houses in the Southern African region.

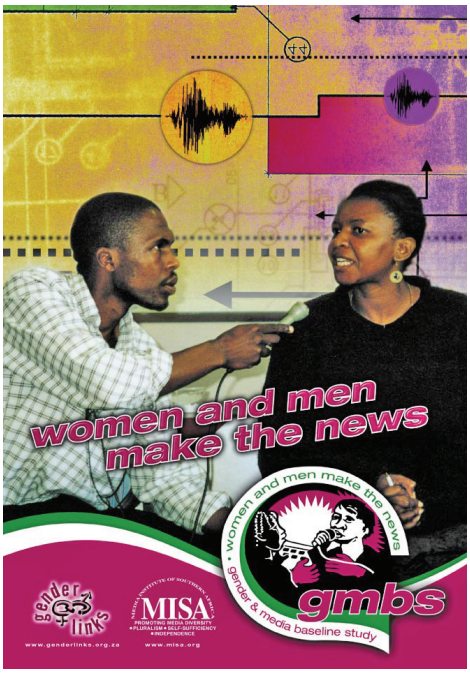
The Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership established in 2002 and based at Rhodes University in South Africa is the only university-level institute in Africa offering professional media management and leadership training programmes, and an honours-level Post-Graduate Diploma in Media Management (PDMM)[16]. Such an intervention is one way of imparting newsroom and media house managerial skills to women journalists.

Several studies have been conducted on the representation of women in media content, the most significant of which was the 2003 GMBS coordinated by GL and the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA). This study analysed the print and electronic news both quantitatively and qualitatively over one month in 12 Southern African countries. It found that on average women constitute 17% of news sources and are represented in a limited range of roles, most often as sex objects or victims of violence.

[14] GMMP (2005: 19) points out that male journalists report on 'hard' or 'serious' news such as politics and government (where women report only 32 percent of stories). Men thus earn kudos thereby increasing their career prospects. Women are confined to 'soft' news reporting such as social and legal issues. 'Soft' are often regarded as insignificant in the hierarchy of news values.
[15] http://www.iwmf.org/categorydetail.aspx?c=institutes#africa
[16] http://www.spiml.co.za/index.php?pid=1

While the research did not focus primarily on media practitioners, monitors counted where they could who reported on what and who presents the news on radio and TV. The key findings were:

- The highest representation of women in the media is as TV presenters, and even in this category, they appear less frequently than do men, and most women presenters are in the under 35 year age bracket.
- Women constitute only 22% of the journalists who write the news stories. Women are under-represented in the opinion, commentary and editorial genres.
- Women media practitioners predominate in the soft beats, and at the time of this study, there was not a single beat in which they achieved parity with men. Their absence is marked in economic, political, sport, mining and agricultural news reporting.
  Interestingly, men media practitioners similarly produce more stories relating to gender issues.[17]



More recent qualitative and quantitative research on women in newsrooms has been conducted in South Africa by the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) and Gender Links. The 2006 study, *The Glass Ceiling and Beyond: Realities, challenges and strategies for South African Media*, presents findings on how women and men are represented in newsrooms. This study found that while women comprise 45% of the newsrooms, they are less than 30% of the managers. It also found that while black women comprise 42% of the population, they constitute only 18% of newsroom staff and 6% of media managers. Findings also showed that there is a correlation between women in management and gender equality in newsrooms with higher levels of gender parity among all levels of staff in newsrooms in South Africa that have higher proportions of women in decision-making. And, the study found that the average salary of women in newsrooms is 21% less than men.

GL and partner organisations intend to repeat the GMBS in 2009/2010, to renew the activism around gender and the media in 2010, the fifteenth anniversary of the Beijing conference. It will be called the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS). The findings of the *Glass Ceiling* regional report and the GMPS will be like two sides of a coin. They will make it possible to draw profiles of gender in media house composition and content at country and media house level. This will give impetus to policy and training work already started for integrating gender into institutional policy and practice.

Gender policies in media houses

The use of special measures, such as quotas and affirmative action, and the development of gender editorial and employment policies are strategic ways to push women

e Southern African Media Action I
MAP
on HIV and AIDS & Gender

[17] Gender Links & MISA (2003) Gender and Media Baseline Study, Gender Links & MISA, Johannesburg, South Africa.

through the glass ceilings in media houses, and help media companies address the gender disparities within their employment practices. But media houses are slow to put in place policies and measures that will transform the workplace.

In 2005/6 Gender Links conducted an audit of media houses in Southern Africa to determine those that had policies on HIV/AIDS and/or gender. The research showed that only 10.11% of the 365[18] media houses interviewed had policies on gender and/ or HIV/AIDS. More media houses had HIV/AIDS (9.02%) policies compared to gender policies (6.28%). Also, more media houses (3.83%) were in the process of developing or are willing to develop HIV/AIDS policies, unlike those on gender (2.73%).

Since 2006, GL has worked on pilot projects for developing gender policies in media houses with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. These include work with the Malawi and Mauritius broadcasting corporations; Kaya FM in South Africa and the Times of Zambia. The project has extended to include media regulators such as the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TACRA); Botswana Press Council; Tanzania Media Council and Malawi Media Council.

The lessons learned have been built into a booklet called *Diversity in Action*, a step by step process for developing HIV and AIDS as well as gender policies in newsrooms. This booklet also draws on a further baseline study (2006) on the coverage of HIV and AIDS and Gender in the Southern African media. This found that HIV and AIDS comprises 4% of all coverage; that the views of those most directly affected are seldom heard and that topics such as the unpaid work of women caring for those living with HIV and AIDS receive scant attention.

As lead agency for the policy leg of the Media Action Plan (MAP) on HIV and AIDS and Gender co-ordinated by the Southern African Editors Forum (SAEF), GL has worked with 140 media houses across Southern Africa over the last three years in developing gender aware HIV and AIDS policies. While these policies touch on the relationship between women and men in media houses, they do not directly address many core gender issues, such as sexual harassment, employment equity, and giving equal voice to women and men in all coverage; not just on HIV and AIDS. For this reason, *Diversity in Action* urges media houses to develop stand alone gender policies, an essential next phase of the project.

It is hoped that this research will give added impetus to the gender dimension of MAP that has now come close to reaching its target of 80% media houses in the region adopting HIV and AIDS policies. In this endeavour, GL values the partnership with the Sol Plaatje Institute to recognise progressive practices in media houses through annual awards for HIV and AIDS and Gender policies and practise. A key area identified for future collaboration as a result of this study is strengthening gender awareness in leadership training of both women and men media workers. For this, the collaboration of Southern African media unions affiliated to the IFJ will also be actively sought.

Gender policies for media houses should include, among others, gender sensitive clauses on recruitment, promotion and allocation of tasks in media houses. This initiative also moves beyond the emphasis on numbers of women

[18] A total of 405 media houses were listed, but only 365 were interviewed.

employees in media houses to gender mainstreaming as the strategy to completely transform the overall work environment to be responsive to gender concerns.

The SADC Gender Protocol

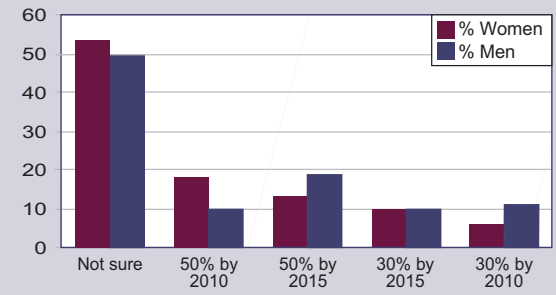
The efforts of all those who work for democratisation and change in the media is strengthened by the Southern African Protocol on Gender and Development adopted by Heads of State in August 2008. The media clauses of this Protocol sparked among the most heated debate, because of concerns that any prescriptions by governments could be misconstrued as interference in freedom of expression. While the clauses are not obligatory, they set out the key issues and provide a framework that is hard to quibble with for any institution that is genuinely committed to equality, fairness and transparency as all media houses, whether private or public should.

Key provisions are that media houses work to:

- Ensure gender is mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies, programmes, laws and training in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport.
- Mainstream gender in their codes of conduct, policies and procedures, and adopt and implement gender aware ethical principles, codes of practice and policies in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport.
- Promote the equal representation women in the ownership of, and decision making structures of the media accordance with Article 12.1 that provides for equal representation of women in decision making positions by 2015.
- Desist from promoting pornography and violence against all persons, especially women and children; depicting women as helpless victims of violence and abuse; degrading or exploiting women, especially in the area of entertainment and advertising, undermining their role and position in society; and reinforcing gender oppression and stereotypes.
- Give equal voice to women and men in all areas of coverage, including increasing the number of programmes for, by and about women on gender specific topics and that challenge gender stereotypes.
- Play a constructive role in the eradication of gender based violence by adopting guidelines which ensure gender sensitive coverage.

Awareness of the SADC Gender Protocol

Figure one: Awareness of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development



When asked what target date has been set by the SADC Gender Protocol for the achievement of gender parity in all areas of decision-making approximately half of all the women and men interviewed in this research did not know, and only 13% of the women and 19% of the men got the answer (2015) correct. This shows that the media is still largely unaware of these provisions and that gender and media activists have their work cut out: to popularise the Protocol and make its provisions a living reality in the Southern African media.



Claiming new spaces: DJ Che Ulenga at Base FM

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

CHAPTER TWO

A space for women or women in every space?

Concepts and methodology

Pauline Banda, often known by the nickname "Miss Beijing" in Zambia for her hard hitting gender column, has decided that while we wait to ensure that women are in every space in the media, she will claim whatever space is available.

Banda obtained a diploma in journalism from the Pan Africa Literature Centre in 1988. She started her journalistic career at Palesa News Agency, a privately owned wire service, where she wrote for international news agencies including Reuters, the German news agency DPA and French agency AFP. This was mainly during the struggles for independence in South Africa and Namibia.

She joined the *Zambia Daily Mail* in 1991, when Zambia was just resuming multi-party politics. During this time Banda covered political stories. She has served in various positions, including reporter, senior reporter, gender editor and her current position as features editor. During this



Pauline Banda *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

time she has covered a number of beats: crime, politics, health, gender, parliament and courts.

Banda pioneered the gender desk, which the *Zambia Daily Mail* decided to establish in recognition of the prominence gender earned following the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women. The desk evolved from a column residing under the Features Desk, and started by Barbara Lopi in 1996 to become a fully-fledged desk in 2000.

Banda was appointed editor, and ran the desk for eight years before returning to features as editor in 2008. She has been writing a weekly gender column, *Gender Focus*, for 10 years.

Banda says one of the key challenges women face in the media is subtle discrimination, which is very hard to deal with. She observes that male journalists in particular import into the newsroom stereotypes and prejudices from the communities in which they live.

"Dealing with entrenched negative perceptions against women is an uphill battle, because with time some women have come to believe that they cannot be as good or even half as good as men in the workplace. But the situation has been changing of late. The profile of women has risen considerably, although there is still a lot of work to do," she says.

As a journalist Banda has encountered some "violent" reactions from men on a range of issues, including women's rights in marriage. But she describes the decade she spent on the gender desk as a career highlight. "I am delighted that I have contributed to getting people talking about a wide range of gender issues. Gender is a highly emotive issue in male circles, because some men fear that women want to take over the world."

This chapter covers the conceptual framework for the research, the methodology and limitations of the research. It is grounded in the discourse on gender mainstreaming that has its roots in the global conferences on women.

Women in development versus gender and development

Since the third world conference on women in Nairobi in 1980, there has been a shift world wide from the Women in Development (WID) approach that sees women and their "issues" as an add on to processes to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach that seeks to ensure that the concerns of women and men are taken account of in all areas.

The media has not been exempt from these debates. As illustrated in the case of the *Daily Mail*, a typical response of male media managers after the Beijing conference was to create a gender desk and column. Media women like Pauline Banda have used these spaces to wedge the door open more widely, often at the expense of being called names and ridiculed in their own newsrooms. But as spaces and pages have been created for women, so it has become apparent that what is really needed is for



Women's concerns do not belong in a corner *Photo: Lydia Byarugaba*

women to be equally represented, their views and voices reflected in *all* spaces. This is the essence of gender mainstreaming.

For the purposes of this research we make use of the UNDP definition of gender mainstreaming: *"Taking account of gender equity concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities, and in organisational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organizational transformation."*



Young women prepare for careers in the media *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Conceptual framework

The study builds on, and is informed by the conceptual framework first put forward by Thenjiwe Mtinsto[19] used in GL's groundbreaking 2004 study: *"Ringing up the Changes: Gender in Politics in Southern Africa."* This framework, which has been elaborated for the purposes of this study, is illustrated in figure two.

The crux of Mtintso's argument is that access and numbers are a prerequisite for, but do not guarantee transformation. She argues that once women have entered any sphere of decision-making, it is necessary to remove the barriers to their effective participation. Only when women are present in significant strengths, and are able to participate effectively, are they likely to start "ringing up the changes".

Access

Women have been denied access to decision-making for a host of reasons that basically boil down to the fact that societies all over the world have defined women's space as being in the private rather than in the public sphere.

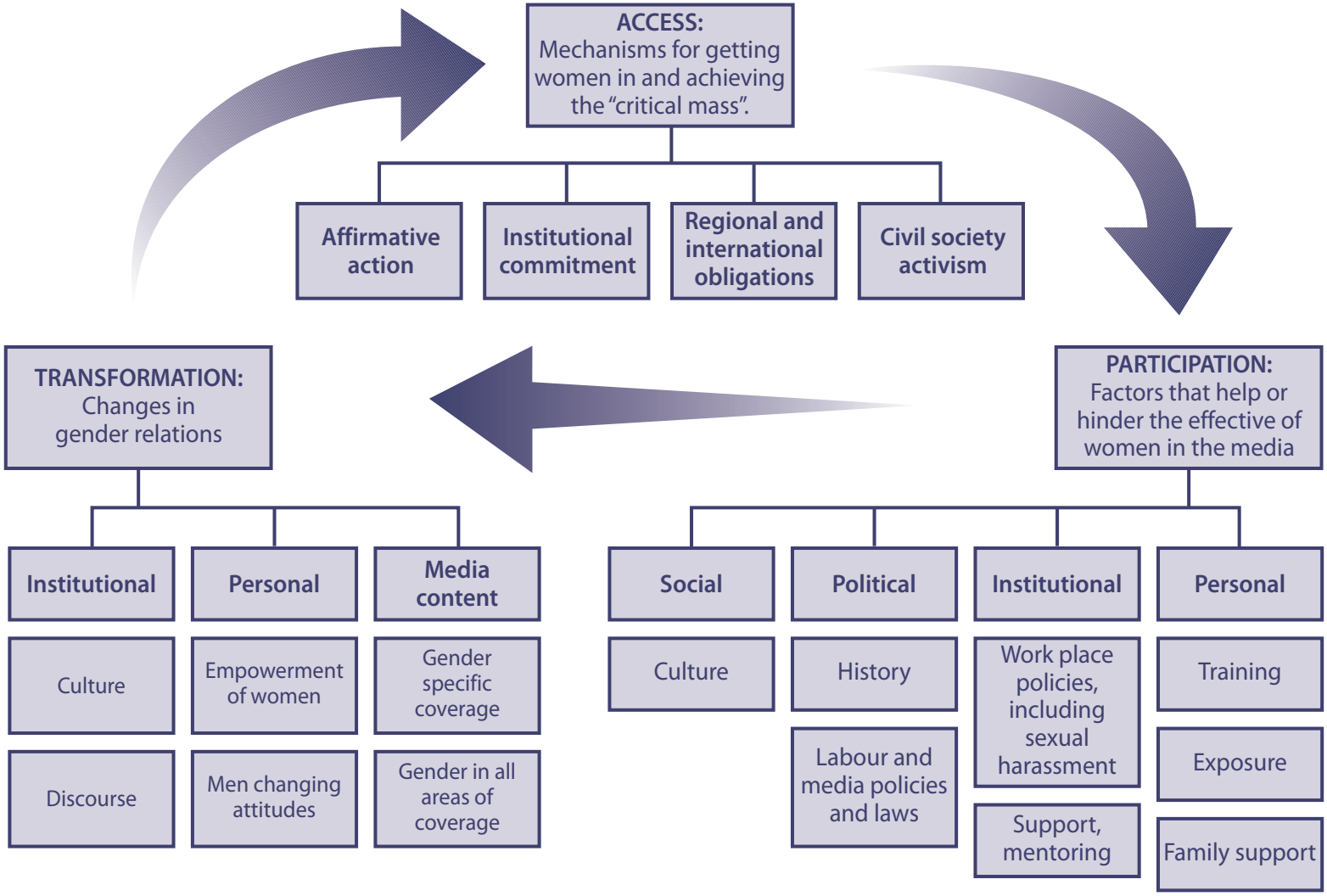
Of all the areas of decision-making, politics and the media are among the most public of public spaces, and therefore have been among the most hostile for women to access. Yet these are the most critical spheres for effecting change.

The 50/50 campaign in Southern Africa has so far largely devoted its energies to political decision-making. There it has been shown that with rare exceptions, the only instances in which there has been substantial and meaningful increases of women in parliament is as a result of special measures: either legislated or voluntary quotas.

While the concern in the media is less with women's representation overall and more with the absence of women in decision-making, similar deliberate measures are called for. These consist of setting targets; encouraging women to apply for senior posts; coaching, mentoring, capacity building and all the other measures that are analysed in the study.

19 Mtintso, T (1999) "Women in Decision-Making: A Conceptual Framework" in "Women in Politics and Decision Making in SADC: Beyond 30 % in 2005", SADC: p35-52 and Mtintso, T (1999) "Women in Politics- A Conceptual Framework" in "Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy", Commission on Gender Equality: p33-51.

Figure two: Conceptual framework



The "critical mass"

A question that frequently arises in quota debates is the extent to which women have to be repre-sented in specific numbers in order to make a difference. Put differently, how critical is the critical mass? How magic is the figure 30 percent bandied about for many years until the 50/50 campaign pushed the target to gender parity, which is logically where it should be.

The notion that to make a difference women need to constitute a "critical mass" traces back to research by Danish political scientist Drude Dahlerup who declared: "Don't expect us to make too much difference as long as we are only a few women in politics. It takes a critical mass of women to make a fundamental change in politics." [20]

A study on women in public life carried out by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) also argues that only a critical mass of women allows female politicians to bring different values to public life:

> As a minority operating in a male domain, for most women public figures to be accepted and function on a basis of equality with men have to adapt to and to and adopt the male priorities predominating in public life. Minorities, such as women who are successful in a male world, according to the classic theory of minority behaviour, absorb the dominant culture to such an extent that they tend to dissociate themselves from other women, to undermine their own success and to perceive any discrimination they meet as a result of their own shortcomings. It takes a minority of a certain minimum size, 30-35%, to be able to influence the culture of groups and to facilitate alliances between group members. The theory may also explain why lone women who reach high office have often appeared not to bring distinctively female values to their office.[21]

The counter-argument is that while women are not homogenous, and while they may not openly advocate feminist agendas, they do have certain common interests, different values, outlooks and approaches to men. The mere presence of women in decision-making can be an impetus for transformation, although the danger of isolation is that women are less likely to want to challenge the status quo. The focus



All women's news team at the Economic Commission for Africa's 2008 African Development Forum *Photo: ECA*

[20] Dahlerup D (1991), "From a small to a large minority, women in Scandinavian politics" quoted in Virginia Willis, "Public life: Women Make a Difference", Paper for the Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Women in Public Life, DAW, Vienna: p.10.

[21] DAW (2000), "Public life: women make a difference," in "Women 2000", No 2, 1992: p.5.

on feminists or gender activists as the sole source of transformation overlooks the important role that other women play in supporting such agendas, and the fact that with additional empowerment they too could be advocates of such changes.

For the purposes of this study, the "critical mass" is understood less as a fixed number and more as the point at which women, through a combination of numerical strength, enabling environments, empowerment and conviction feel able to raise critical questions in mainstream environments.

What is undeniable, to quote Britton's forthcoming book on women in politics in South Africa, is the fallacy that "increasing the numbers of women in office will be a panacea for women's equality and gender discrimination. As the South African case indicates, getting women into office is an important and productive effort; however, merely increasing women does not fundamentally alter the gender system within parliament and may not necessarily have an immediate or lasting impact on legislation or implementation. Numerous other factors play an equally important role, such as cultural norms of society, the financial limitations of fledgling democracies, and the partisan constraints of political life."[22]

The same applies to the media. Women may occupy but not necessarily claim new spaces. As long as the dominant ethos prevails, they may simply become part of the boys club. To change the culture, its outputs and outcomes, requires that the individual be empowered to demand such change and that the work place be open to it.

Participation

It is not just the presence of women that will centre their views, experiences, perspectives, interests, aspirations and values but rather their effective participation. Decision-making in the media, as in any sphere of society, is fraught with obstacles for women. These include:

- Political factors, such as the extent to which labour and media policies and laws in the society overall promote gender equality.
- The openness of society and culture to women in leadership.
- Institutional factors, such as leadership and management roles within the institutions as well as links and networks with organisations outside the institution.
- Personal agency, such as individual backgrounds, values and capacity as well as family acceptance and support.

Transformation

Representation and participation in decision-making allows for the full spectrum of voices to be heard, experiences and values to be centred and for citizens to take responsibility for, and change their own lives. Once citizens who had previously been reduced to non-citizens bring "other" views, paradigms begin to change. Those who had always spoken on behalf of the others, assuming they know what the others feel, get challenged. Various myths are exploded and a new understanding begins.

Thus when women enter decision-making, the concept, content and form of the institution and its governance, and the way that they are practiced, begin to change. Power relations shift. Outcomes begin to be informed by the new paradigm. But there is a constant struggle because the tools for transformation are often

22 Britton, Hannah, 2003: "From Resistance to Governance: South African Women's Transformation of Parliament." (unpublished) p378.

the very same institutions that need to be transformed.

The argument in this framework is that deep-seated and sustainable transformation is more likely to take place when there are both significant numbers of women in decision-making and when a conscious effort is made to facilitate their participation.

Transformation of gender relations is understood in this study to consist of two core components:

- The empowerment of women to take their equal and rightful role in all areas of social, economic and political endeavour and
- Changes in the attitudes of men to allow women to take their rightful place as well to free men of those burdens of masculinity that prevent them from working as equal partners with women.

Measuring change

As illustrated in figure two, the transformation in gender relations can be measured in three areas:

- ***Institutional change:*** this ranges from the extent to working hours and norms reflect family considerations to the discourse and conduct of the institution, for example the extent to which sexist comments and sexual harassment are tolerated.
- ***Personal change:*** This includes the extent to which women are empowered to be themselves and to bring their concerns and issues into the process of decision-making without feeling that they will be sidelined as well as changes in the attitudes of men and the extent to which they become champions of gender equality within institutions.
- ***Changes in the products and services that the institution delivers:*** In the case of the media this can be directly measured through monitoring of media content; the extent to which gender as a topic is covered by the media, as how and to what extent the views and voices of women and men are projected in all areas of coverage.

Most of the research on the qualitative difference that women as leaders bring to the work place has been focused on the area of women in governance. These same criteria can be applied to women in decision-making in the media. They are the difference that results from the sheer presence of women; whether or not they have a responsibility to represent other women; whether they share common interests; bring different perspectives, values and leadership style, as well as whether there is any difference between the performance of women and men.

It is important to underscore that the areas of transformation measured in the study are limited to the personal and institutional changes experienced, and actions taken by media decision-makers. Such actions do not guarantee fundamental changes in the way people think, act and conduct themselves.

However, they can be a powerful force for change. Thus, for example, media insistence on giving equal voice to women in rural communities does not mean that women in those committees wake up and find themselves as equals in their homes. But it does send out a powerful message that women have the right to have a say in every day decisions that affect their lives. Over time, perhaps even over generations, such messages chip away at the status quo and open the door to social change.

Methodology

This research on the *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern Africa Media* is the most extensive quantitative and qualitative look at employment patterns and conditions of service in media houses since 1995.

As mentioned in the executive summary, the Southern African findings will enrich the recently launched research by the IWMF, *Global Report on Women in the News Media*, which will examine the structure of the news media industry from a gender perspective and "will survey newspaper, broadcast and cable media companies in some 66 countries".[23] Both studies will shed light on "whether and how women have advanced in journalism professions, as well as within the governance structures of media companies" (Byerly, 2008:58).

Objectives and guiding questions

The **research objective** was to probe the gendered dimensions of the institutional composition and practices of the media and the impact of these on editorial content. The key guiding questions included:

- Where are women and men located in the occupational levels, work categories and beats in the media?
- What are the average earnings of women and men in the media?
- What accounts for the glass ceilings in media houses?
- What are some of the enabling factors for women to advance in the media?
- Does the presence of a "critical mass" of women make a difference a) to institutional culture and b) editorial output?
- How can this be demonstrated?
- How and why should the media seek to achieve the gender parity targets for employment and editorial content set in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development?

Research methods

Quantitative and qualitative methods employed included:

- **Quantitative questionnaires** administered to HR managers or those designated to provide statistics on the media house. The ten sections of the questionnaire focused on occupational levels, conditions of employment, earnings, departments, beats, selection and recruitment, career-pathing, working conditions and environment, policies and a space for general comments.
- **Perceptions questionnaires** administered to at least four people in each media house; a senior manager; a senior figure in marketing/advertising; a senior figure in editorial; and a media practitioner of whom roughly half are women and half are men. The perceptions questionnaire interrogated how media houses perceive gender concerns and whether there is a commitment to gender equality in media houses. The questionnaire looks at three areas: What obstacles do women in media houses face; the enabling environments for women in media houses; and at what difference do women make in media houses.*[See Annex for a copy of Perceptions questionnaire]*
- **Case studies and profiles** gathered to enrich the research with anecdotal evidence. These included: a profile of a senior woman in the media who is making a difference in the newsroom; a profile of a senior man in the media who is gender sensitive and creating an enabling environment for women in newsrooms; a profile of a senior man in the

[23] http://www.iwmf.org/article.aspx?id=865&c=globa

media who is gender insensitive and does not believe that there should be gender parity in the media; a profile of a woman in a newsroom who has worked for many years but has not progressed; a case study of a newsroom where there is gender parity or a higher representation of women; a case study where there is less than 30 percent representation of women in the newsroom.

- **In-depth case study of the *Mail and Guardian*:** The study also includes one in-depth study of a media house that until recently had a woman editor; has traditionally had a high proportion of women in its ranks and in senior positions; is an interesting case of cross-border media ownership (a South African newspaper owned by a Zimbabwean) and one that has a regional distribution and reach. The case study, at the end of the report, brings into focus the several questions and theories postulated throughout the study by casting the spotlight on one media house and asking: what has changed?



In focus: Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation covering a gender and media workshop

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Scope

The study covered 126 media houses (approximately half of all media houses[24]) in 14 - Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - of the 15 SADC countries, representing 23, 678 employees.

Research sample

Three criteria guided the sample size of the media houses:

- Media density
- State or public media
- Balance between print and broadcast in both the commercial and community media based on audience reach

The **media density** is determined by the number of media in each country. The number of media houses surveyed is proportional to the density as outlined below:

- High media density: all countries with more the 50 individual media
- Medium density: all countries with between 20-50 media houses
- Low density: countries with less than 20 individual media

Table two illustrates which countries in the sample are high, medium and low density countries; how many media houses were targeted in each country and the actual number of media houses researchers surveyed, as not all media houses agreed to participate and the Angolan researcher reneged on his commitments. The table shows that researchers collected data from 126 out of the 159 targeted media houses. This is still approximately half of all media houses in the SADC region and therefore represents a credible sample.

Table two: Summary of sample and employees

Categories	Countries	Sample per country	Total sample	Actual sample
High (over 50 media)	DRC; Madagascar; Mozambique; South Africa; Tanzania	15	75	69
Medium (between 20-50 media)	Angola; Malawi; Mauritius; Namibia; Zambia; Zimbabwe	10	60	43[25]
Low (below 20 media)	Botswana; Lesotho; Seychelles; Swaziland	6	24	14
TOTAL			**159**	**126**

[24] The Media Action Plan on HIV and AIDS and Gender, led by the Southern African Editor's Forum (SAEF) estimates that there are 255 media houses in the SADC region.
[25] Excludes Angola due to non-receipt of the data.

Table three provides a breakdown of the quantitative sample by the countries' media density and the number of state/public broadcast and print media, private print and broadcast media and community media surveyed in the 14 countries. It also provides the total number of employees for the media houses surveyed.

Table three: Breakdown of quantitative sample

Country	State		Private		Community		Total media	Total staff
High Density	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print		
DRC	1	1	5	5	3		15	2659
Madagascar	2		5	7	1		15	584
Mozambique	2		1	6	5		14	1103
South Africa	1			8		2	11	11750
Tanzania			6	7	1		14	877
Sub total	**6**	**1**	**17**	**33**	**10**	**2**	69	16973
Medium Density								
Mauritius	1			5	1	2	9	1196
Malawi	1		4	2	3		10	1132
Namibia	1	2	1	5	2		11	807
Zambia	1	1	3	2	1	1	9	416
Sub total	**4**	**3**	**8**	**14**	**7**	**3**	39	3551
Low Density								
Botswana	1	1	1	2			5	613
Lesotho	1	1	1		1		4	1124
Seychelles		1		1			2	39
Swaziland	1			2			3	230
Zimbabwe		1		2	1		4	1154
TOTAL	**3**	**4**	**2**	**7**	**2**		18	3160
	13	**8**	**27**	**54**	**19**	**5**	**126**	**23684**
	21		**81**		**24**		**126**	

The table shows that:

- Of the 126 media surveyed, 21 were public or state owned; 81 privately owned and 24 community media.
- Of these, 59 are broadcast and 67 print media.
- The total number of employees in the sample is 23 684, with the majority of these (16 973) in the high density media countries.
- With 11750 employees, South Africa accounts for half of all the employees in the study. This is consistent with South Africa's size (40% of the region's population) and its media density, by far the highest in the region. However, in understanding the findings, it is often important to look at overall findings as well as the findings excluding South Africa, as this

one country, which has its own particular history, political and economic circumstances, tends to skew the overall results.

Table four provides a breakdown of the 471 perception questionnaires administered, 46% to women and 54% to men. It shows the spread of these questionnaires across the spectrum of senior manager (26%); marketing (10%); editorial (43%); media practitioners (26%) and HR and finance (8%).

Table four: Breakdown of sample for perception questionnaire

Country High Density	Media houses	Senior Manager	Marketing	Editorial	Media Practitioner	Admin/HR Finance	W	M	Total
DRC	15	7	2	29	10	12	26	34	60
Madagascar	15	16		28	4	1	18	31	49
Mozambique	14	4	2	21	7	3	17	20	37
South Africa	11		3	3	14	4	17	7	24
Tanzania	14	5		24	6	1	20	16	36
Sub total	**69**	**32**	**7**	**105**	**41**	**21**	**98**	**108**	**206**
Medium Density									
Mauritius	9	8	4	8	8	3	18	13	31
Malawi	10	7		35	5	1	22	26	48
Namibia	11	5	9	13	15	2	18	26	44
Zambia	9	3	7	15	9		10	24	34
Sub total	**39**	**23**	**20**	**71**	**37**	**6**	**68**	**89**	**157**
Low Density									
Botswana	5	8	11	8	5	1	18	15	33
Lesotho	4	1	3	7	9	1	11	10	21
Seychelles	2			4	17	1	11	11	22
Swaziland	3	1	3	1	5	3	5	8	13
Zimbabwe	4	2	3	2	9	3	8	11	19
Sub-total	**18**	**12**	**20**	**22**	**45**	**9**	**53**	**55**	**108**
TOTAL	**126**	**67**	**47**	**198**	**123**	**36**	**219**	**252**	**471**
Percentage		**14%**	**10%**	**42%**	**26%**	**8%**	**46%**	**54%**	**100%**

Limitations of the research

Key limitations of the research include:

- Data not being delivered from one of the 15 countries (Angola). This is an expensive and difficult country to operate in that has posed major challenges for all NGOs working in the sector.
- Not all the media houses targeted responded; however 126 media houses (40% of the estimated 255 media houses of Southern Africa) is still a sizeable sample.
- The public broadcaster declined to participate in the research in Zimbabwe; this skews the results of the findings in that country to the print media that typically has a lower proportion of women.
- Ideally the South African (and possibly Namibian data) should also have been disaggregated by race. This did not happen in the study because race is not a significant factor in other countries in the region.
- Despite having the highest media density and highest number of employees in the sample, South African media personnel had among the lowest rate of responses to the perception questionnaires. There is a general reluctance by the South African media to participate in research of this nature, despite the high standards of accountability to which the media in that country holds public officials.
- Only 59 (slightly less than half the sample) of media houses disclosed figures on average earnings of women and men. The study could therefore not draw definitive conclusions on earnings. The reluctance to disclose figures on remuneration is disappointing in light of the media's role in demanding transparency among other sectors of society.

A general limitation of any kind of qualitative research is the lack of "scientific measurement". By their very nature, attitudes and relationships do not lend themselves easily to quantifiable measures. They occur within dynamic and complex environments and are impacted upon by factors that cannot be controlled or held constant while other measurement occurs. However, the strength of this research is that the experiences of those being "researched" are vividly brought to life in the pages that follow. Their voices are alive, reliable and valid.



Lived experiences are real: GL executive director Colleen Lowe Morna (left) and Botswana co-ordinator Keabonye Ntsabane visit Yarona FM

Photo: Trevor Davies



As in the rest of SADC, the Madagascar Gender, HIV and AIDS and Media Baseline Study revealed major gaps in the media of this country.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Missing in action!
Key gender gaps

Zainah Liwanda, a Malawian journalist turned researcher, is an example of the many women who leave the media profession.

Many regret the loss of Liwanda to the media, as she was a reporter known for impeccable sources and well-written and meticulously investigated stories. Although Liwanda is no longer with the media she firmly believes reporting is her calling, and it is her passion. This is clear when she says: "I miss the newsroom! But one thing I know is that one day I will go back. That's my destiny. I was trained as a journalist and I will die as one."

Liwanda worked for seven years in the newsroom in various positions. Her first job was in 2000 when she joined Blantyre Newspapers Limited, publishers of the *Daily Times, Malawi News* and *Sunday Times* as a sub-editor. She was designated to the *Malawi News*. In 2003 she joined Nation Publications Limited (NPL) as a



Zainah Liwanda at her desk in Lilongwe, Malawi *Photo: Pushpa Jamieson*

senior reporter. After about two years, Liwanda was promoted to news analyst. NPL publish *The Nation, Weekend Nation* and *Nation on Sunday.*

Asked if she had tried for promotion, and what happened, Liwanda says "Yes, as a result I was promoted from senior reporter to news analyst while with NPL. I remember the reason for my promotion given in the letter was that I was a hard worker. Management said in recognition of my hard work they had decided to promote me."

Liwanda is confident that if she had remained longer with NPL she would have been promoted again, but she did not want to miss the opportunity of a better position and greater financial benefits when she was offered a job with the University of North Carolina Research Centre in Lilongwe.

Asked about the main obstacles women face in advancing in editorial departments, she said there were many, among them being that men who dominate decision-making positions in media houses generally do not give women a chance to progress or be promoted. As a result in most media houses women are in middle positions, not top positions. "Even when a female journalist works extra hard she is not given that top position, as it is already filled by a man," Liwanda said.

Liwanda cited accusations by male counterparts of female journalists being favoured if, say, their stories made the front page, or if they were promoted or advanced in any way. Some male sources were also an obstacle, she said, as they wanted to exchange sex for stories, and some female journalists quit for fear of these advances.

Liwanda stressed that some female journalists did not advance because they did not apply themselves, and expected to be favoured as women. She encourages women to apply themselves aggressively and professionally in order to make sure that their stories translate into front-page stories.

She also encourages female journalists to work hard and compete with their male counterparts through active media women's associations. She says there is need to lobby of media owners to recognise female journalists' contributions by promoting them to decision-making positions. For her, it is still goodbye to all the media.



Francinah Baaiste *Photo: Gender Links*

Several journalists interviewed commented on how women who start out in the media, end up in communication-related fields other than the mainstream media. Natasha Uys, a journalist at *The Namibian*, said "Most women who study media opt for safer options like PR." Francinah Baaitse, a reporter at *The Voice* newspaper in Botswana, said long working hours plus domestic responsibilities had seen many women quit journalism and opt for public relations.

In Zimbabwe, a male respondent noted: "Most women are interested in working as PROs [public relations officers] or in NGOs, despite

having undergone media training." Another male respondent at Radio Dialogue in Zimbabwe added: "Active recruitment of women is not there, because the organisation does not have a gender policy."

Gertrude Makhafola, journalist at the *Sowetan* in South Africa argued that the old adage that if you work hard you will get where you want does not work in the media house. Mkahafola says: "It's not workable because the institution has a serious history. Most women move to magazines. It's hard to break through."

This chapter summarises the overall findings and gives country comparisons of women's representation in media houses in the region. It explores the reasons for this through the views and voices of those interviewed.

Women are under-represented in the Southern African media

Figure three: Women and men in Southern African media houses

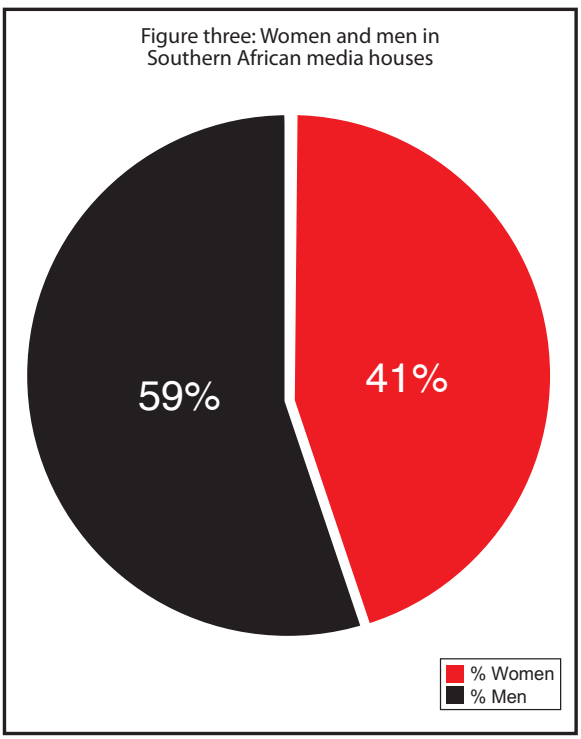


Figure four: Women and men in Southern African media houses without South Africa

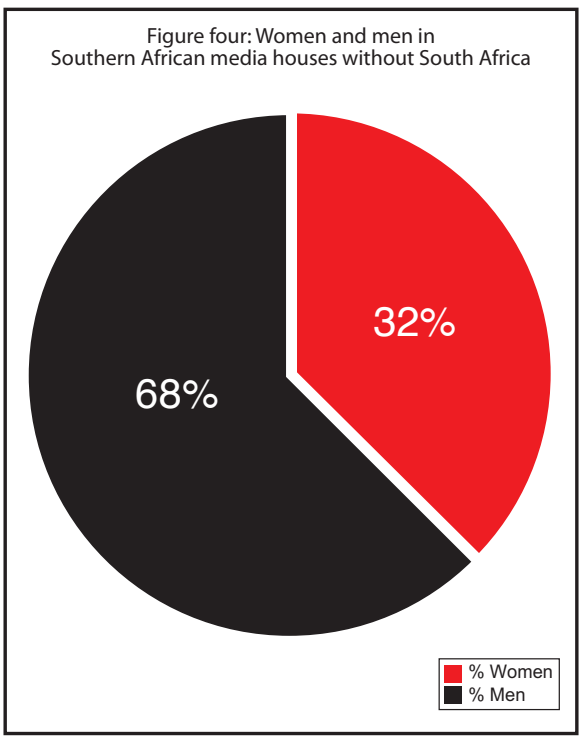
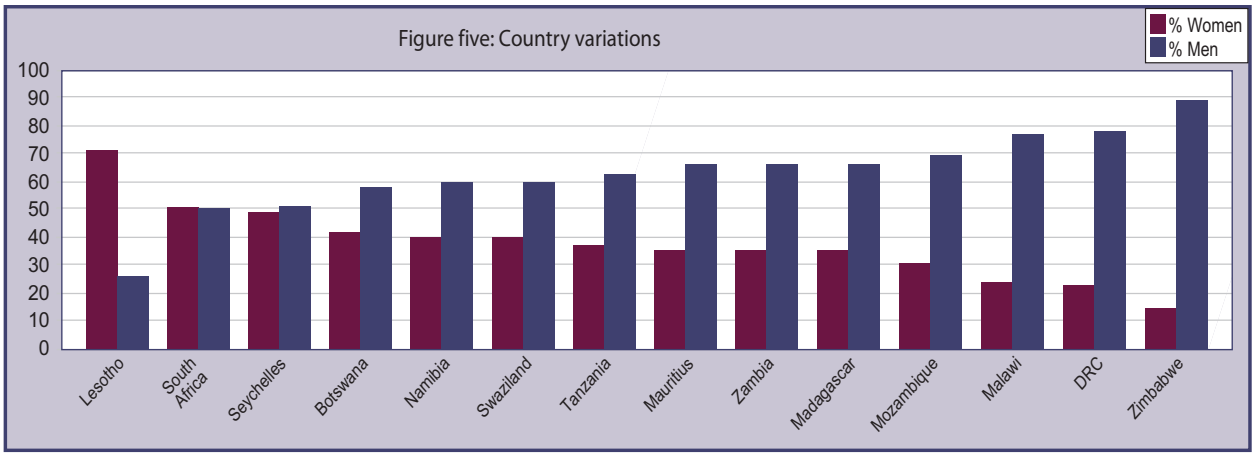


Figure three and four shows the representation of women in Southern African media houses with and without South Africa which constitutes half the sample of employees. While this is consistent with South Africa's much higher media density, the average figures create an inaccurate picture of what pertains in other countries of the region.

The two graphs show that the average proportion of women in the media in Southern Africa is 41%. If South Africa is excluded, the proportion drops to 32%.

Variations by country



Country	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Men
Lesotho	817	307	1124	73	27
South Africa	5829	5921	11750	50	50
Seychelles	19	20	39	49	51
Botswana	255	358	613	42	58
Namibia	324	483	807	40	60
Swaziland	92	138	230	40	60
Tanzania	317	560	877	36	64
Mauritius	400	796	1196	33	67
Zambia	138	278	416	33	67
Madagascar	193	391	584	33	67
Mozambique	293	810	1103	27	73
Malawi	255	877	1132	23	77
DRC	588	2071	2659	22	78
Zimbabwe	155	999	1154	13	87
Total	9675	14009	23684	41	59

As illustrated in **Figure four** (with exact figures given in the table beneath it) most media houses in the region have more men than women. Lesotho is the outlier, with more women (73%) than men (27%), because the Ministry of Communications, which includes *Radio Lesotho* and *Lesotho Television*, represented more than 90% of the sample size in Lesotho, and females constitute 75% of the ministry. This figure skewed the data from Lesotho in some instances, and the effect is analysed in the country's national *Glass Ceilings'* report.

South Africa's media houses have reached gender parity while Seychelles is near equal numbers of women and men with 49% and 51% respectively. Zimbabwe and the DRC with 13% and 22% respectively have the lowest numbers of women employees in media houses. As noted under limitations, the Zimbabwe figures may have been skewed by the fact that the state broadcaster, the largest employer, did not participate tilting the results towards the print media.



Lack of training no the issue. GL Francophone director, Loga Virahsawmy training journalists in Seychelles

Photo: Gender Links

Although there may be minor variations missed by the research, what is clear is that:

- Only three countries in the region have achieved or are close to achieving the SADC target of 50% women in decision-making.
- Seven countries have achieved or exceeded the one-third mark.
- Four countries (Madagascar, Malawi, DRC and Zimbabwe) are below the one-third mark.

Why are there fewer women in Southern Africa media houses?

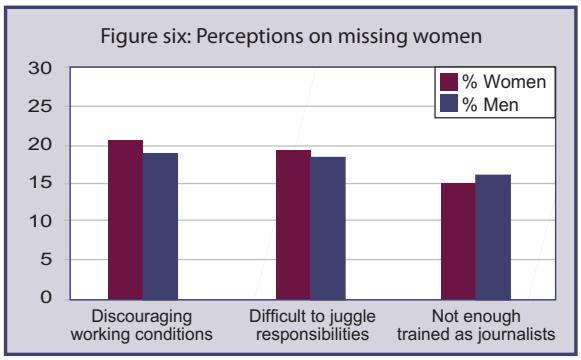


Figure six shows the top three reasons why women and men in media houses across the region believe there are fewer women. There is an unusually close alignment between the views of women and men on this issue. Most women (21%) and men (18%) cited the discouraging working conditions as the main reason for fewer women in media houses.

Some 19% women and 17% men cited women's difficulty in juggling responsibilities as the main cause. Interestingly, training came third for both women and men with a lower proportion of women (15%) than men (17%) citing this as the main cause.

Is lack of training the issue?

Marciano Mubai, a journalist with *Radio Mocambique*, says because fewer women train as journalists there are bound to be fewer in the media: "The majority of students in the training institutions are men. Even during the admission exams the majority of candidates are men. I believe the cultural aspects continue to interfere in the decision to pursue a career in journalism or not, due to the working conditions. I think there are openings for women in the media, but women are challenged by the problems they face in this field."



Marciano Mubia *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Ricardo Dimande, director of *Radio Mocambique*, said: "Is it not horrible that in a media house like Radio Mozambique the number of women in the journalism division does not go beyond seven? On one side this is due to lack of training, and on the other the lack of a recruitment policy, but maybe also because the women themselves fear this may not be the appropriate profession for them, as it is not compatible with a housewife's activities."

Dimande's comment and implicit assumption that media women are also "housewives" reflects both the sexist attitudes in the media world and the reality that many women struggle to juggle the dual demands of the profession and the family responsibilities that still by and large fall exclusively on women in our society.

A man's world?

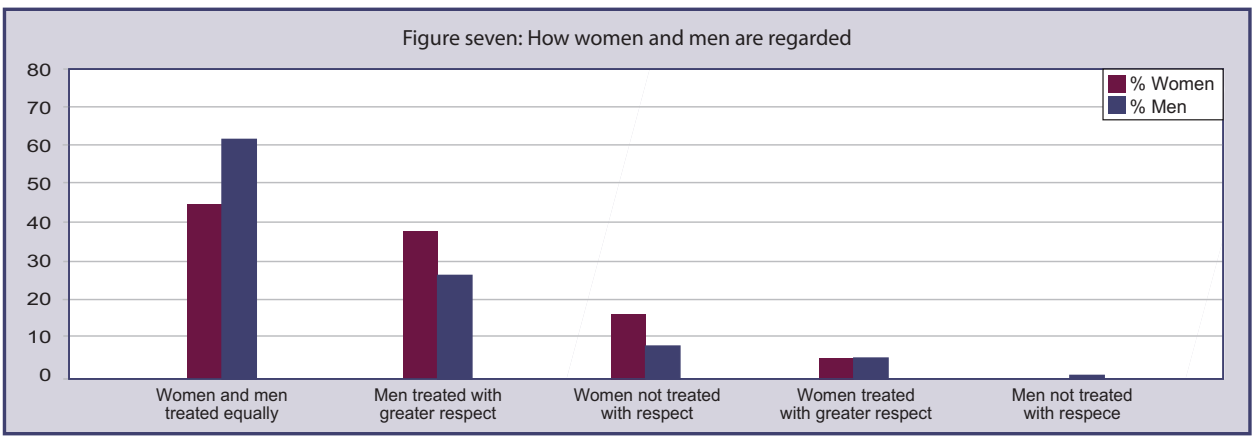


Figure seven shows that men (62%) are far more likely to think that women (44%) are treated equally in the media. Similarly, a higher proportion of women (37%) than men (26%) felt that men are treated with greater respect than women in the media. Very few of either the women or men interviewed though that women are treated with equal or greater respect than men and hardly anyone thought that men are not treated with respect.

Phyllis Kachere, deputy news editor for *Zimpapers*, said: "Most media houses do not go out of their way to employ females, preferring men, whom they feel are flexible and can go anywhere anytime. Because of the caring role of women in the home, most women will not be there when news happens, either because they are breast feeding or nursing a sick child or husband, while their male colleagues are on the spot. Because of the sometimes absurd working hours in the media, most women are made to shun their employ by partners or spouses."

A female journalist from *MOBI TV International* added: "Media houses in Zambia do not employ women. Generally there are a lot of women trained as journalists, but when it comes to recruitment men are preferred." Another female journalist from the *Zambia Daily Mail* said: "Journalism has been generally viewed as a male domain in Zambia because of its public nature."

Tribunal Fax reporter Miguel Munguambe in Mozambique noted: "Many people think journalism is a man's profession. This can be seen as the reason for the low presence of women in the media. The working conditions in media houses and the working hours make it very difficult for women to keep up with their responsibilities at home. Some husbands do not allow their wives to leave the middle of the night."

Culture and tradition

In Swaziland, media women and men interviewed cited tradition and culture as barriers to women's access and participation in the media.

Setsabile Sibisi, head of current affairs and a senior journalist at *Swazi TV,* used her own experience to explain the situation: "It is our way of life in Swaziland. There are certain restrictions like where a woman can't go etc. So our traditions are restrictive to women. For example, the issue of how we are expected to dress. You have to make sure it is a skirt and you have to tie your hair..."

Stewart Tsela, editor at *Radio Swaziland* (part of the Swaziland Broadcasting and Information Services), commented: "The restrictions are more from the traditions, not necessarily from the media house. It is unspoken - it is within us as Swazis."

Tradition and culture reinforce gender stereotypes in Swazi newsrooms. "Women cannot cover the *"Incwala"* - the annual traditional national prayer to thank God for providing us for the year - because the majority of participants are men," Tsela noted.

"It's kind of a belief," he added. "If you see a woman going in front of a warrior to ask questions, it's just not accepted. But there is not that much restriction for us men to cover the Reed Dance. At the Reed Dance I can go and tease a girl and it's accepted. I don't agree with it, but that's the way it is."



The Swaziland reed dance *Photo: UNDP*

Discouraged from joining

In Malawi, male respondents said women journalists are "not respected" because they are viewed as "loose". Because of these perceptions, married women are prevented from entering the profession by their husbands who believe they will meet other men when travelling and carrying out their duties.

Female respondents in Malawi reflected on how they had been dissuaded from becoming a journalist: "More women do not train as journalists because of how women journalists are labelled. Even before I joined this field people discouraged me by saying women journalists are prostitutes," one respondent said. Another female respondent lamented: "The attitude of society deflects women away from media studies. Many people believe women journalists are prostitutes."

A male journalist noted: "Women in marriages have been barred by their husbands from joining the media industry, as they say it involves too much travelling, and the women would be meeting other men in the course of their duties."

Another added: "Many women find it difficult to balance family responsibilities with working as a journalist. This is made even more difficult when a woman is married to a man who has difficulty accepting that the job may require some time spent away from home. Often women in journalism are not respected by men, who think girls working in journalism is equal to prostitution."

Long and unpredictable hours

Pamela Dube, editor of *The Voice* newspaper in Botswana, says there are few women in the media industry, and the recruitment pool is thus very small. Mmasechaba Mokone, of Dikgang



Pamela Dube *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Publishing's *Mmegi* newspaper, says the working conditions do not encourage women to apply.

Felicities Mashungwa Mdlalose, general manager of *Radio Botswana*, says "As women grow older and have families, the hustle and bustle of the profession encroaches on their family life, and they prefer to settle for an 'eight-to-five' job."

Julius Sakala, Zambia's *Radio Phoenix* news editor, pointed to the discouraging working conditions that women in the media often have to contend with. He said: "The newsroom operates from 4am to 10pm, but if there are assignments that need to be finished, staff have to carry on till very late. The nature of the working environment is a deterrent, especially to women."



Julius Sakala *Photo: Gender Links*

In Mozambique, Laurinda Maplau Mapsangache, of Moamba Community added: "Most women working here face inflexible working hours. Most of the time we start without knowing at what time we will be

knocking off, which very often creates difficulties with our partners. Many women working in broadcasting have faced divorce, because they are accused of not respecting their husbands."

Juggling roles

Media women felt overwhelmingly that juggling domestic and professional responsibilities hindered women's ability to work more effectively within the media sector.

A woman journalist at Tanzania's *Standard* newspaper noted: "Media work requires that one be available any time of the day for work. So it is difficult for women to balance both work and home needs, as they normally have family responsibilities to attend to."

"The worse is when my children are on holiday," lamented a woman journalist. "Very often they do not see me for over three days which I think is not normal. When they are on holidays they wake up late and by then I have left home and when I come back they are already in bed. All I can do is kiss them goodnight in their sleep."

Annick Daniella Rivet, a reporter at *Le Defi Media* in Mauritius empathised: "It is difficult when my children are not well. Fortunately I have a gender sensitive husband who looks and cares for them but when they are sick I like to stay with them. I feel it is my responsibility as a mother to cuddle them and give them the love they need especially when they need me most. Very often when my children are ill it is my husband who has to take leave to stay with them. I also believe this is one of the main reasons why so many female journalists are not married."



Annick Daniella Rivet *Photo: Gender Links*

Blame and guilt get added to the mix. Margaret Mangani, of the *Times of Zambia*, noted: "Young mothers have been told they are always attending to children and husbands."

Gwen Lister, Editor of *The Namibian*, cited managing "the balancing act between being a wife, a mother and a person with dangerous job" as the biggest challenge of her career. This called for exceptionally hard work, something Lister could handle but which most women find daunting.

Doro Grebe, a woman journalist at *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Namibia added: '"A job in the media is extremely time-consuming, and thus often not practicable for women with families." A male journalist at the *Namibia Broadcasting Corporation* who preferred to be referred to as K Onesmus concurred, saying: "Journalists must at all times look for stories and follow leads, something difficult to do if one has to juggle other responsibilities."

I K Zemburuka, another male employee at the *NBC*, added: "The travelling also does not help, especially for a female journalist with a family to attend to." Michael Jaeger from *NBC* believes journalism comes with an element of danger, something which can discourage women from pursuing it as a career.

Nomfundo Mdevulana of *Base FM* said having more female role models would definitely encourage women to join the profession. This shows that while media are sometimes sensitive to women's needs, it is only on rare occasions that concessions are made.



Role models needed *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Reggie Schalk a male journalist with *Live FM*, in Namibia cited a lack of interest in media work as a reason for the low numbers of women. Tabby Moyo, of the *Namibian Sun*, felt cultural expectations made it difficult for women to effectively work in the industry, especially where a lot of travel is involved.

Unfriendly environments

Claude Mbombo, a journalist with *L'Observateur* and member of the Higher Media Authority, cited unfriendly and poor working conditions as well as low remuneration as main causes of low representation of women in DRC media houses.

"The work conditions expose women to discomfort. The night shifts, the non-existence of bathrooms, or bathrooms being dirty, and the non-existence of respect for the Convention 183 concerning maternity issues, do not encourage women to take this job," he said. Mbombo added that sexual harassment was an obstacle to the "well-ness of women in their profession. Until recently, journalism was a man's job. This explains why women lack experience in that field. Most of them are not qualified, and not ready to cope with the requirements of the job. For example women do not accept work after 11pm. Consequently, they refuse the posts offered to them."

Unsympathetic bosses

Hovering in the background of all these explanations is the strong view held by many media women that their bosses are unsympathetic to the many expectations made of women in the home, no matter how demanding their profession.

Mactrevor Bwalya, *National Mirror* news editor, said: "The biggest danger of employing women is that out of five days they work three days. They tend to fall sick or claim their children are sick."

He said that as a result, they ended up stretching other colleagues. He argued that women should not bring gender to the workplace if they could not deal with gender issues at home. "Women should start negotiating with their husbands on sharing family responsibilities, so that they can realise their full potential in the media industry."

Bwalya, of the *National Mirror,* pointed to a few senior women like Janet Lunga and Agnes Banda, whom he says have excelled in the media. He said these women had justified their stay in the industry, and this had nothing to do



Mactrevor Bwalya, Multi Media's National Mirror news editor *Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu*

with their sex. He added: "Personally I have never recommended women for senior positions, because very few have delivered." The reasons given by Bwalya imply that women do not have the same capabilities as men, and employing them comes with a risk.

Brighton Phiri, information and research officer for *The Post*, says the media industry - especially the newsroom - operates as a high-pressure zone. This makes it difficult for female journalists to cope, since they come already overburdened by other responsibilities.

There is a general agreement between women and men in media houses that media working conditions often discourage women from seeking employment there. This is exacerbated by having to juggle family and professional responsibilities. There are, however, a few men like Mactrevor Bwalya who feel that women should find a way of "negotiating" with their husbands, especially to reduce the burden of dual responsibilities.

Kaombona Utjiwa Kanani, a senior reporter with *Echo* newspaper in Namibia said that when a woman falls pregnant the work suffers, and a replacement must be found. This comment added to the perception that employers are not sensitive to the extra responsibilities women carry, and regard these as disruptive and expensive.

Kanani also says "None has ever been refused a job for being a woman." If women give in to oppression "it is their choice, and they should learn to raise their voices against this". In essence Kanani says women should fight where they feel they have been treated unfairly.

Raymond R. Nauvel, Editor in Chief of *Le Dimanche*, said that the "ideal situation would have been to have gender parity in the newsroom but in reality this is very difficult. In *Le Dimanche*, we do not have any full time female staff and the only female journalist we have is on a freelance basis. Journalism is not suited for women. Late working hours are not conducive for women to apply for the post... Journalism is not a 9.00 am to 4.00 p.m job. In March 2009 we are going to have a bi-election, girls cannot go and cover elections due to late hours."

In sum, as a result of their dual roles at work and in the home, plus the lack of gender awareness and sensitivity in newsrooms, women find the mainstream media daunting and hostile. Although it is becoming far more common to have women in the media, some are inhibited from entering and those who enter often do not stay. As we will see in the next chapter, those who do stay are often frustrated by the sense that their career options come hitting against invisible but persistent glass ceilings.



Newsrooms are often an unfriendly working environment *Photo: Gender Links*



Debating gender in the media: South African journalist Thandeka Gqubule (left) and gender activist Mmabatho Matiwane. *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Access denied:
Women excluded from top jobs

Ichikaeli Maro is a sub-editor for the weekend publications at Tanzania Standard Newspapers Ltd (TSN). Although she has broken some barriers she says that she has had to fight every step of the way: "I decided to develop a thick skin and push for women's rights, no matter the circumstances and consequences."

Whereas some women have been discouraged, Maro still has the perseverance and the willpower to fight, not only for herself but for other women in the media to be acknowledged for their abilities.

This has come with many challenges: "It was in 1989, while working [for TSN], that I got a scholarship to read for a master's degree in media studies from Cardiff University. On graduation in 1990, TSN promoted me to Journalist Grade 1, and a few months later to sub-editor.



Ichikaeli Maro, chairperson for TAMWA *Photo: Gender Links*

"This is where my story of tribulation and let-downs starts. I have stagnated in this position for 19 years, except for brief moments when I was made a chief sub-editor and then editor of a Sunday newspaper. During my brief sojourn as a Sunday news editor, men complained that the paper had become too feminine, forcing the management to move me and my deputy editor, who was a woman, to the daily newspaper, where I was demoted back to sub-editor.

"It seems someone in this company feels this is the position best suited to me. It is hurtful and discouraging, but I have decided to fight for my rights and those of other women in the newsroom from within. It is very difficult for a woman journalist to climb up the ladder and join the so-called club of men, especially in an editorial department like ours, where men are intensely conservative.

"And the women's contribution is rarely recognised by top management, which is largely male. If they see you shining or getting scoops, they start murmuring that you have sexual relationships with the sources. This has happened to me several times, with men claiming men in government or private companies give me classified information in exchange for sexual favours.

"The situation is no better when a woman holds a senior position, as a senior title holds more weight on paper than it does in reality, and you still have to fight to be recognised. The company seems unprepared to embrace suggestions on gender issues, or to act on suggestions to improve the wellbeing of women in this department.

"For me it has been a journey of tremendous struggle to see that women are recognised. For instance, while serving as a features editor they refused to allow me to attend management meetings when men in the same position were allowed to do so. The main reason for denying participation was that I was a woman. I fought it by taking my case to the top management, and threatening to resign if I was not allowed to attend management meetings. It worked.

"In the 1990s I got several promotions and assignments that made me more visible. But this was because of the gender-sensitive male boss, who believed women were just as good as men. There are other times when you go for interviews and are in competition with men who have lower qualifications than you do. And when the results are announced, they are at the top.

"To rub salt into the wound, the same men are tagged on you to train them, after which they become your boss. It is just demotivating and annoying. The other problem is the boss who appraises you is a man, who has lower academic qualifications than you do, and who believes a woman cannot lead. Such men will not give you marks, no matter how hard you work. This is the situation in which I find myself.

"Men view me as a rebel and a stubborn woman who does not respect men and their position in society. Others refer to me as a trouble-maker and unmanageable, while others see me as a nuisance trying to challenge men's superiority. Being vocal seems to be my biggest undoing, as I rub the men the wrong way. Even some of my fellow women in the sub-editors' room think I am going too far, and need to be diplomatic in my approach. They are resigned to men being in power, and whatever I do, nothing will change. I have refused to listen to this.

"On many occasions I fight for the rights of senior women journalists asking why they cannot be promoted. For instance, we have three women with a master's degree and all are still sub-editors. They have stagnated in the

same position for years. I always remind the management about this.

"For the junior women journalists I usually take the management to task on why they have to keep them as correspondents, and not offer them full-time jobs, the way they do with male counterparts. I also hold sessions with young female journalists, sensitising them on their rights and how to fight for them. A couple of years ago, four of us in the *Daily News* came together and formed a group that fought injustices suffered by women journalists.

"There is a need to have more men and women who are gender-sensitive in the media. Having men who believe in gender issues is one of the key strategies in ensuring more women are recruited and promoted.

"Myself and other women in the company are trying to find ways to push for the implementation of the gender policy adopted in 2008. This will be my biggest task as long as I am working for this company."

A number of women in media houses cite the "glass ceiling" as one of the reasons why there are fewer women in the media. A female employee at the *Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS*) noted: "There are very few women directors in the media. Most women work for a long time and they never get to senior positions. They then decide to leave without achieving much."

The previous chapter showed that while in some countries in the region the challenge is simply getting women past the gate and into the media, in many others the issue is now much more one of getting women into decision-making within the media. This chapter explores where women are located in the decision-making structures of the media and why these "glass ceilings" exist. The chapter ends with a close up look at Glass Ceilings in one media house in Madagascar.



Debating glass ceilings in the Swazi media

Photo: Trevor Davies

Women are under-represented in the top echelons

The study sought to find out the number of women and men at the different occupational levels in media houses. **Table five** provides a description of which positions within media houses fall within which categories.

Table five: Occupational levels and examples of positions	
Occupational levels[26]	**Examples of positions**
Board of directors	CEO, Editor-in-chief
Top management	Managing editors of various newsrooms within media houses
Senior management	Editors of different sections
Professionally qualified and experienced specialists and mid-management	Assistant editors, news presenters/anchors, correspondents, designers, producers
Skilled technical and academically qualified workers, junior management, supervisors	Reporters, sub-editors
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision-making	PA's, Executive assistants
Unskilled and defined decision-making	Secretaries, clerks, drivers, receptionists
Non-permanent	Freelance writers



Women missing from top decision-making positions *Photo: Frank Windeck*

Figure four illustrates where women are within the media hierarchy. The graph shows that in general across media houses in the region, women are less than 30%, and far less than half of the board of directors, top managers and senior managers. At these critical decision-making levels, a critical mass of women is acutely missing in the majority of countries' media.

[26] The categories are based on the Employment Equity Act of South Africa and the Patterson scales.

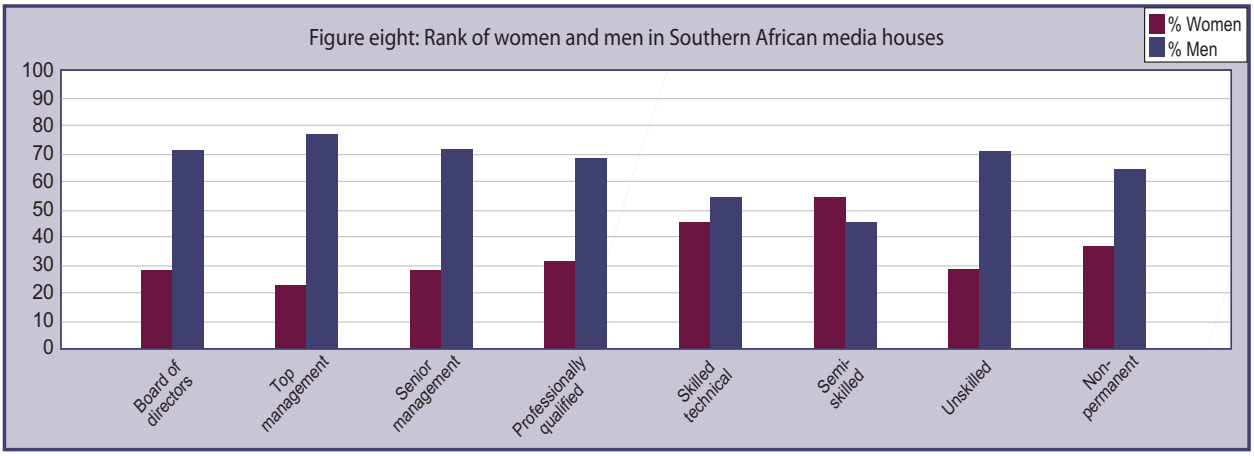


Figure eight shows that women are below the 30% mark in the top four echelons (28% of those on boards of directors; 23% of top management; 28% of senior management and 31% of professionally qualified). The gender gap is less pronounced at the skilled technical level (45% women compared to 55% men).

Interestingly, men constitute the majority (71% and 64% respectively) of the lowest paid unskilled and non-permanent category. This relates to the study's finding of high levels of men in printing and distribution and other support services within media houses where they may be employed as drivers, messengers and in other lower-level tasks.

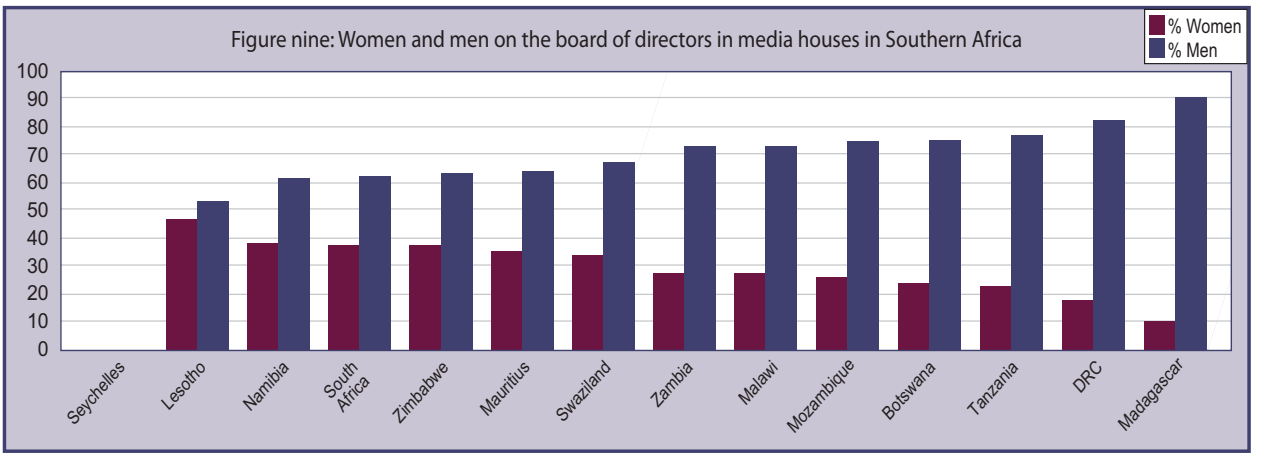
Glass Ceilings

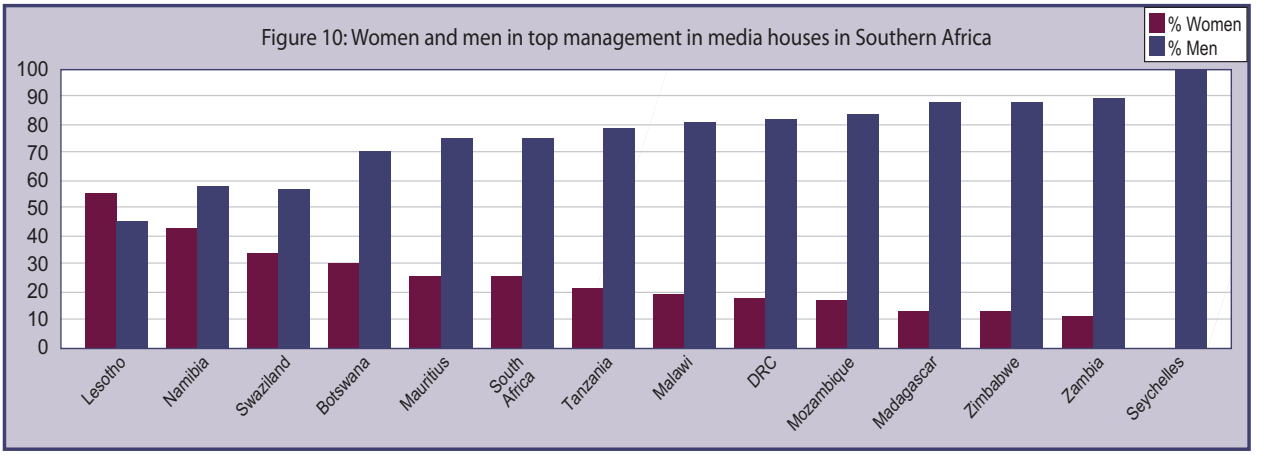
Several international and regional instruments contain provisions on gender equality within the media, especially at the decision-making levels. Section J on the Media in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) calls on the media to promote women's full and equal participation in media management and for the media to aim at gender balance in the appointment of women and men to all management bodies. In Southern Africa, both the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and the SADC Strategic Implementation Framework (2006-2010) call for 50% women at all levels of decision-making in the media by 2015.

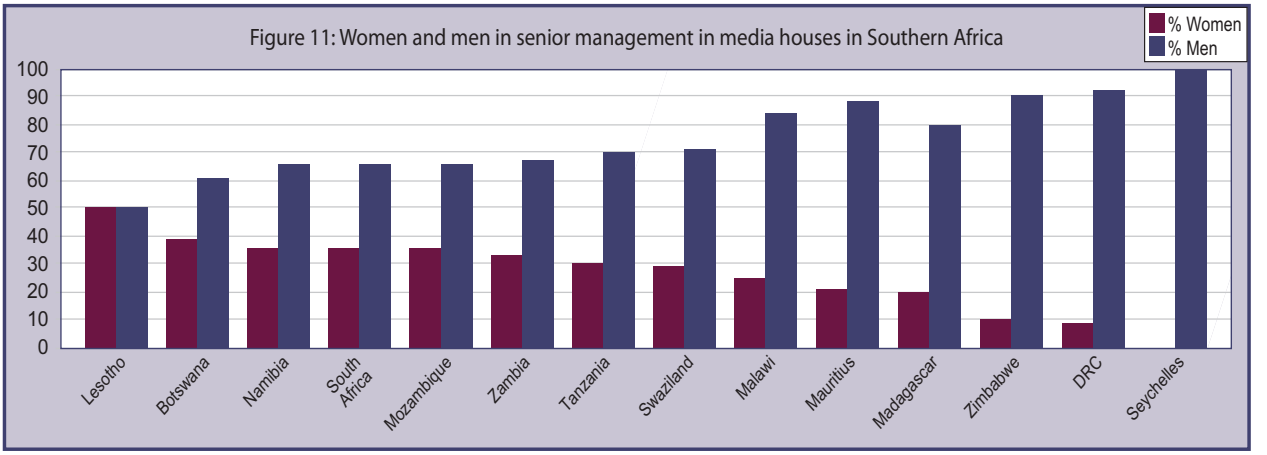
Achieving these goals is critical to media houses demonstrating good governance practices within their workplaces, as well as media accountability to gender equality as a human rights issue.



Gender and media activists campaigned for the SADC Gender Protocol *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*


Figure nine: Women and men on the board of directors in media houses in Southern Africa
% Women
% Men
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Seychelles
Lesotho
Namibia
South Africa
Zimbabwe
Mauritius
Swaziland
Zambia
Malawi
Mozambique
Botswana
Tanzania
DRC
Madagascar


Figure 10: Women and men in top management in media houses in Southern Africa
% Women
% Men
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Lesotho
Namibia
Swaziland
Botswana
Mauritius
South Africa
Tanzania
Malawi
DRC
Mozambique
Madagascar
Zimbabwe
Zambia
Seychelles


Figure 11: Women and men in senior management in media houses in Southern Africa
% Women
% Men
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Lesotho
Botswana
Namibia
South Africa
Mozambique
Zambia
Tanzania
Swaziland
Malawi
Mauritius
Madagascar
Zimbabwe
DRC
Seychelles

While there are variations between countries, **Figures nine, 10** and **11** clearly illustrate that the top echelons of the media are still a male domain. None of the countries have achieved gender parity in their governance structures. Lesotho (47% women in media boards) comes closest to doing so.

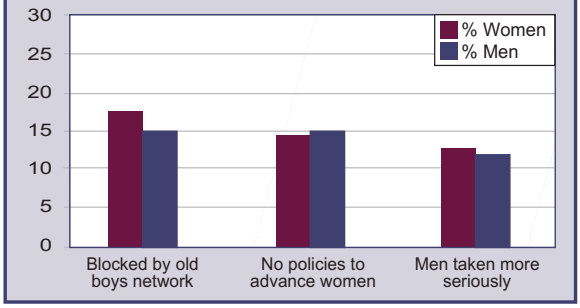
At the level of top and senior managers, only Lesotho has 50% women or more in these positions in a media house. Namibia, Swaziland and Botswana were the only countries out of the 14 with 30% women or more in top management, while six countries - Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana - have 30% women or more in senior management; and four countries - Madagascar, Mauritius, Malawi and Swaziland - have 20% women or more as senior managers.

Overall, the higher proportions of women at senior management levels in Southern African media houses indicates that the glass ceilings for women become more pronounced at the top management and board levels. But without specific measures, targets and policies to advance women, media houses may not be able to sustain the proportions of women senior managers found in this research.

Why are there fewer women than men in senior positions?

Figure 12 shows the top three reasons cited by women and men for the absence of women in senior decision-making positions. It shows that in the region, the highest proportion of women cited the "old boys' network" as the main reason for the glass ceiling in media houses while a slightly higher proportion of men (15% compared to 14% women) cited the fact that there are no policies in media houses to advance women. Slightly more women in the region (13% compared to 12% men) also believe the men are promoted quickly to management, because they are 'taken more seriously' than women.

Figure 12: Why are there fewer women than men in senior positions?



Men taken more seriously?

Margaret Mangani, a journalist with the *Times of Zambia* has been working in the newsroom for 20 years, 17 of which were spent on the news desk and three in feature writing. She says she has watched colleagues whom she has trained outstrip her. Mangani claims that often those who get promoted to a senior position have "campaigned" for it, and she describes campaigning as "giving favours to management." Asked whether she had tried for promotion she said she had tried several times, and had been told to wait. She is quick to point out: "I believe my work should speak for itself. I am not that kind of person who gives favours to management."



Margaret Mangani *Photo: ????*

On whether she had challenged the decisions she said: "Several times. I have been told promotion is based on management's discretion."


Portia Kobue *Photo: Gender Links*

Portia Kobue, Executive Producer of the South African Broadcasting Corporation's *Morning Live* says "younger men that are respectful; they say I inspire them. Younger men are more accepting of women as managers. But there are also journalists that are progressive that respect me. However, my peers or older men - that's where the struggle lies."

Male chauvinism

One woman, Margaret Sembeyu, a sub-editor on Mwanachi Communications Ltd's *Citizen* newspaper in Tanzania, is particularly discouraged by her struggle as a female journalist trying to make it to the top. She says: "I have worked in editorial departments for 15 years. During all this time I have been employed as a sub-editor, either for the dailies or weekend newspapers.

"I am really demotivated and unhappy. I always ask myself why these people think the only position I deserve is that of a sub-editor, when less educated men whose work I have to improve are paid better than I am. I can't work optimally as I constantly think I am wasting my time in the media. There is no future for me here, after being in the same position for 15 years. Were it not for my children, I would have quit long ago.

"There are strong male-chauvinist tendencies in this newsroom. We have this group who believe a woman's place is in the kitchen. This has been put to me by male journalists who tell me to be very thankful that I am a sub-editor, and not whine about not being promoted.

"Many of these men believe that just because you are a woman you cannot deliver. Most of the promotions are based on cronyism. The most senior women in this newspaper are the features editor and graphic designer. This tells you something about this company.

"In 1994 I left teaching and joined the *Tanzania Standard* newspaper as a sub-editor. But after serving in this position for 11 years without a promotion, I left in 2005 in protest and decided to venture into business.

"But I still had this burning desire to continue in the media, so after six months I decided to go back, this time to the *Citizen* newspaper, where they offered me a sub-editing job that I still hold to date. I write a column *Talking Gender* for the *Sunday Citizen*. On many occasions I have taken up the issue of promotion with top management without success. All they have done is to promise that something will be done. Nothing ever happens after that.

"When you complain and ask why other people are being promoted, they say they have strengths which I do not have. Yet nobody explains these strengths or gives you a convincing reason why you cannot be promoted. Sometimes you just hear people murmuring that the bosses say they cannot promote a woman.

"I have given up, because you complain to the same men who have made up their minds that they will not promote a woman. Some of these men are less educated than I, and would feel threatened if I were to be their boss or hold an influential position in this company.

"Even for those who have managed to break the glass ceiling it has not been easy. A couple of months ago a woman managing editor was not allowed to attend management meetings because she was a woman. She had to fight her

way through. But when a man replaced her, the same objections were not extended to him.

"To demolish the current practices and change men's attitudes about women, there is a need to sensitise them on gender issues, and why it is important to recognise and appreciate the contribution of women.

"Secondly, appraisal of women should not be done by their male bosses, who are either chauvinistic or less educated than they. Such men will not give good comments about the highly educated and experienced woman under them. There is a need to put a gender policy in place, then sensitise the bosses on its provisions. We also need to ensure that many female correspondents are employed full-time, to stop this misuse of women journalists."

In a career spanning 20 years her only move has been to senior journalist. She says there are no clear cut criteria for promotion at *SBC* but reliability and political judgement is an advantage. The decision depends on the boss, and it's very difficult to make a case of having been overlooked for promotion.

Francoise says that "women perform on equal footing with men in the newsroom except that women tend to be busier as they have children and responsibility of homes." She feels that women need support and understanding in the newsroom especially in instances when they have to be absent from work: to bring children to the doctors, check ups, attend school open day and PTA meetings. This is something lacking in the newsroom for the advancement of women.

Dual role works against women

Just as the dual responsibilities of women discourage them from entering and staying in the media profession, these are also a deterrent to progression within the profession.

In Seychelles, Lucie Francoise's trained as a teacher and worked for a year after that. She soon decided that teaching was not for her and switched careers to journalism. Franciose studied at the school of media. Her career in the media took off as a reporter with the *Seychelles Nation*, and then she moved to the *Seychelles Broadcasting Corporation (SBC)* newsroom as a radio reporter.



Lucie Francoise sharing her views

Photo: Gender Links

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***Case study:* Peering through the Glass ceiling at the Madagascar Tribune**

The *Madagascar Tribune* is one of the main national daily newspapers in Madagascar, based in Antananarivo. The newspaper includes French and Malagasy stories and has a circulation of 12 000.[27]

Out of a staff of 34, 41% are women. But this media house is a classic illustration of the "glass ceilings" in media houses, as the relatively high proportion of women overall does not translate into gender parity at all levels. There are no women on the board of directors, and only 17% of senior management are women. While there are 50% women in top management, this merely represents one of two people at that level. There are seven women and no men employed in the unskilled category, and no women in the skilled technical category.

Interviews with managers revealed that the pervasive belief in the media house is that gender equality is not a priority, and the company should focus on competence. The assumption is that women do not have the competencies required to advance within the media house.

Anselme Randriakoto, editor-in-chief and supervisor at the *Madagascar Tribune*, does not believe there should be equal numbers of women and men in media houses. "I do not think that it should be as mathematical as that, because what is needed first and foremost is competence. Women are more attracted to the social beat, and do not want to get into the finance, economy and enterprises beats. They are not daring enough to do that."

Female journalist Nivo Tiana Andrianarijaona believes the absence of women in the media house results in gender being a non-issue. In addition she suggests relations between women and men in the company are not optimal. Andrianarijaona makes the important point that the media house's daily mission is to improve the human condition. "This means the message should be spread so that women become powerful."

A male journalist, Njaka Andrianavonison, has a different view. He says: "The *Madagascar Tribune* wants its readers to see it as a newspaper trying to promote all citizens, rather than one defending a particular group. The newspaper wants to be more profitable."

Randriakoto believes that "a media house with gender parity is difficult to manage, because women are often invoking domestic problems, constraints of time or medical troubles so as not to perform their obligations, or to justify their deficiencies and omissions. In fact, they are unpredictable at times, not consciously but because their priorities are not the same."

A male staff member commented during the research that it is up to women at the media house to find new female recruits. Deputy editor-in-chief Volana Rasoanirainy says women must be qualified and able to take decisions in order to occupy senior posts. She adds that there is no need for a gender policy. But there appears to be no succession plan in the media house to help women acquire the skills to assume more senior positions.

[27] http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Madagascar-MEDIA.html

The figures quoted in this chapter show that glass ceilings in media houses are real. Women who enter the media, work hard and stay are often not rewarded for their efforts. The Madagascar case study shows that many male managers do not consider gender equality to be an important issue. They would rather not think about the "mathematics" of their newsrooms, let alone take proactive measures to address them.



Women in Madagascar still largely engage in traditional pursuits

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna



Zambian photo journalists at work: Women missing from the visual media

Photo: Frank Windeck

Different deals?
A closer look at the workplace

Gertrude Makhafola, journalist at the *Sowetan* in South Africa for two years, talks about how the low representation of women in senior positions impacts on journalists.

Makhafola joined *AVUSA Limited* as an intern. She started at Business Day, then moved to *Sowetan Business* and finally to cover general news at the *Sowetan*. Makhafola is passionate about journalism: "I love being a journalist. I grew up reading the *Sunday Times* not knowing that I would become a journalist. I was in the public service for three years; then I took a pay cut and joined *AVUSA*."

"My mother asked me why I am doing this [job] and I tell her I love it! But she says 'the long hours?' I have to make the tough decisions. My child stays with her so that I can work. With kids, you always have to be there - spend time with them. But you find that if someone says 'my daughter fell sick! I have to leave!' - the editor will say 'You have a deadline at 3 pm'. So she ends up going and asking us to finish the story



Gertrude Makhafola, journalist at the *Sowetan*, South Africa *Photo: The Sowetan*

for her. I always ask 'why can't we have child care facilities' because I would be much more productive if I know my child is downstairs safe with other kids."

The daily diary session, an important space to ensure that content is given a gender perspective is not easy. Makhafola cites the example of the editor saying that a story was about "a girl turning into a prostitute". She objected to the young woman being portrayed as a victim and suggested instead that the story focus on the issue of child prostitution.

According to Makhafola the editor is trying but he's fighting against what he found - the "old boys club". In Makhafola's view, it is important to have more women in the media house. Together women can take up gender issues. She says this is very difficult when there is one woman and five men.

She maintains that the work place environment presents several challenges for female employees who have to put up with comments like "Where were you last night? Why weren't you out having a drink with DJ S'bu to get a story! Get the story out of him by looking good and glamorous! Women are still viewed as sexual objects."

Makhafola talks further about the kinds of harassment women face in the newsroom. "If you come to work one day wearing a skirt or heels, your male colleagues will make statements like 'I didn't know you have those assets!' This goes on everyday and it goes beyond simple compliments."

The previous chapters covered where women and men are in the media; the dual roles of women in the home and in the work place and how this impacts on their ability to persist and progress in media professions. This chapter covers conditions of employment, the gender division of labour in media houses and on the beat as well as the work place environment. It particular it puts the spotlight on sexual harassment, how this is reflected, perceived and its effects on media house ethics and culture.

Conditions of employment

The study found that the positions occupied by women and men as well as the terms and conditions of their service have implications for what they earn and can be a significant structural barrier to achieving gender parity.

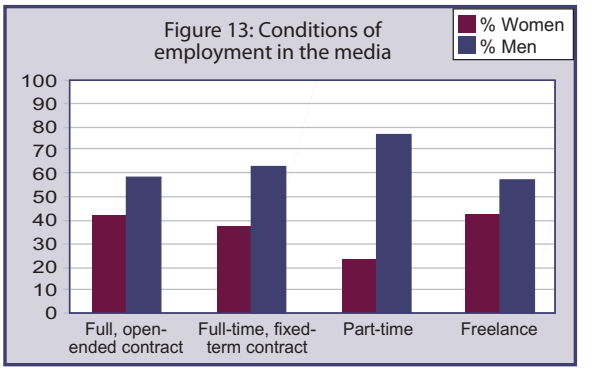
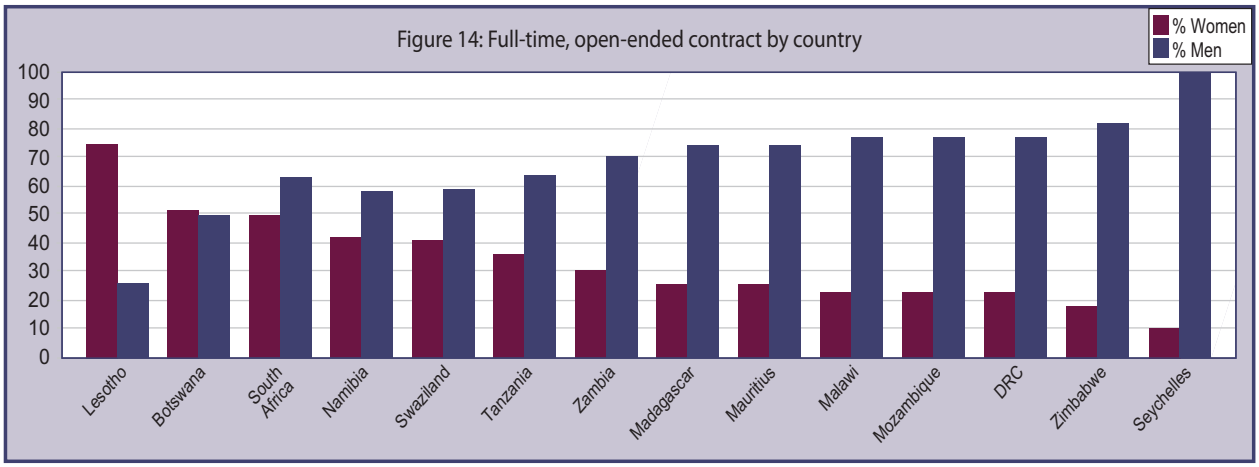


Figure 13 illustrates the conditions of service for media practitioners in the Southern African region. The most secure form of employment is full time, open-ended contracts, and only 42% of women in media houses in the region, compared to 58% men have this type of contract.

The next most secure form of employment consists of full time, fixed term contracts. Again, men constitute 63% of those with such contracts compared to 37% women. Interestingly, the majority of the part-time workers in media houses are men (77%). This is usually a category in which women predominate due to the dual roles that they play in the home, and which has implications for their earnings. The majority of freelance employees in media houses across the region are men (57% compared to 43% women).

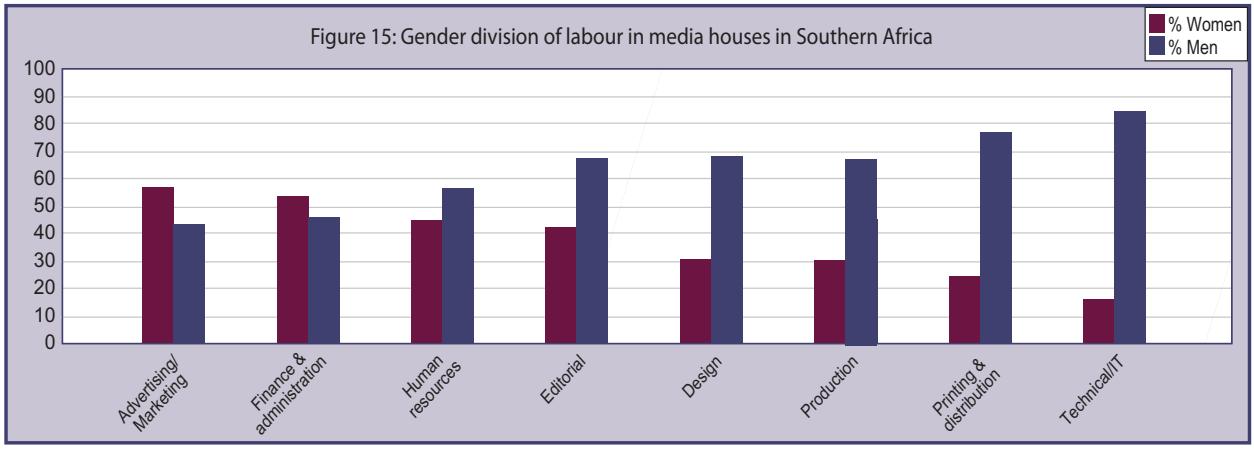
Conditions of employment per country



While more men are in secure, stable employment with full-time open-ended contracts in media houses across the region, in some countries with higher proportions of women the same applies to women. **Figure 14** shows that in Lesotho and Botswana, more women (74% and 51% respectively) are on full-time open-ended contracts, while 40% or more of women have this most secure form of job security in Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa. Women in Zimbabwe and the Seychelles have the lowest job security with only 18% of the women in Zimbabwe and 10% in Seychelles on this form of contract.

Gender division of labour in media houses in Southern Africa

Moving beyond management to look at where women and men are located in the various departments within media houses, the study found divisions of labour that mirror the entrenched roles of women and men throughout our societies.



Women predominate in the advertising/ marketing (57%), and finance and administration (54%) departments in media houses across Southern Africa. The high proportions of women in these two departments are due to their location in lower-level and lower-paying clerical and other secretarial support services.

In the editorial departments of regional media houses, the division responsible for news there are more men (58%) compared to women (42%). South Africa was the only country in the study with more women (52%) in the editorial departments of the media houses surveyed. The lower percentage of women in the editorial newsrooms in Southern Africa continues to point to one of the glaring "democratic deficits" in the news[28], which is, the news continues to be selected, shaped, written and presented largely through the voices and perspectives of men.

Women are least well represented in printing and distribution (24%) and in the technical/IT (16%) departments of the media houses in the region. And men also dominated in the production (70%) and design (69%) sides of the business in media houses.

Gender division of labour across beats

Which beats are assigned to male and female journalists is an indicator of how newsrooms view the roles of women and men in society. Beats are also significant because they have a bearing on promotion prospects, with the "hard beats" generally a more likely ticket to the top than the "soft beats". **Figure 16** illustrates the top three beats for women (gender equality, gender violence and health) and the top three beats for men (political stories, sports and investigative/in depth reports).

Figure 16: Beats covered by women and men in Southern Africa

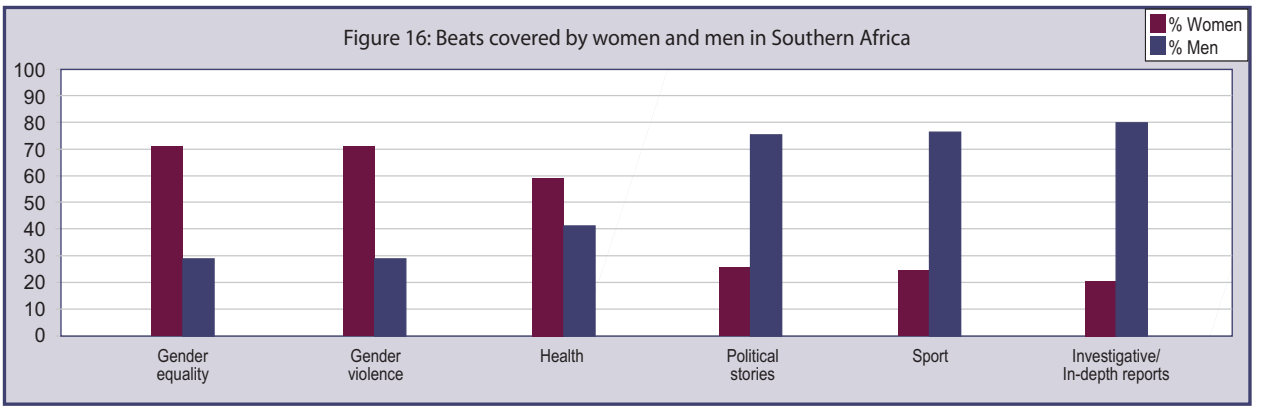


Table six, which reflects the findings for all beats, shows that women are largely concentrated in coverage of the so-called "soft" areas of health (59%), education (54%), youth and religion (each 52%) and HIV and AIDS (53%). And, in addition to politics and investigative stories, men cover economics/business/finance (61%), crime (63%), sustainable development

[28] Margaret Gallagher notes in her presentation on Gender Inequality, Media and Development that the GMMP 2005 illustrates a glaring democratic deficit in the news media globally – women are 52% of the world's population, but they are barely present in the faces seen, the voices heard and the opinions represented in the news. Media Matters on Advancing Governance & Development, published by InterNews Europe, pg.48

and environment (67%), disaster/war/conflict (65%), science and technology (61%) and general reporting (63%), among others.

These findings are quite similar to global research on who reports on what within the media. Although many 'soft' news stories are important, they are not always perceived as such in the hierarchy of news values. As a result, the work of female journalists is sometimes under-valued, and women reporters are frequently assigned to these stories.[29]

Table six: Gender division of labour on beats

Beats	Region	
	% Women	% Men
Religion	52	48
Human Rights	42	58
Media	42	58
Education	54	46
General	37	63
Gender violence	71	29
Gender equality	71	29
Agriculture	41	59
Investigative/In-depth reports	20	80
Science & technology	39	61
Lifestyle	55	45
Disaster/War/Conflict	35	65
Sustainable development & environment	33	67
Youth	52	48
Entertainment/arts/culture	42	58
Crime	37	63
Economics/Business/Finance	39	61
HIV & AIDS	53	47
Sports	24	76
Health	59	41
Courts	37	63
Labour	36	64
Political stories	25	75

[29] *Who Makes the News: Global Media Monitoring Project*, 2005, by Margaret Gallagher, London, World Association of Christian Communication, 2006, www.whomakesthenews.org)

Gender benders

While the regional findings show that for the most part, there are distinct gender divisions in the coverage of beats, journalists in several media houses across the region are breaking new ground.

In Namibia, women comprise 71% of those who report on economics/business/finance, and disaster/war/conflict (100%).

In Botswana, equal numbers of women and men report on sports and crime. One of the female sports reporters in the country, Masego Pilane at *Information Services* proudly recalled her coverage of the *All Africa* games; and, she has won awards for excellent sports reporting. But this did not come easy. As she puts it: "Other sports journalists did not take me and other women sports journalists seriously."



Namibian women challenge gender stereotypes *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*



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How married women lose identity -PAGE 2

Referral hospital about to be built -PAGE 3

Child grants coming

BY LIBUSENG NYAKA

MASERU – In the face of growing vulnerability and poverty, including an increase in the numbers of children orphaned by HIV/Aids, the government has initiated a child grants programme that will start in April this year.

Addressing Members of Parliament on Monday, February 23, director of social welfare Limakatso Chisepo said about 5,000 orphans in 1,250 households would be receiving a grant of M360 per quarter.

According to Chisepo the scheme will first be piloted in three communities, Matelile in Mafeteng, Semonkong in Maseru and Lebakeng in Qacha's Nek, where the 5,000 orphans were identified.

"The programme aims to supplement the income of poor households caring for orphaned and vulnerable children, including child-headed families, with a cash grant which will be disbursed quarterly," she said.

Chisepo said there were measures that would be taken to ensure that the grants are not misused or mismanaged.

"A community appeals and complaints committee will be set up to address any concerns from applicants, beneficiaries or civil society regarding poor service, mismanagement, problems with receipt of benefits and decisions about eligibility," she added.

However, this plan has been criticised by members of the (Parliamentary) Portfolio Committee on Health, HIV/Aids and Gender for being discriminatory.

"While I do not deny that the policy is good, I am not convinced that the implementation is going to be fair.

I fail to understand the criteria used by the ministry in the selection of 5,000 out of the 180,000 orphans identified in the 2004 health statistics, which number is suspected to have already increased.

"(The selection) leaves many orphans out. Besides, I wonder at the criteria used to select these 5,000 orphans because we do not have newer statistics," said Sello Maphalla, a member of health portfolio committee.

He criticised the government for "mismanagement of funds and leaving issues of national concern such as HIV/Aids to donors".

"Our ministers drive luxurious vehicles while people die of HIV/Aids. (The pandemic itself) is left in the hands of donors. That is why we are unable to win this fight. Government's approach regarding HIV/Aids is very slim.

"Eventually when the funds from the donors are exhausted the (HIV/Aids) project will collapse. Our government should put its people first," he said.

Another member from the same committee, Dr Khauhelo Raditapole, shared the same sentiments.

"The government was aware that we would end up having many orphans, when Lesotho was identified as having the third highest HIV/Aids incidence in the world. It must have noted that, when parents died, there would be a need to cater for their children.

"But, unfortunately the response in the fight against HIV/Aids is very low. We only react when things are at an advanced stage and that is the time when we try to introduce comprehensive methods to fight the pandemic," she said.

Reacting to the concerns, health minister Dr Mphu Ramatlapeng said a study had been undertaken in various countries before the child grant scheme was introduced.

She said the scheme would absorb the neediest orphans and those who had nobody to look after them.

"It is true that we have many orphans, and the plan is to absorb all the orphans in the country by 2011," she said.

However, Bakuena Chele, national coordinator of HIV/Aids from the National Aids Commission (NAC), said he commended the government's initiative to give orphans a grant, adding that at last there was something being done for orphans. However, he said, the move was inadequate, given the high number of orphans in Lesotho. He felt that piloting the programme with 5,000 children was too little, too late.

"What is going to happen to the rest of the orphans is they will be watching their fellow orphans being assisted, while they are left suffering.

I advocate the scaling up of these grants.

"At the very least, the grant could be shared among the existing orphans, even if they were to get half of the amount allocated to each affected household," he said.

He noted that the grant was being put to use at a time when the European Union (EU) was threatening to take back its funds. This was because the funds had remained unused for a long time.

According to the 2006 national census Lesotho has a population of 1.8 million, with an HIV/Aids prevalence of 23 percent.

LOOKING OUT FOR THE ORPHANS: Health minister Dr Mphu Ramatlapeng

She feels female journalists are prejudiced because of their sex and their stories are always looked at with a negative eye, leading to over scrutiny. Men do not have to constantly prove their worth the way women have to do.

South Africa also has some notable gender benders with 83% women reporting on economics/business/finance and 40% women reporting on sports. Women and men journalists have reached parity in South Africa in the reporting on crime, entertainment/arts/culture and on gender equality issues.

Gender activist Libuseng Nyaka, the health editor at *Public Eye* in Lesotho commented on her experience of being moved from a hard beat to one regarded as soft: "I had been covering the courts in Parliament. It's normally regarded as a male-dominated beat and then unfortunately I was removed and put to health, because it is regarded as women's issues and soft issues. But I am satisfied because I am changing people's lives. Secondly the editors (who are men) tend to sideline our stories. So I had to address it in my column [see picture of Healthy Living]."

Relebohile Koloti, a journalist at *Radio Lesotho,* confirms Nyaka's experience: "Men still dominate

mostly in fields of finance, politics and business. And the women's issues are still development projects in rural areas, discrimination and HIV/AIDS. Not many of the sources are women. There is slow movement towards gender equality within the content."

Old attitudes die hard

Overall few media houses had strategies or clear policies to challenge the stereotypes of women covering "soft beats." In fact, the gender biases inherent in newsrooms came out strongly in discussions on who reports on what. "When editors assign reporters to stories, they prefer male reporters to cover most of the political breaking stories and conflicts/investigative pieces, while female reporters are assigned to health and social stories. The perception is that female reporters cannot do good hard-news stories," said a female respondent in Malawi.

One of the few women covering parliament in Mozambique echoed this view saying that there are male colleagues in the newsrooms who "believe women are inferior" and "should not be taken seriously when it comes to reporting on certain issues. There are hidden prejudices among some colleagues, and that comes out in the form of jokes," she said.

While male editors interviewed in several of the countries expressed the view that women and men in the newsrooms can and should cover any issue, many expressed the view that women are better at some areas than men. They did not seem to be aware of the effect of these stereotypes on consigning women to certain kinds of news and coverage that might affect their career prospects.

"Women bring variety to the newsroom and are able to handle certain stories which men can't, especially to do with fashion, beauty and recipes," said a male assistant editor in Tanzania.

"In these areas, they have stronger abilities than men... Men are good at covering hard, tough tasks like riots, politics, violence, while women are comfortable with magazines and court reporting, easy stuff."


Brighton Phiri *Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu*

Brighton Phiri, an information officer at the *Post* who used to work in the newsroom, said: "I have noticed that women tend to cover a lot of humanitarian issues." He says in his newsroom there is no clear demarcation of what beats women or men should cover. It is based on personal preference. He added that "Women cover in a passionate way issues that affect communities. For them it is not just a job – they get to sympathise and empathise with the people they write about. Men do not have the same kind of empathy."

His colleague Paddy Mukando, a newscaster at Radio Phoenix, said: "All journalists cover a diversity of issues in our newsroom. Women even cover riots." Whitney Mulobela, *Monitor and Digest* editor, said in his newsroom women covered even sport and business, and there were no restrictions put on journalists because of their sex. What mattered was their ability to deliver.

Mactrevor Bwalya of the *National Mirror* said in his newsroom there were two female reporters who loved gender issues, and since it was their passion they were allowed to carry on covering this. It did not mean there was anything stopping them from covering other issues.

Raymond R. Nauvel of *Le Dimanche* in Mauritius also believes that women are better suited to soft beats and vice versa: "More women could

have an impact on the work in the sense that they bring a feminine touch to the environment, but not necessarily in the news. They might be good to write on social issues or corporate social responsibilities. This could bring some diversity in articles, but men are best suited to write on politics and sports."



Man's job? Maveni Gwebu covering the Deputy Prime Minister of Swaziland
Photo: Rochelle Davidson Mhonde

In response to how the low numbers of women in newsrooms affected him and his work, *Financial Gazette* journalist Njabulo Ncube's said: "I am forced to do the beats that can be competently done by women. For example, the entertainment page; I believe a female can do better than a man. I am not being stereotypical. Look at international media trends – reporting on fashion, women sound good. Fashion pages world-wide are dominated by women.

Buyani Zongwani, assigning editor for *Botswana Television*, sees nothing wrong with women covering softer beats compared to men. He says: "When we have brain storming on story ideas they do guide the newsroom on various issues such as fashion, HIV and Aids, women and children's rights. Our health desk is dominated by women."

Tanzabia Gabriel Mgaya, an assistant editor of *TSN* in Tanzania shared the view that there are certain issues that women see which men don't but then underscored the way these issues are seen and valued in the newsroom by referring to them as "easy stuff." As he put it: "Women bring variety to the newsroom and are able to handle certain stories which man can't, especially to do with fashion, beauty and recipes. In these areas they have stronger abilities than men. Men are good at covering hard, tough tasks like riots, politics and violence, while women are comfortable with magazines and court reporting – easy stuff."

Maveni Gwebu a male journalist at *Radio Swaziland*, maintains that some beats, like HIV and AIDS, are more fitting for women than men. He asks: "If they can't write their own stories – who should write them? If they are not keen on writing about women's issues, why should we?"

In Madagascar some of the men who responded suggested that women often hesitated, as if they were afraid of doing the job. In addition, working late at night could be dangerous. One reason for women "hesitating", according to a male respondent, is that women use their attraction and charm, but aptitude is also necessary. The respondent maintained that women obviously lack skill and that men are better qualified.

Media women interviewed felt that there is deep seated and unfair bias in the way stories are assigned. A female reporter at the *Zambia Daily Mail* feels says assignments, including overseas trips and travel with the president, are often given to men. Another female journalist felt women who had excelled in hard news were often stereotyped. Some were regarded as loose. She said there were instances where female journalists were accused of being

sexually involved with sources, just because they had good relations with them.

In Malawi a female respondent asserted that "when editors assign reporters to stories, they prefer male reporters to cover most of the political breaking stories and conflicts/ investigative pieces, while female reporters are assigned to health and social stories. The perception is that female reporters cannot do good hard-news stories."

Another female respondent says women journalists have to constantly prove themselves before they can cover non-stereotypical beats. "On the issue of assignments, I have always been regarded as not fit to tackle investigative and hard-news pieces, just because I am female, but I constantly remind my seniors that I am capable of doing whatever a male can do. There's a need for female members to be aggressive, and prove they can do any stories well."

Another woman respondent in Malawi said men had a definite advantage, as they often started in the profession earlier and accumulated experience. The media managers tended to underestimate women journalists like her despite the fact that "I am not afraid to accept the challenge with my male counterparts in sport and other beats, because I have experience."

Ichikaeli Maro, sub-editor of weekend publications at *TSN* in Tanzania added: "Women are seen as important to content and to business, not just because of the added value they can bring to so-called hard beats, such as politics and business, but because they bring in the social and human element of the day-to-day lives of Tanzanians. While decision-makers acknowledge the value they bring, women are pigeon-holed into particular areas of content, and their voices as reporters or sources are not seen as valid when it comes to the more serious news."

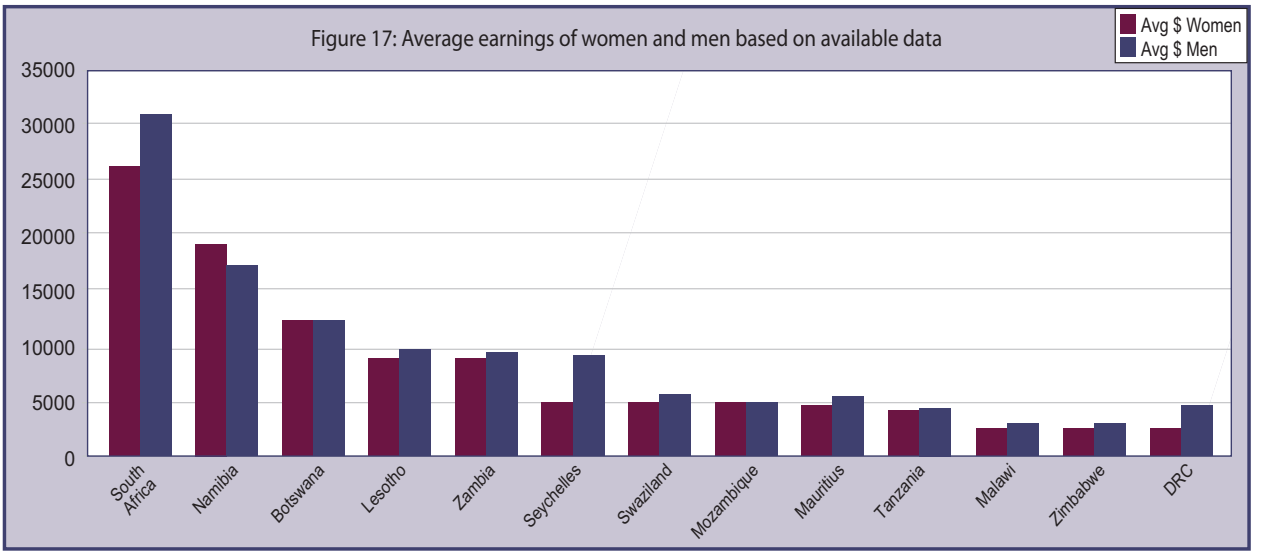
Maro says gender-blind editors and assistant editors do not see how this affects the careers of women in the media. Women may thus continue to be assigned to stereotypical "easy stories". But it is important that they have noticed how women bring in readership, as well as business to the media house.



Women journalists in Malawi have to prove themselves *Photo: Fletcher Gon'ga*

Differences in earnings

Only 59 media houses (slightly less than half the total sample) provided data on remuneration. While the findings cannot be used to draw definitive statements on earnings in the media, the data provides an interesting window both on the overall earnings of women and men in the media houses of the region, as well as gender gaps in earnings.



Country	Avg Women $ per annum	Avg Men $ per annum	% difference
South Africa	26596	31082	17%
Namibia	18379	16479	-10%
Botswana	12154	12085	-1%
Lesotho	8157	9748	19%
Zambia	8149	9031	11%
Seychelles	5374	8986	67%
Swaziland	5304	6496	22%
Mozambique	5090	5206	2%
Mauritius	5624	6172	10%
Tanzania	3717	4549	22%
Malawi	2960	3414	15%
Zimbabwe	2834	3601	27%
DRC	2737	4846	77%

Figure 17 and the accompanying table giving the actual average figures from the data provided show a huge variation in average earnings, from $31 082 in the case of South African male media workers (the highest) to $2737 in the case of DRC women media workers (the lowest). In other words the average man in the media in South Africa earns eleven times more than the average woman in the DRC media. These differentials point to the huge variations in economic circumstances in the different countries surveyed.

Unable to make ends meet in the DRC media

When Jacqueline Mulanga, a head of department with RTNC in DRC counted the personal and financial cost of taking a promotion in her media house, she took the highly unusual step of turning this opportunity down: an example of how financial forces in some countries contribute to women leaving or failing to progress in the media.

"I am the only woman among the six heads of departments," she explained. "They wanted to promote me but I refused. Why? Because if I had accepted, I would have had to wake up every day at 4 am to listen to all radio news bulletins and react to them, rush to the radio station, do the briefings and supervise everything until 7pm. All these responsibilities for only $120 and nothing else! It is too much work for such a low pay. My family life would suffer a lot."

The figures also underscore gender disparities in earnings in the media. With the exception of Namibia, which has a high proportion of women in senior positions in the media, and Botswana where average earnings between women and men are almost at par, women earn less, on average, than men in the media houses of the twelve other SADC countries in the survey.

In some instances the differential is extremely high (for example, men in the DRC media earn 77% more, on average, per annum than their female counterparts.) It is telling that although Lesotho had the highest proportion of women in the research, men in the media houses that provided data earn more on average than women. This is another classic illustration of glass ceilings. In simple terms, even in the one country where men are less than women, they occupy higher level positions or jobs that pay more money within the country's media.

It should be noted that these figures do not reflect differences in earnings of women and men at the same level, but are arrived at by dividing total annual earnings of women by number of women and total annual earnings of men by the number of men. The gender gap in average earnings encapsulates differences in conditions of employment; occupational types and levels of women and men.

The fact that women like Jacqueline Mulanga in the example above and Jenni O'Grady in the example below opt to earn less is an example of structural as opposed to legislated discrimination. In other words, there are no laws discriminating against hiring women in the media or barring them from progressing. But the in-built expectations of women in our society, and their struggle with juggling roles, results in them making compromises that have career and financial consequences.

Painful financial choices

Jenni O'Grady, a senior journalist at the South African Press Association, cited her main challenge as juggling family responsibilities and work. "My career growth has been filled with unpredictability - trying to juggle family and reliability to the employer or story - at times it feels as if I am hindering my own career development. But for my own personal growth... I decided that I don't want to work over weekends and I don't want to work at night. I proposed an 8h00 to 16h00 job. I don't work weekends and I lose my night allowance - so I get paid slightly less."



Journalists of tomorrow? Children line up for a tour of the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Sexual harassment not well understood

One of the thorniest and most uncomfortable work place issues in media houses is sexual harassment. A barometer of where any organisation is in terms of its understanding of gender relations, the fact that sexual harassment is so ill understood in many media houses is a telling indicator of the lack of gender awareness and sensitivity.



Trash it: Portia Kobue, reading out sexist views in her former job as head of news at Kaya FM

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Portia Kobue, executive producer of the South African Broadcasting Corporation's *Morning Live* noted that "men (in the media) still grapple with this issue. If I like a man's advances I won't complain but if I don't like it I will say it's sexual harassment. Men still use it as a way of saying we are confused - and that sexual harassment is just a buzz word. There are plenty of sexual suggestions in the context of work." She gives the example of Leanne Manas, the attractive presenter of Morning Live who often gets 'sms's from outside viewers that get "extremely sexual - she is always getting inappropriate texts."

Margaret Mangani, a journalist at the *Times of Zambia*, said: "Most women face harassment at the hands of their male colleagues. This is either verbal or they are just looked down upon, and is linked to the general perception that women cannot perform as well as men can."

In Swaziland, many respondents mentioned that inappropriate sexual verbal communication or gesturing happens constantly in editorial departments. But the term "sexual harassment" tends to be incorrectly limited to when someone touches another colleague in a sexual way. As one male respondent put it: "If I tease someone and she appears to be fine – sometimes we continue to make statements, and sometimes they make the statements. They seem to love this because they don't complain."

Setsabile Sibisi, head of current affairs at Swazi TV, can attest to the non-supportive attitude of male colleagues. "In the newsroom I have been called a bitch and accused of sleeping with the boss. But I don't let it affect me. There are only two females in the newsroom, and I'm the only female manager. I try not to take it personally, as people will always try to intimidate – so it means I am doing something right, for people to take note."

A female respondent from *The Standard* in Zimbabwe complained that "where sexual harassment or sexist language are concerned, women who raise these are often not taken seriously, and in some cases of harassment male bosses sympathise with the accused, and at times try to underplay the charge."

Sex for job security

In Madagascar a number of male respondents believe women rely on their looks and charm to get ahead. Throughout the perception responses, both female and male media practitioners highlighted either sexual harassment or inappropriate sexual behaviour, and advances from senior male colleagues to women in lower positions. This exacerbates the perception of female media practitioners as prostitutes.

In Zambia, a male journalist with Radio Phoenix said: "It is a well-known fact that if women want to achieve in the industry they have to compromise their moral values." A female respondent stated: "High levels of sexual harassment dominate in most media houses. For instance, editors would like sexual favours from female journalists if they are to be assigned more frequently to cover or attend seminars and workshops, otherwise you are bound to be in the office full-time, and not be given special assignments. Promotion is another critical area where female journalists fall prey to male managers who make it conditional on sleeping with them."

The working conditions in the Southern African media portrayed in this chapter show that whatever the laws might say, discrimination in media houses is rampant. It reflects in different kinds of work and news beats for women and men; differences in average earnings and differences in the way that women and men are treated.

In essence, no matter how good women are in the media, they are regarded as women first and professionals second. Unless the media is transformed from within, there is unlikely to be much change in the way that women are reflected in media content.



Setsabile Sibisi, as a female manager, does not let her intimidating male colleagues change her course *Photo: Bheki Maseko*



Media students at Stellenbosch University debate the changes they would like to see in the media

Photo: Trevor Davies

Breaking through
Strategies for change

Jacinta Nhamitambo from Mozambique entered the media business in 1997 in response to an invitation from a project named Women and Development, which encouraged women to join the newsroom at *Radio Mozambique*. The main objective of the project was to give voice and face to women, and encourage them to join the media profession.

In April 1997 Nhamitambo started working at *Radio Mozambique*, producing the programme *Women and Development* in Sena (one of the languages of Beira). A year later she became a permanent staff member. In addition to producing the 30-minute *Women and Development* programme, Nhamitambo took on news and reporting in the districts.

Some six years later in 2003 she joined the central newsroom in Maputo, and in 2004 was assigned to cover elections during the Legislative and Presidential elections of 2004.



Jacinta Nhamitambo, *Radio Mozambique* *Photo: Eduardo Namburete*

Since 2005 Nhamitambo has been covering parliament, as the only woman ever to have been assigned to do this in Mozambique.

Asked how the low representation of women in newsrooms had affected her and her work, Nhamitambo said that this "perpetuates the idea that the newsroom is for men. And if this is perpetuated and assumed as truth, we (women) will always be seen as intruders in this profession. As a woman journalist - the only one in the newsroom - and one of the few to cover parliament, I feel it more closely."

At a personal level she feels "this does impact on me in a sense that I have to struggle to prove to my male colleagues that I am capable of performing as well as they can do, and if I do succeed they say it is an exception to the rule, because women are not capable. But if we had more women in the newsroom proving the same thing, this talk of men would vanish."

Nhamutambo believes strongly that a critical mass of women can lead to a gender-sensitive newsroom. She says the dearth of women in newsrooms means their voices are not readily heard, and the stories are told from the men's viewpoint. "The low proportion leads to low female voices, and few of their views in the media content. Knowing that women and men have different sensibilities to issues, have different reading of events, different perspectives when analysing issues, it becomes clear that the low proportion of women will have an impact on the content."

The radio reporter also believes a critical mass of women helps empower women by enhancing women's participation in decision-making. "We are still living in a country where people believe that women are to be housewives, take care of babies, and do housework, and this is transported to the workplace. Women are not confident enough to challenge men within this so-called 'men's area', and the situation can be even worse where there are fewer women."

Male attitudes and practices have been one of the key causes of the women's glass ceiling in media houses. How does Nhamutambo feel about the way men treat their female colleagues in newsrooms? "Generally speaking, people treat each other relatively fairly, but there are some male colleagues who believe women are inferior, and should not be taken seriously when it comes to reporting on certain issues. There are hidden prejudices among some colleagues, and that comes out in form of jokes."

With specific reference to *Radio Mozambique*, Nhamutambo feels there are policies and practices that hinder the increase of women in the newsroom. "Our media have indeed taken some measures to increase the number of women in the newsroom, such as the recruitment of women to fill specific vacancies announced as being for women. But working conditions which are not set as policies or practices, and lack of training opportunities are obstacles to increasing the number of women in the newsroom."

She knows of a woman journalist who worked in the newsroom but did not stay long, "because of the working conditions that are not stimulating (low salaries, no training opportunities, and working hours that are not compatible with the multiple roles of women)."

Jacinta Nhamitambo is a good example of what policies and practices that target women in the media can achieve if they are effectively implemented. She is also an example of resilience and determination by a woman who dared enter, practise and stay ten years in a profession perceived to be the domain of men.



Rose Haji, MISA Tanzania, and Charles Chisala, *Times of Zambia*, campaigning for the SADC Gender Protocol *Photo: Eduardo Namburete*

The previous chapters have chronicled the challenges that women face in the media. This chapter concerns practical strategies that can be taken to address gender gaps and glass ceilings in newsrooms. It does so against the findings in the research on what gender related policies and practices are in place that can be built on and strengthened as the media seeks to play its part in delivering on the targets set by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Joining the boys club?

Some women in the media, like Rosa Langa, have taken the well worn path of "if you can't beat them join them." While this is certainly an option, it does little to challenge sexist and undemocratic practices in the media. These changes are not only good for the women; they are good for the media and good for democracy.

Rosa Langa, a journalist of 13 years' experience now working for Radio Mocambique, cited her challenges as the old boys' network and male domination of the newsroom: "The newsroom is made to look like a male environment, but I managed to prove the male journalists wrong by showing good work. It was difficult for me to work in the newsroom because my male colleagues were not willing to help me. They did not accept me in the first place - I forced myself in. I am sure many women who are not tolerant enough would not have stayed, but because I wanted the job I did."

In order to survive in this male-dominated environment she decided to "play their game. Instead of isolating myself I joined them - went to the place where they go, told the jokes and laughed with them. This way I managed to gain acceptance within their environment. As time went by I became part of the team and they accepted me. My capacity as reporter has never been questioned. Only the fact that I am a woman would make them assume that I am not able to do certain activities within the newsroom."



Rose Langa *Photo: Eduardo Namburete*

Strategies and measures to achieve gender equality

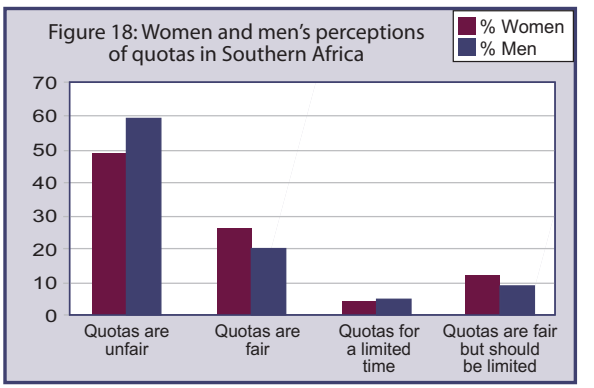
Respondents indicated what kinds of practices or policies their companies had put in place to increase women's participation and representation. Among others, these included whether they had gender policies (or would wish to have one); affirmative action (fast tracking); career pathing and promotion. Table eight summarises what proportion of the media houses checked "yes" to having the following policies or practises in place:

Table seven: Workplace indicators of Southern African media houses					
	Yes	No	Unknown	Total	% Yes
Targeting women	68	51	7	126	54%
Data banks for women	45	66	15	126	36%
Gender-balanced panels	68	48	10	126	54%
Fast-tracking	13	92	21	126	10%
Promotion	40	77	9	126	32%
Succession	44	71	11	126	35%
Flexi-hours	95	23	8	126	75%
Maternity leave	102	11	13	126	81%
Paternity leave	42	69	15	126	33%
Child care facilities	19	96	11	126	15%
Women's participation	80	28	18	126	63%
Sexual harassment policy	35	79	12	126	28%
Gender policy	20	93	13	126	16%
Need a gender policy	86	12	28	126	68%

Affirmative action

While 54% of the regional media houses indicated that they have specific targets for achieving gender equality, the low proportion of women in management and in various departments indicate that guidelines, strategies and practices to move these targets from paper to action is still slow. As noted earlier in this report, media houses in the region are far from reaching the SADC Gender Protocol target of 50% women in decision-making positions in the media by 2015 with only 28% women on boards, 23% in top management and 28% women as senior managers.

Figure 18 below shows how women and men in the region's media houses perceive quotas, one of the most effective measures that has been used worldwide to achieve gender parity in institutions. High percentages of men (59%) and women (49%) in the region believe that quotas are "unfair" for achieving gender equality in the media in the region.



Interestingly in South Africa, a higher percentage of men (50%) believe that quotas are fair compared to 17% men who said that quotas are unfair. More women in South African media houses (47%) believe quotas are unfair compared to those (33% women in the South African media) who see this measure as a fair strategy to advance women. But given the fact that more men are in top management and decision-making positions in South Africa, this belief in the use of quotas as a strategy may be one of the factors that has resulted in 50/50 women and men in South African media houses and more than 52% women in the editorial departments.

The high percentage of women who believe that quotas are "unfair" may be due to the "stigma" that has developed with quotas – i.e. the fact that women feel that they have to work twice as hard to prove that they are just as good as men when they enter the door through a quota system.

Markedly few women in the Tanzanian media agreed that quotas are fair, and when the respondents elaborated on this attitude, it was evident that quotas were seen as having a reverse effect on the very group that such policies are there to empower.

As one female respondent asked: "Why quotas? Why can't women compete on equal measures with men? Women are as capable as men." And another stated "We must demand merits! Not propping up women just because we want gender balance. Quotas will not help women to progress." Another woman argued: "Women are capable of competing, given good grounds; the quota is not good, it discredits women."

Women in Lesotho believe quotas will make them look like "tokens", and they want to be seen as hard-working and just as able to do the job as their male counterparts. As one female respondent said: "Women should be given the chance to compete with men by introducing quotas for a certain period of time to balance the prevailing situation of imbalance. After such a period the use of quotas must stop, so that they can stand and compete on their own."

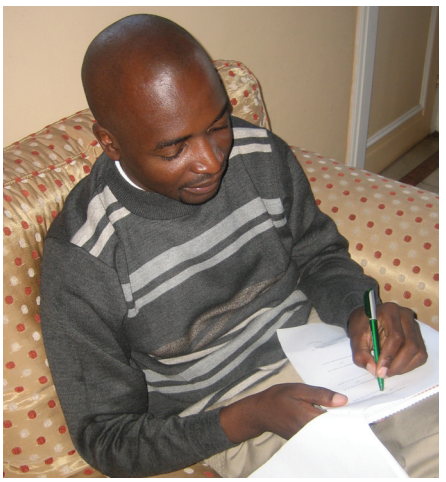


Tanzanian media women are opposed to quotas

Photo: Trevor Davies

Many male respondents agreed, stating that quotas should be eliminated. "Let women compete on the same level with men", said one. "Quotas belittle women, and cause them to be viewed as weak, destroying the notion of women's equality. Women will resort to favours instead of striving to earn positions. How long do we have to go on favouring them? Professionalism will be endangered if women remain favoured," said another. In Namibia, Kaombona Utjiwa Kanani, a senior reporter with Echo newspaper, is strongly against deliberate policies to advance women. He says

"women should not be catapulted by a policy. If it is by a policy that gives women advantage over men then I do not agree." He feels it should be through their own struggle, and emphasises: "It would be wrong to say we want to craft policies for women, specifically to help women only. There are enough opportunities for women. "


Tapera Chikuvira *Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu*

Tapera Chikuvira, editor of the Public Eye, argued: "To me it's not a game of numbers, but I believe everybody who is in the media should be given equal opportunity. No, we shouldn't have a quota. It starts from high school to encourage more female journalists. We encourage women – those who excel – to vie for promotion, not just in the newsrooms." He argued that "the men who are in higher positions are more skilled and have more experience. Women have not been disadvantaged; it's a matter of experience."

The overwhelming negative response to special measures for increasing the level of women's representation is a concern, because, with few exceptions, nowhere in the world has gender parity in decision-making been achieved without special measures. While the popular vote says no to quotas, there are some who believe, as one female respondent put it: "Quotas must continue." A male respondent added: "Quotas must continue to encourage other women, and to have role models."

Case study:
Monitor and Digest leads the way

The *Monitor and Digest*, a privately owned bi-weekly newspaper based in Lusaka, is an exception to the general burying-of-heads-in-the-sand attitude of the media on gender issues. It is one of the few in this study that knew about and is trying to attain the targets set in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

The paper, established in 1996, is published by Panorama Images Limited on behalf of the Inter African Network for Human Rights and Development (AFRONET). The paper aims to champion human rights and democracy and originally had a lobbying dimension. It has evolved over time to cover a diversity of issues.

This newspaper has a high proportion of women in the newsroom. According to editor-in-chief Whitney Mulobela, eight of the 13 staff members (61.5%) are women. Asked to give an insight into how the media house has managed to achieve this, Mulobela said: "At *The Monitor* it is company policy to maintain a certain number of women. It used to be 30%, but we have exceeded that."

The Monitor tries to reflect this commitment to gender equality in the whole media house and not just the newsroom. Mulobela says there is political will from management to ensure that gender parity is maintained. This parity goes beyond numbers to encompass the positions occupied by women and men.

Citing a few examples, Mulobela said: "There is a female editor on the business desk, a female reporter responsible for the sports page and our chief reporter is female. We have recently promoted one of our senior journalists to editor for the online publication. Our director of finance and administration is a woman."

Salome Matantilo, the newly promoted editor of the online publication, hailed the SADC Gender protocol, saying: "This is a welcome development. Women should start moving away from numbers and deliver, so that they get to decision-making positions."



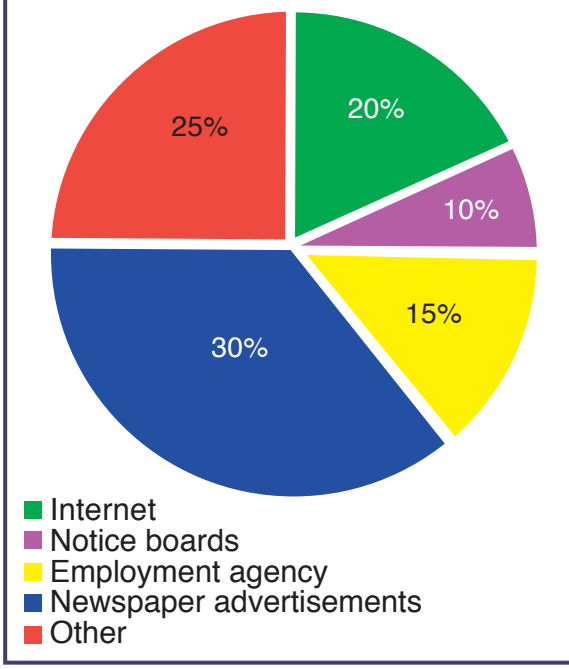
Salome Matantilo *Photo: Gender Links*

Grey Sibweede, a male staff member, felt high proportions of women in decision-making had resulted in a conducive working environment for women, as those in leadership fought for the rights of all women.

Recruitment

According to the responses charted in **Figure 19**, a third of job opportunities are advertised in newspapers; 20% via the Internet, 10% on notice boards and 25% via an employment agency. A quarter of the advertisements are under the category of "other" - this could include a range of other means - including the "old boys' network." The information does not show what kinds of jobs are advertised where. Also, a key factor is if these adverts are being sent to any specific women's forums and organisations.

Figure 19: How are jobs advertised in Southern Africa by media houses



Some 36% of media houses in Southern Africa stated that they have databanks for women and 54% said that they use gender balanced panels. These strategies, however, are not reflected in the overall figures for the representation of women in Southern African media houses. It is crucial to assess whether women are selected for positions when they have been specifically targeted.

In Lesotho, *PCFM* specifically targeted female employees as a strategy. In 2005-2006 they used adverts stating they were looking for females interested in journalism and broadcasting. Since this time, *PCFM* has had many females in senior management. The marketing manager, Khauta Mpeqa, says it was good business judgement to increase female employment at *PCFM*. "We



Thabani Mpofu *Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu*

were not trying to fill a quota system. We were just looking for the best. We just knew that we had to have both men's and women's voices on the radio: females like to listen to men's voices, and males like to listen to women's voices." Balancing the ratio of men to women is critical to maintaining their listenership and programming.

Thabani Mpofu is editor of the *Sunday News* weekly newspaper, which is part of the Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers) Group. The paper is based in Zimbabwe's second-largest city of Bulawayo. Mpofu joined Zimpapers in 1999 as a sub-editor for another title in Zimpapers, the *Sunday News*. At the time the media house was being computerised, and Mpofu tasked with identifying competent sub-editors from within the company.

Mpofu says one of the key challenges of his career has been to create gender balance in the newsroom, especially on the editing side. "The working environment is not friendly. For example, sub-editors work from 2pm to 10pm, and sometimes as late as 1am. This is especially difficult for married women. The news desk does not have specified hours, but reporters sometimes chase stories until very late at night."

The *Sunday News* seeks to apply strategies to attract female journalists to the newsroom. The paper has only two female sub-editors, but Mpofu says they are working to bring in more women. "When we recruit for internships we make a deliberate effort to take more female students. This is with the hope that they will come back after finishing training. At the moment there are two female and two male students on attachment," he says.

Career pathing, fast tracking and promotion

Only 10% of media houses in the region had strategies to fast track women within the organisation. But a higher percentage of media houses (32%) said that gender is a consideration for promotion. Succession planning is on the agenda, but only in 35% of the media houses.

Namibia provides an interesting example on the indicators to highlight here. Four of the 11 media houses surveyed in the country had 50% women or more in the media house – *Namibian Economist* (55%), *The Namibian* (59%), *Namibian Sun* (50%) and *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Most of these media houses had only one or two, at most, of the indicators – e.g. specific targeting of women,



Namibian media women have a better deal *Photo: Trevor Davies*

databanks for women, gender balanced panels, fast tracking, gender as a consideration for promotion, succession - in place. Only one of the four, *Allgemeine Zeitung* indicated it had a gender policy.

A significant finding of all these media houses which may explain the 50% or more women is that the media houses with higher percentages of women were more likely to employ women on a full-time basis, while those with lower proportions of women were more likely to employ women on a part-time or free-lance basis. Whether media houses are large or small, as many in Namibia are, greater job security is likely to be a reason, among other conditions, for women staying in the media houses and ensuring greater numbers.

Education and capacity building

Although media women emphasised in interviews that lack of training is not the primary reason for glass ceilings in newsrooms, they also noted that education and exposure can help to build the confidence of media women and assist their advancement.

Lerato Tsoane is programmes manager for Lesotho TV, and acting interim station manager for Radio Lesotho in the Ministry of Communications. She left nursing school in 1985, and was not sure of where to go next. But in 1987 Lesotho News Agency gave her a job. Starting out as a reporter (junior journalist), she went on to work as a newscaster, and later as presenter of a current affairs show. After a few years in the media she went back to further her studies in journalism, and received a BA from Rhodes University.

Tsoane has worked in media houses for more than 12 years, and has been a senior manager for four years. She says that during this time "I found it challenging moving across various media. Before I had a degree it was difficult to get ahead, but after the degree – combined with my experience - I got the position of programmes manager for Lesotho TV.

"[But] education is not seen by many others as a good reason for promotion – they will think it's because you were having an affair with so and so. People are silent about abuse. Some women think 'if I don't get this position through my education and experience, I will sleep with this man to get ahead'. "

Tsoane now holds dual managerial positions as the acting director-station manager of Radio Lesotho and programmes manager for Lesotho TV. She also started Radio Lesotho, and was tasked with merging news and current affairs, then establishing a new radio concept - *Ultimate Radio* - the commercialising of Radio Lesotho.

One of the main challenges of being a senior in the media in Lesotho is tackling the incompetence of some officials in decision-making within the Ministry of Communications. "No one wants to challenge those above in higher government office. They are not making government understand the obstacles we face. Sometimes people are given responsibilities when they don't have that position."

She also mentions that "women face the problem of being undermined by men. If you discipline one of the men, and you are younger, though you are his senior he won't listen. Also just because he's a man." The other difficulty is sustainability – the structure often does not accommodate people without degrees, and there is no system to monitor performance. In addition the ministry lacks a solid training policy. "The structure we have generally denies upward

mobility. That's why staff don't understand how others have achieved. We don't have woman-to-woman support. HR does not support mentoring. And the politics – there are favours that happen according to your political affiliation," says Tsoane. Despite all she has been through, Tsoane still firmly believes women should be placed in management: "We are only three – we are not being represented fairly. I think we perform better than men, especially in managerial positions." She credits her education and training as key factors in her sense of agency and ability to progress.

Mentoring



Nomile Hlatshwayo discussing the challenges of being a female manager
Photo: Bheki Maseko

Most of the learning in a hands-on and action-oriented profession like journalism takes place on-the-job. Nomile Hlatshwayo, business editor at the *Times of Swaziland*, says "one of the major obstacles is lack of mentorship and coaching in the media – there's no such! Then there's the perception that it's a male job because women can't put in odd hours, and they don't trust your judgement. They ask ten times "are you sure you got this right?"

Hlatshwayo studied journalism at the University of Swaziland (2000-2003), then went to the *Times of Swaziland* as a reporter on entertainment for a year. She moved to the business section as a reporter, and after a year was promoted to editor of this section.

In describing her experiences as a female editor, Hlatshwayo said: "They didn't have a choice (but to make me editor of the business section). It was me and another lady, and they didn't think she could cut it. Plus I did economics as a major subject. So I am not sure if it was support for women. In the media you are just thrown into the deep, and you have to swim to the shore. So it's been a very challenging experience."

Still, Hlatshwayo has succeeded in being an inspiration, and fully commits herself to mentoring other female journalists to become decision-makers in the media. "The lack of training is a major challenge. Newspapers tend not to mind much about training. And it's very important to continue training. You have to look for short courses yourself – workshops etc. When you want to do extra schooling the resources are very scarce.

"My department is one of the few that has been hiring female journalists consistently. I have hired males – but my focus has been on women. And I have pestered management about women for managerial positions, because it wasn't a good environment.

"When you are a woman they just want you to sit there in the meetings and be quiet. So they took somebody that I had mentored and put her in a senior position because of that. They called for a meeting to ask our views on how to get more women into managerial positions. They are starting to realise the value that women bring."

The journey has been short (only five years), but she has managed to make a big mark for female decision-makers in the media. She insists that there is no valid reason for not having more women at all levels in the media: "What I ask

them [the male managers] is how do other industries that have irregular hours and women staff manage? We could learn from these industries.

"It's also an issue of availability of resources. I am the editor who still has to do reporting. I am not complaining about the odd hours, but there are ways to get around it. The male managers have assistants, so we could also have assistants. It's a lame excuse not to hire more women in senior positions."

Family friendly practices

Although a legislative requirement, only 81% of the sample stated that they offer maternity leave and 33% offered paternity leave. This perpetuates the stereotype that the mother is responsible for the primary parenting role. A smaller percentage of media houses (15%) said that they had child care facilities.

"One of the most significant things that happens to a woman in her career is being pregnant," noted Liza Albrecht, Editor in Chief, Rapport, South Africa. "Women actually settle for the lower positions because they have to compromise their children - it's important for managers to make it possible for women with young children to reach their aims. There's no reason why these things can't be done. A general sensitivity and understanding towards individual's needs is necessary. Accommodating people turns around the work performance."

Symonette Pascaline Fanjanarivo, journalist from La Gazette de la Grande in Madagascar added: "The major problem for women in the media is to reconcile family and work life. Apart from the Labour Code, which allows for maternity and paternity leave, an aid for children would be a very positive measure. Women should also go to gender forums in order to realise that the gender concept is not only a question of rights but also a question of responsibilities."



Tanzanian journalist Neema Mbuya continued work through to the last days of her pregnancy

Photo: Trevor Davies

Flexi-time

One area in which the media scored better than in most others was on flexi-time, with 75% saying they had such arrangements.

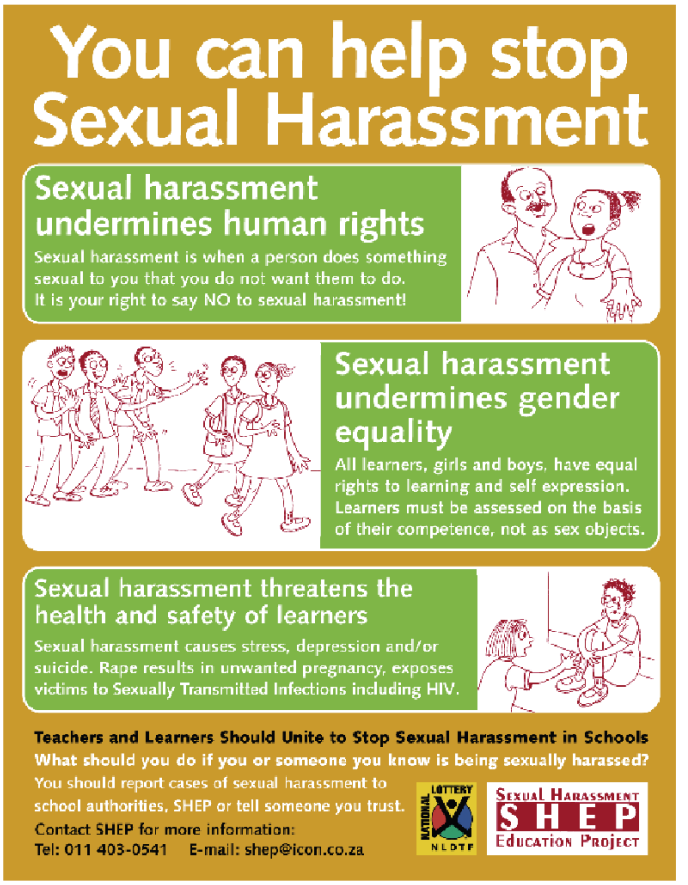
Annick Daniella Rivet, a reporter at *Le Defi Media Group* in Mauritius for 17 years, cited her main challenges as child care and needing to be able to "work from home" more frequently. "I still have small children I am not sure if I will be able to take more responsibilities as I am afraid that my children will suffer… We should be allowed to go home and write our articles once we have collected all our materials and done our interviews.

"I must admit that my Director very often gives me permission to go home and write my article after I have done the news coverage. Internet connection at home is very important and journalists should also be given laptops so that they can work at home. If women are allowed to work from home, the quality of the work will be better as they will not have to worry about children. They can care for their children and work at the same time."

Respondents from Radio Dialogue in Zimbabwe also highlighted family-friendly workplace practices at the radio station. One said: "The organisation is sensitive. For example, the bookkeeper, who is a woman, is allowed to knock off early when there are late night events. Staff members who belong to the SDA (Seventh Day Adventist) church are given the opportunity to work on Sunday instead of Saturday."

Sexual harassment and gender policies

Of the 126 media houses surveyed, only 28% had a sexual harassment policy and 16% had a gender policy.



Some countries have regulation on sexual harassment within the national labour laws, which media houses have followed. For example, eighty-two percent of the media houses in South Africa, compared to the region, have sexual harassment policies. Compared to the region South African media houses (82%) have a much higher proportion of sexual harassment policies than the region (28%). In South Africa as a result of legislative reforms, affirmative action as relates to racial quotas is high on the agenda. Sexual harassment is an important component of the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 in South Africa.

But this is not the case in other countries. There is a section in the amendments to Zimbabwe's Labour Relations Act on sexual harassment as

an unfair labour practice, and the country has a national gender policy. But women in media houses surveyed in that country say there is a gap between national laws and policies and what goes on in their workplaces.

A female respondent in a media house surveyed in Zimbabwe, for example, raised concern about the lack of gender sensitivity in media houses to the harassment of women. "Where issues of sexual harassment or sexist language are concerned, women who raise these issues are often not taken seriously and in particular cases of harassment, male bosses sympathise with those accused of harassment and at times try to underplay the charge at hand."

Of the 126 media houses surveyed, 68% of those that do not have gender policies expressed the need to develop such policies. This is essential for progressive gender practise to be built into institutional norms.



Pushpa Jamieson (left) at a gender policy workshop with the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna



The news through a gender lens

Photo: Trevor Davies

Making a difference?
What women bring to the media

Gwen Lister, editor-in-chief of *The Namibian*, has a career spanning more than three decades of commitment to journalism, with some "incredible moments" and a great deal of solidarity with many of those she has worked with.

Lister could not help smiling as she recalled her 'baptism of fire" in journalism just after finishing her studies at the University of Cape Town. She joined the *Windhoek Observer* in 1976, when the late Hannes Smith was the editor. Motivated by idealism and a hatred of apartheid, political reporting became her main focus.

Lister strived to prove herself in a male-dominated industry. Her editor did not believe women could do the hard work or have the commitment required by the industry. Years later Smith would acknowledge Lister as one of the best journalists he had ever worked with.



Gwen Lister *Photo: The Namibian*

Lister's success came despite a number of obstacles. She has been jailed under various draconian laws such as the Internal Security Act and the Official Secrecy Act, among other repressive laws. This put pressure on her both as a woman and a mother. When she was incarcerated in 1988 she was seven months pregnant, and this proved to be a very testing time for her. Her job proved to be dangerous when *The Namibian*'s offices were mysteriously burned before Namibia's independence.

On the professional front Lister has had to put in long hours and make difficult decisions in steering *The Namibian* from a pre- to a post-independence publication:, from a donor-funded entity to a self-sufficient undertaking that would continue to reflect democratic principles in ownership, mission and social responsibility towards its staff and the wider Namibian community.

Lister has struggled to manage the balancing act between being a partner, a mother and pursuing her career. This meant a lot of sacrifice and hard work, but she excelled in all three. She takes her inspiration from being in a career in which one invests great passion. Dedication to the ideal of Press freedom as an absolute, non-negotiable backbone of a democratic system has helped overcome many a testing time.

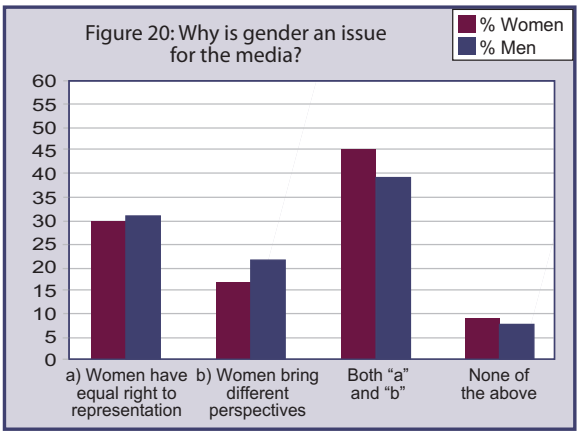
"As a woman who set out to prove herself in what was largely a man's world, and still is in many ways, I did not have the luxury of support from women's networks and organisations at the time. So it is perhaps true to say that I, like perhaps other women who have gone into tough jobs, subverted my femininity in the interests of concentrating on wider human-rights issues."

She says of herself, "I have an implicit belief in equality, and so while people are individually "different", they are also the same in a certain sense. And to treat everyone with fairness has been an operative principle of mine. Women, by and large, especially those I've worked with, have been less intimidated by me than most men who continue to believe that a strong woman is something of a threat. Not necessarily the men I've worked with and who've come to know me over time, but the broader male community perhaps. Having been editor since the inception of the newspaper, I think the mere presence of a woman heading the organisation has been helpful to greater gender-awareness. But I have also been careful not to alienate some of the really great male staff members we've worked with.

"There has always been a predominant presence of senior women at *The Namibian*, so I believe this has helped the men in our midst recognise that women have the same abilities, commitment, work ethic and dedication that they do, and sometimes even more so!"

The chapter explores why gender is an issue for the media and whether a "critical mass of women" is necessary to change gender relations in and through the media. In asking the question whether or not women make a difference to newsroom culture and editorial content, the chapter also draws out the unique imprint and leadership styles of women in top management and decision-making positions in the regional media. The chapter also examines why, beyond just numbers of women, it is important for gender to be integrated into institutional policies and practise.

Why gender is an issue in the media



When asked why gender equality is an issue in newsrooms, about one third of both women and men cited the fact that women have an equal right to representation. Interestingly, more men (22%) than women (17%) cited the fact that women bring different perspectives to the media business. The highest percentage of women (45%) and men (39%) cited both equal rights and the different perspectives that women bring as being the main reasons why media houses should be concerned about the representation of women and men.

Good for equality, good for business

A number of media managers interviewed stressed that gender balance in the media is not only good for democracy, but also good for business.

Ichikaeli Maro, sub-editor of weekend publications at *TSN* in Tanzania noted: "Women are good for business because the nature of stories they do brings increased readership, especially women readers.

"Women are seen as important to content and to business, not just because of the added value they can bring to so-called hard beats, such as politics and business, but because they bring in the social and human element of the day-to-day lives of Tanzanians."

A male respondent in Zimbabwe pointed out that when the majority of the listening public is female, it is important that the inside of the media house reflects that majority. "The majority of listeners of our radio station are likely to be women; it is important that the staff cater for these listerners and this is more likely if you have good female representation of the staff."



Namibian women challenge gender stereotypes *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Making a difference: what respondents said

Table eight: Perceptions on whether gender makes a difference		
	% women who agreed	% men who agreed
a) There is no relationship between having women in the media and achieving gender balance and sensitivity in media coverage	31	39
b) Female journalists are more likely to seek out female opinion than male journalists	46	45
c) Female journalists are more likely to cover gender related topics more than male journalists	69	62
d) When there are women in senior management positions gender is more likely to be taken seriously in the work of the media house	70	49
e) Where there is a "critical mass" of women in the media house this affects the way that men think and behave	53	50
f) Men can be as gender aware and sensitive as women	78	87
g) Women are their own worst enemies	45	45

Table nine shows that more men (39%) than women (31%) interviewed believe that there is no relationship between having women in the media and achieving gender balance and sensitivity in media coverage. Almost an equal number of women (46%) and men (45%) believe that women are more likely to seek out female opinion. Women and men (69% and 62% respectively) also believe strongly that female journalists are more likely to cover gender-related topics, and that where women are in senior management positions, gender is likely to be taken seriously.

An equal proportion of women and men (45% each) believe that "women are their worst enemies." Both women (78%) and a large percentage of men (87%) believed that "men can be as gender aware as women." And, both women (53%) and men (50%) believe that a "critical mass" of women in the media influences the way men think and behave.

Women their own worst enemies?

Less than half (45%) of both women and men believed that "women are their own worst enemies." In interviews, especially in Malawi, some respondents expressed the view that women are to blame for "pulling each other down."

As one respondent passionately maintained: "Women have always been known to have the "pull them down syndrome". We have the tendency of not wanting fellow women to succeed; how are men meant to take us seriously if we can't support one another? This behaviour needs to be checked in most of us." A male respondent agrees: "Most women still

do not believe they amount to anything, and do not stand up for themselves. Generally women tend to pull each other down."

Portia Kobue, executive producer of the SABC's *Morning Live* commented: "I see a lot of undermining of women in power. There is no strategy to increase women's representation at the top. Men don't do a lot to debunk the mindset that women can't lead. It is subtle - the corridor gossip. It is very easy to use other women; women not accepting a woman manager. There's a lot of backbiting and undermining. The women that will work with you are the ones that are the pioneers in their own right; the ones that will undermine you are the non-achievers."

Critical mass

Much of the commentary and analysis centred on whether having more women at the top would empower them to challenge male norms in the media. The conceptual framework in Chapter three outlined the theory of the "critical mass" of women in decision-making. This theory holds that having a few women in any institution, even if they are at the top, is not enough. The numbers argument is that to change the dominant discourse and culture there needs to be a critical mass of women in all areas, and especially at the top.

Case study:
Financial Gazette - One woman at the top is not enough

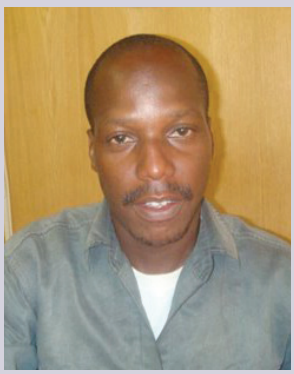
The *Financial Gazette* newspaper in Zimbabwe makes an interesting case study, because it is headed by an experienced female editor, Edna Machirori even though only 17% of its staff are women. She is one of only two women in the history of mainstream media in Zimbabwe to head a newsroom.. She has also been editor of the *Chronicle* daily newspaper.

Machirori heads a male-dominated newsroom. Women constitute only 17% of the staff at the Financial Gazette. When asked to comment on the effects of the low representation of women, Machirori said "it is an awkward situation for a newspaper that champions the cause of women in editorials and reports not to practice what it preaches. It is a dent in the newspaper's credibility, and its commitment to promoting gender equity within the framework of nation building.


Edna Machirori, editor of the Financial Gazette
Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu

"It seems fraudulent for the paper to claim to cater for all voices and view-points in its reporting, when it silences some of these in the newsroom. The odd woman who expresses strong views in an environment that is virtually a man's world is regarded as an oddity, and this serves to perpetuate male prejudices."

Machirori says the absence of women in her newsroom affects editorial content. "It robs readers of the special perceptions and gifts that women bring to the profession when they are given a chance to participate on an equal footing with male colleagues."


Edna Machirori, editor of the Financial Gazette *Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu*

Njabulo Ncube, a senior reporter on the paper, agrees: "The low representation of women has resulted in the dominance of male sources. The front page has stories on business and politics, none of which quote female sources."

"Even letters to the editor are male-dominated. Surely female readers have something to say, something which we do not see reflected in the paper. Even pictures in the hard news section are of men. We see pictures of women and hear their voices only in the entertainment section. Apparently they must only entertain. The absence of women results in lots of content insensitive to women's interests," said Ncube.

Machirori and Ncube concurred that fewer women in newsrooms it inhibits them from participating fully in decision-making. "Yes it does, one hundred percent," says Ncube, adding: "In our case we have only one woman in decision-making. She is obviously out-numbered, and I feel there are times when she cannot make certain crucial decisions, even though she is positioned to do so."

For Machirori "it is self-evident that in a situation where no women are represented, only men's views will be considered in shaping the newspaper's coverage of events, and in projecting what the paper stands for. The paper looks at events through one squinted eye, instead of two open eyes."

Asked if there are any policies or practices that are obstacles to increasing the number of women in the newsroom, Machirori said: "It's not deliberate that we do not have female journalists. We had three, including the deputy editor-in-chief, but unfortunately one passed away and the other relocated to South Africa. We are open to employing competent and hard-working journalists without discriminating on the grounds of sex," she said.

As the quantitative findings of this research showed, very few media houses in the region have a critical mass of women, especially in top management and key decision-making positions. In intrviews, media women and men across the region concurred that having a "critical mass" of women is important.

In Botswana, women argued that having many women in media houses ensured that women's issues were taken seriously, while in Mauritius, women said that having more women in the media would promote gender balance in all spheres.



Calsile Masilela stating the importance of a critical mass of women in media for gender equality
Photo: Sikhonzile Ndlovu

Calsile Masilela, a community reporter from the *Swazi Observer,* said: "If there were women in decision-making roles, content would change. There would be more women sources. But most of the time you find that we are not in managerial positions. "If you are not an editor, nothing will change: so if only more women could be in decision-making roles."

Women interviewed in Swaziland said a "critical mass of women" will make a difference in media especially when it comes to mentoring and being role models for other women in media, an influence that Larissa Diakanua of *Top Congo FM* in the DRC can attest to first-hand. The female editor and presenter said working in a media house that has a high representation of women "has a positive impact, as it helps one to surpass one's self".

Diakanua recalls how "until recently women were not asked to work in night shifts, because the team working at night sleeps at the radio. They have just asked me to work on night shift

and I have accepted. I will see if that brings about changes. When I started working at *Top Congo*, there were no toilets for women. Since two to three years ago they have installed toilets specifically for women."

Respondents surveyed in Lesotho, the country with over half women in several media houses, cited concrete examples of how a critical mass of women have brought a difference. Motlasi Majara, director and founder of the People's Choice FM (PCFM), has been in media for more than 20 years, and worked under women bosses. He says he has always had a deep respect for women's issues, as well as a regard for the interests of young people and other vulnerable groups.

Majara says women have a significant impact on the newsroom in ways such as commitment, training and mentoring and they have influenced the changes in the Lesotho media house's working environment. "They have motivated the need for flexi-time. Also, having women in the newsrooms has allowed their children to come in and watch what their mothers do for a profession - a new generation seeing that women can do the work men do."

Women also are more confident to use their voice when there are more women; especially, in decision-making posts said another male respondent in Lesotho: "Our editor is a woman. And I think that makes a difference. The other women feel they can speak up as well, because she's there."

Olivia Massango has been working in news at group SOICO in Mozambique for three years. Although women are still a minority in her editorial department, she believes a higher representation of women can be empowering. Says Massango; "The impact of having high representation of women in the newsroom is that we become more confident and secure. We feel stronger and our voice is easily heard and our point of view easily taken."

Massango added: "The high proportion of women in the newsroom enables them to influence the agenda; they are able to bring issues that otherwise would be neglected. Issues such as gender, health, education and other social issues are not regularly covered by the media, and if they are covered, very often they are covered by a female journalist."

Massango also believes more women in the newsroom enables women to participate more fully in decision-making. "The more women in the newsroom the more chances of having women participating in the decision-making. When there is high number of women in the newsroom the likelihood of men sidelining women in the decision-making is low. "I believe having more women in the newsroom gives more confidence and courage to women to engage in decision-making. We become stronger and men no longer see us as the weak link."

Case study:
At ease in the *Seychelles Nation*

Marie Anne Lepathy joined the *Seychelles Nation* in 1988. Over the years she has occupied different positions in the national news department. She is currently the assistant to the editor of the paper that has a staff of 18 women and 16 men.

There is an ease about this newsroom that reflects the enabling environment created for women and men by having approximately equal numbers of both.

Lepathy is comfortable working with men in the newsroom. She says men and women share the same workload covering different topics. For example she said one of her male colleagues runs the family page which covers issues such as teenage pregnancy.



Women are a force to reckon with in Seychelles *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Lepathy maintains that women at senior level are consulted on decision-making and others can express their views on different issues pertaining to their work in forums such as management meetings.

According to Lepathy, male colleagues at Seychelles Nation, treat their female colleagues with dignity and respect. "At Nation we all get on well together because it is a small newspaper with almost no competition. The men and women all work together and help each other where necessary because we all receive directions from the same boss and each is assigned his or her duty each day. Males in the newsroom treat their women colleagues equally with respect, and they get along fine. And when sharing a joke everyone knows where to draw the line. There are no policies except for a code of ethics."

Critical consciousness

Many respondents argued that a "critical consciousness" is as important if not more important than a "critical mass." They note that no matter how many women there are at the top, if these do not have a consciousness of, and commitment to gender issues, there is unlikely to be change.

Esther Misheck, senior reporter at *Joy Radio*, says: "As a woman who has on many occasions headed the newsroom I can say that the attitude of management and their policies have been responsible for achieving gender parity in the newsroom.

> "Women have encouraged other female journalists to take on the same kinds of assignments as male journalists. This has been the motivation to work as hard as or harder than their male counterparts."

Misheck's junior colleague, Yvonnie Akonda Sundu, says the high representation of women at *Joy Radio* has helped her and her work. "When a group of women speak with one voice it carries more weight than an individual, whose voice is not heard. Not because what is being said is not important, but due to a lack of backing from others who understand what is being said about an issue."

The managing director of *The Guardian* newspaper, Duwa Mutharika, says it has taken a long time for her to be accepted by the media fraternity, not just because she is a woman, but because she is related to the President of Malawi. "My solution was to just keep working hard, because I knew that eventually I would be vindicated."

As MD of *The Guardian* Mutharika makes a special effort to empower women in her media

house. To increase the number of women working in the newsroom she seeks out those who have had the best training by recruiting women out of MIJ and the Polytechnic. A male respondent working at *The Guardian* affirms Mutharika's efforts: "A good example is *The Guardian*, where because of the woman in a senior position, it takes gender issues seriously."

Nomile Hlatshwayo, the Business Editor at the Times of Swaziland, believes that her role as a female leader in a media house is to be a mentor to other women and to ensure that space is made for more women in the newsroom. "The lack of mentorship and coaching in the media", she says, is one factor that discourages women from staying in journalism.

"My department is one of the few that has been hiring female journalists consistently. I have hired males - but my focus has been on women. And I have been pestering management about women in the managerial positions because it wasn't a nice environment. Because when you are a woman they just want you to sit there in the meetings and sit quiet," Hlatshwayo says. "So they took somebody that I mentored and put her in a senior position because of that. They called for a meeting to ask our views on how to get more women in managerial positions. They are starting to realise the value that women bring."

Role models

Several respondents pointed out that women in senior positions in the media serve as powerful role models for young women looking to go into the profession. Thabani Mpofu, editor of the *Sunday News* in Zimbabwe noted: "At the moment our Acting Chief Sub-editor is a woman and she has done the job diligently. Having men only in the newsroom gives the impression that journalism is a men's field, which is not the case."

In 2003, women constituted only 4% of top and senior managers at the Mauritian Broadcasting Corporation (MBC). Thanks to a management committed to gender equality, the adoption of a gender work place and editorial policy in 2006, and the vigilant watch of the Media Watch Organisation (MWO)-Gender and Media Southern African (GEMSA) Network in Mauritius, women now constitute 20% of the top and senior management at the public broadcaster. As illustrated in the case of the female-led radio division, having a woman at the helm sends out powerful signals to others in the institution.

Case study: **Leading from the front: Pamela Patten breaks new ground at *MBC***

Pamela Patten is the Director of radio at the *MBC*. She has been working as a journalist for over thirty years. In her division of the *MBC*, women comprise 54% of the total, compared to the overall average of 33%.

Patten bemoans the fact that of the 30 technical staff only two are women, but cites this is progress, since in the past there were no women at all in this side of the house.

She herself has received the "Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques" (Knight in the Order of Academic Palms) from the French government for her contribution in the media field.

According to Patten: "We are amongst the first media houses in Mauritius to have developed a gender policy. Staff have participated in training by Gender Links and MWO-GEMSA to put in place a gender policy and a gender aware policy on HIV and AIDS. I was part of the delegation of MWO-GEMSA at the Gender and Media Summit in 2006.



Pamela Patten *Photo: MBC*

"Having worked for the *MBC Radio* station for over 30 years, I have acquired wide experience on gender issues nationally, regionally and internationally. I am a member of the *Southern African Broadcasting Authority (SABA)*. I also sit on the Steering committee of the African Media Partnership. We must walk the talk. We cannot say we are members of all these Committees and do not put into practice what we learn. After all we have a Gender Policy. Having more women in *MBC Radio* shows that our Gender Policy is put into practice."

Asked why gender balance is important, Patten maintained that "gender equality means good governance, gender justice and inclusive democracy. It is of utmost importance for such a big enterprise as ours to give women their due. Women are well educated and have earned their place in society. Women bring a different angle and different perspective to news and programmes. As a public broadcaster we must be a role model."

Lorna Valery Kallee, a woman journalist at *MBC Radio* added: "The high representation of women impacts on the treatment of certain subjects. Although it is understood that both women and men give the same treatment to all beats, women are more sensitive on certain issues. Our approach on subjects like the society, examinations results, and a child who is sick are different as we bring this caring touch. This brings a different approach to news coverage."

Kavish Pultoo, a male counterpart reflected: "I am new at the *MBC*, but from the onset there has been a good understanding and the feel good factor. The friendship, support, collaboration and cooperation between men and women make the environment very healthy and good to work in."

Patten exudes a motherly air. "The *MBC Radio* was like our house. The staff are part of our family. We did not have any sophisticated equipment, IT was unknown to us and yet we did a professional job," she said. "During cyclones we slept at the MBC and gave fresh news and fresh views to the population at large. As women we could feel the miseries of families and wanted to make sure that they knew where to go for shelter and for food. If we heard that there was a family in danger we would immediate inform the police and the authorities concerned so that this family could be saved. Women are sensitive to social problems."

The radio head says that "people are not afraid to voice their opinion and women know how to encourage women to talk. Women are confident in the presence of another woman. You will be surprised to know that when there are talk shows with a female journalist, lots of women telephone to give their opinion. Women give different perspectives to news and programmes and our male colleagues appreciate that."

Asked if male attitudes have changed as a result of having a woman leader and majority women staff, Patten noted that, "our male colleagues have lots of respect for us. Young male journalists are prepared to learn from their female colleagues. There has always been a good and friendly atmosphere at *MBC Radio*.

"We learn a lot from each other. Working at the MBC radio is a continuous process of learning. For live programmes, for example, when we go to villages or to big events, we very often have one male and one female journalist. We support each other and pick up what one of us may have missed. Personally I think it is very important that positive attitudes are from both sides."



Official launch of HIV and AIDS Policy and Gender Policy at the MBC by the Deputy Director General Ravin Bacchoo *Photo: Palmesh Cuttaree*

Pultoo added: "Women bring new and very appropriate aspects to the content of news. They give us the basis of how to work on societal issues. They bring new ways of reporting with innovative ideas. My female colleagues have taught me how to do a caption that attracts listeners; how to introduce subjects and how to work on details. What must be said and what must not be said. I really enjoyed it when they taught me how to turn a press release into a news piece. They have pointed me to where and how to look for sources to create a good story and to ensure that story is balanced."

So how will this be sustained? "I believe it will be sustained by itself," says Patten. "In our oriental section, for example, there are 47 females compared to 31 males and they are doing a great job. Their listeners like them. They are doing what any media house should do, i.e. informing, educating and entertaining in the language of the people. We broadcast in 13 languages. The listeners feel close to them."

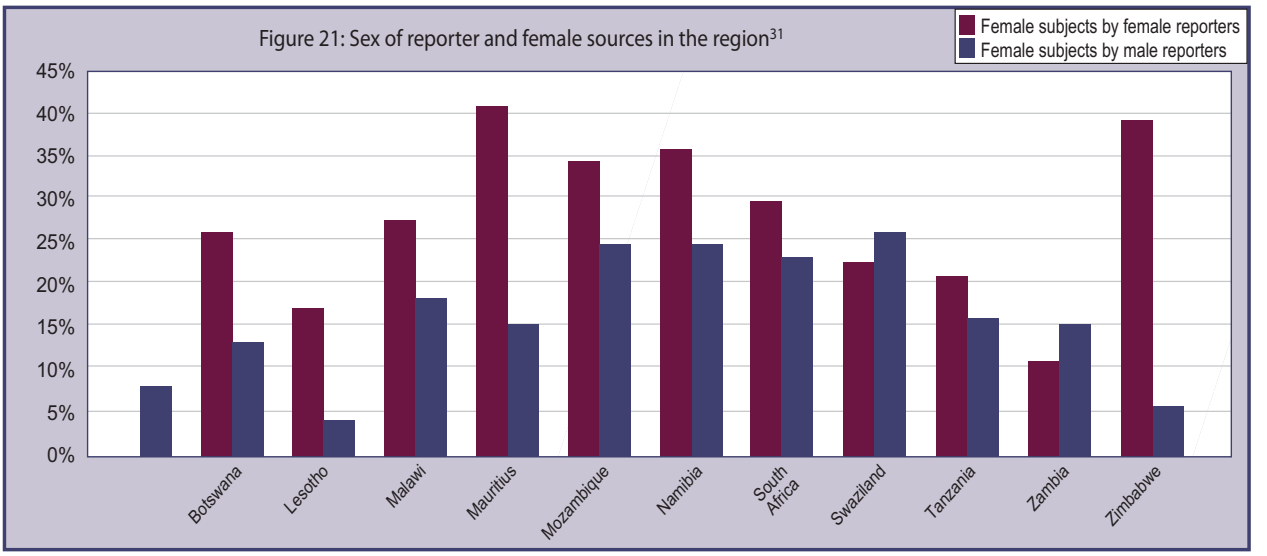
If any proof of sustainability is needed, go no further than Marguerite Labat, who at 97 is still presenting programmes three times a week after a life-long career at the MBC. "We have recommended her to the Guiness Book of Records as the radio presenter who has the longest years of service and who is still on air," Patten laughs. "You see these women are so good that we cannot do without them!

Women in the media and women sources

The GMMP 2005 showed that women journalists are more likely than men to consult female opinion, but this does not mean that 50% of their sources are women. In the Southern African analysis of the global study, women sources constituted 28% of the total sources consulted by women journalists compared to 19% of the sources referred to by male journalists (compared to 25% for women and 20% for men in the global findings). With the exception of Angola, women consulted women sources more so than men in every country of the region, with women journalists in some instances consulting up to 40% women sources.[30]

[30] Lowe-Morna, Colleen, *Mirror on the Media, Who makes the news?* Mirror on the Southern African findings of the, Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2005, Gender Links 2006.

This was especially so in Mauritius, Namibia and Zimbabwe. With close to or over 40% women sources referred to by women journalists these countries are a strong reminder of the importance of striving for increased gender balance in newsrooms as a way of making newsrooms more alive to women's voices and concerns.



Nomile Hlatshwayo, business editor of Times of Swaziland says: "We always try to get a female voice in every story wherever possible. And now it's incorporated in our checklist saying 'whenever a woman's voice is available it should be included'. It fades with time, but it's just about re-orienting the new journalists.

"They used to call only the police when there was a story about rape, but now they will source a woman. More than half the population is female, so it will help to increase our readership. I would even change the content, because if you read the stories, they are biased. For instance, love affairs – they always reveal the identity of the woman and not that of the man."

Ichikaeli Maro, sub-editor of weekend publications at *TSN* in Tanzania adds: "Most of the men in our editorial department are gender-blind, and do not consider certain issues as important as women do. Hence the presence of women changes everything. Currently the number of female sources for our news is minimal, as most of our journalists are males who have the misconception that women have nothing to offer. They therefore rarely seek women's views."

Salome Mutantilo, the online editor at the *Monitor and Digest* newspaper in Zambia, said in an interview during the *Glass Ceilings* research in that country that the high proportion of

[31] Mirror on the media: Who makes the news in Southern Africa

women in the newsroom has given prominence to women's voices and to issues like gender based violence and defilement, issues women identify with. The positive thing that has come out of this, she added, is that there is a general awareness of the importance of female sources in the newsroom.



Tanzanian camera woman at a gender meeting *Photo: Trevor Davies*

In Zimbabwe, one of the countries in this study with a low percentage of women in the media houses surveyed, Njabulo Ncube, Political Editor at *The Financial Gazette* says that male voices dominate in the weekly business and finance newspaper precisely because women journalists are few. "The low representation of women has resulted in the dominance of male sources... The front page has stories on business and politics none of which quote female sources.

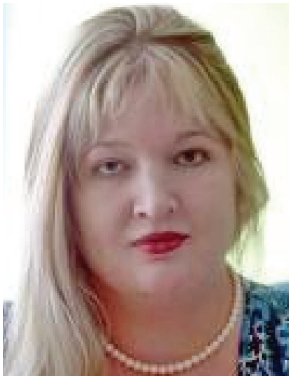
"Even letters to the editor are male dominated. Surely female readers have something to say, something which we do not see reflected in the paper. Even pictures in the hard news section are of men. We only see pictures of women and hear their voices in the entertainment section. They are supposed to entertain. The absence of women results in lots of gender blind content," Ncube says.

Apolinary Tairo, assistant news editor at *Tanzania Media Express Ltd's* newspaper observed that "in the areas of sources, our female reporters are able to access sources who refuse to be interviewed by our male reporters. This is particularly so with politicians, who believe male reporters work in cahoots with the politicians' competitors. Women make good business for the company, because the products they produce are very popular with our readers."

Ichikaeli Maro from Tanzania adds: "Most of the men in our editorial department are gender-blind, and do not consider certain issues as important as women do. Hence the presence of women changes everything. Currently the number of female sources for our news is minimal, as most of our journalists are males who have the misconception that women have nothing to offer. They therefore rarely seek women's views.

Oesi Sebusang, a woman journalist at *Botswana Television* says women generally feel freer in such a newsroom, and there are low levels of intimidation, hence women's ability to participate more in decision-making. She says women are very expressive, and have created an environment conducive for debate on topical issues.

Sebusang also says it is now a lot easier to cover women's issues, because there are enough voices in the newsroom to support such stories. She says this is because during diary sessions there is a lot of debating and mobilising for support before one's story idea is taken up.



Liza Albrecht believes that women are more likely to quote female sources
Photo: blogs.dieburger.come

Liza Albrecht, Editor in Chief, at the *Rapport* believes that women are more likely to quote female sources. According to Albrecht women tend to think more creatively about news - they are not only focused on the hard news - but on the softer angles - stories behind the stories. Female editors cover more in-depth stories says Albrecht.

Different perspectives

The GMMP 2005 report found that women report almost half of all stories that challenge stereotypes. Relative to the lower number of women reporters this is statistically significant. The women and men journalists and editors interviewed had varying views on the difference that women bring to the media's core business.

Roger Kalala, an editor-in-chief in the DRC, believes that higher numbers of women "does not make a single difference to the content", others pointed to the ways women put a different spin on reporting issues.

Cecil Motsepe, journalist at the *Sowetan* for the last seven years holds the view that "journalism is journalism. Journalists tackle issues. The *Sowetan* has many female journalists - editors don't come up with the stories; journalists do. The fact that there are female journalists at the *Sowetan* should not affect the content. I believe that perspectives have nothing to do with your sex/gender."



Cecil Mostepe believes women and men do not bring different perspectives to stories
Photo: Yeta Mkisa

Mostepe is of the view that the *Sowetan* is not a women's magazine, it is a newspaper interested in news. "It is rare when females and males feel differently about the same issue. We are not preoccupied with the advancement of women - we are here to do stories. I am talking to you as a journalist looking at the final product of the newspaper."

Lazaro Mabunda, a male counterpart and award-winning journalist with nine years' experience, said: "I think having more women in the newsroom would not have much impact on me and my work, but it can help the newsroom in general, because women have more facility in accessing male sources. On me personally, the presence of women does not make any impact at all."

Apolinary Tairo, Assistant News Editor at *Media Express Limited – the Express Newspaper* in Tanzania, disagrees. He argues that "women look at issues from a totally different perspective compared to men. They see minute details, which add value to stories and our news mix.

"Our managing editor, which is a woman, has some of the most fantastic ideas on social issues, which we men journalists are not aware of," Tairo says. "In the areas of sources, our female reporters are able to access sources which refuse to be interviewed by our male reporters. This is particularly so with politicians who believe male reporters work in cahoots with their political competitors. Women make good business for the company, because the products they produce are very popular with our readers."

A male reporter, Elias Mhegera, also from *TSN*, comments: "Without women, the content is likely to miss out on certain aspects of life, as

male journalists tend to concentrate more on violent, political and scandal-related stories."

Nomile Hlatshwayo adds: "Before I came in, there tended to be a male-dominated approach - your hard-core business jargon. I have tried to simplify the stories so that they are accessible to everyone, and a school child can actually understand it. And we have incorporated more women business people."



Fantastic ideas on social issues: woman journalist at work in Tanzania *Photo: Trevor Davies*

In Mozambique SOICO TV reporter Bordina Muala says: "I believe that by having more women in the newsroom we benefit by gaining more perspectives in our output. The great impact of having women in the newsroom is the plurality of points of view that the media house is able to deliver to its public."

She believes "the presence of women in a newsroom absolutely makes a difference in the way we handle content. More women in the newsroom mean more points of view, more perspectives, more voices, more taste. Diversity in the news is quality in the newsroom. Women perceive things differently from men, and if you can have a newsroom that brings the male and female view then the perspective is positive, and will surely deliver quality products."

Mosetsana Maribe, head of news at *BTV*, says when recruiting new employees they try to balance the candidates by getting almost the same numbers of qualified women and men. Maribe underscored the importance of gender parity by saying this helped create a balance in reporting, as women and men looked at issues differently. The presence of women had encouraged debate on editorial ideas, leading to better output.

Julius Sakala, Radio Phoenix news editor in Zambia believes that: "There are some issues that can be better handled by women, especially in instances where the respondents prefer to deal with a woman. And we cannot run away from this."

Jonathan Ancer, Training Editor at Independent Newspapers, looks at context. He says that the essential first step is to work out who is reading the newspaper and to work out an editorial strategy. In his view women as consumers are glossed over. "

I think it's the type of stories that you choose to tell. And I think human interest stories can sell newspapers. For instance, the Cape Argus - Ellen Pakeza - a woman who lived in Lavender Hills - with an abusive son who was a tick addict and she killed him. The reporter did an amazing job trying to find out who this woman was", Ancer said.



Jonathan Ancer raises the importance of the media targeting women as consuers
Photo: Independent Newspapers

Ancer further explains that several compelling angles emerged. "The story focused on the issues drug abuse, poverty, mothers, gender-based violence... Without making it sensational, telling the realities of women and families - it turned into a very big community story."

Anny Andrianaivonirina is a sports journalist and photographer at *Midi Madagasikara,* and managing editor of *Midi Flash*. Both these newspapers belong to the Midi group. Andrianaivonirina reflects on how the newsrooms at Midi have changed since her arrival in 1995.

She says before 1995 the newsroom consisted mainly of men, but more women have since been accepted. There are now more female journalists than men at *Midi Flash*. The first journalists who volunteered to launch *Midi Flash* were also women.

Andrianaivonirina believes it was important to reach parity in the newsroom to balance the high levels of male chauvinism. In her view the differences in treatment between men and women in everyday life are not acceptable when women and men are doing the same work.



Gender Links Francophone director, Loga Virahsawmy facilitating a *Business Unusual* workshop in Madagascar *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Midi Flash is more focused on feature writing than news, and Andrianaivonirina feels women journalists are better in that type of journalism. She says: "Women are more cheerful. They bring a different touch to the newsroom. They gather news more easily than men and learn more easily how to take pictures."

Andrianaivonirina believes the men in her newsroom consider women their equals. "The men admired our courage to break stereotypes and taboos in our features, in particular on matters regarding sex." She says the best way to sustain parity in the newsroom is to continually perform with a high level of competence.

Gender specific coverage

The GMBS showed that gender as a topic only constitutes 2% of coverage with half of that focusing on gender violence. Brian Ligomeka, senior editor at *The Daily Times*, in Malawi says that there is a correlation between gender specific coverage and the numbers of women journalists and editors in the newsrooms.

"The low representation of women in the newsroom has an impact on editorial content, in the sense that most male reporters, except for a few trained in gender reporting, do not include substantial amounts of news and issues about women in their coverage. The stereotyped and negative coverage about women and issues that affect them is a reflection of the low representation of women."

"The low proportion of women affects content, because the editors and a large number of sub-editors are male, so what they say goes, no matter what your opinion is. Being at a bureau headed by males, stories at the head office are selected without consideration for gender or impact, but for the sales they will generate," said a female reporter at the *Daily Times*."

Teetee Zwane, editor of the Business Desk at the *Swazi Observer* says: "For a long time women's issues have been left out. Men report differently. Compassionate news has been ignored for a long time. We haven't had that human feel to news. We need that female voice to push all that into the media.



Teetee Zwane speaks on the importance of having gender mainstreamed into all coverage *Photo: Bheki Maseko*

"No one has had the passion for issues important to women, and without the media creating awareness of these we will be a long way from gender equality. We have pushed these stories (abuse, HIV/AIDS) and are making people aware. But it's always a female reporter.

"I used to be the focal person on HIV/AIDS, and after me it's another woman. But now we have been able to get these issues mainstreamed into general news. We give them substance, get people reading and sitting up and doing something – action! Not just talking about victims."

Gender in every beat

According to SABC's *Morning Live* executive producer Portia Kobue: "I believe in mainstreaming gender into the whole programme for example looking for a female economist. We feature the "Women of the Year" Awards. And we highlight certain careers where women are not traditionally seen for example female veterinarian surgeon. Whatever male-dominated field - we look for a female.

"We do current affairs and news; during our broadcasts we have interviews; we look for women as well so that we have a fair balance. I also bring women's issues: leadership; opinion etc. We have been focusing on elections and specifically focusing on debating women's issues.

"When we focus on the Sixteen days of activism against gender violence we will bring in men to the show - to demonstrate that men are also sensitive to these issues. We mark the important dates: 8 March (International Women's Day) - we had this one story where a man was running an agency in a village spreading awareness about gender-based violence in Rustenburg.

"And for the elections, one of my junior reporters felt that she didn't know how to work on this issue so I worked with her explaining the history of oppression, patriarchy and she walked away saying "if you don't have a female person in the newsroom that is passionate about these things, women's issues will take a backseat". So it's important to be a "leading light"; it's important to educate, inform about the emancipation of women and to celebrate where they have been successes."



Gender issues in elections

Photo: GCIS

Institutionalising gender in the media

Two observations arise from these findings on the gender composition of newsrooms and its impact on the work of the media. One is the importance of achieving gender balance in newsrooms as a strategy for transforming editorial content, since women are clearly more alive to these issues. The other is the importance of gender awareness training for male journalists so that they can also begin to report more and in greater depth on women's rights.

Dinnar Chahali, the Chief News Editor at *Channel 10* in Tanzania believes her leadership should lead to ensuring that gender balance is institutionalised, so that her accomplishment is not the first and the last.

In recent years Tanzania has been at the forefront in creating space for women through sensitising the public on gender policies and practices. The government has led by example by appointing more women in political and economic leadership, and sending a positive and strong message to public and private sectors.

At *Channel 10*, there has been a deliberate move to employ women journalists whenever employment opportunities arise. Chahali and her team go to colleges to encourage women journalists to apply for jobs in the company. Because of the emergence of many journalism colleges, there are now many women graduates. In fact, the majority of those graduating from journalism schools are women. And when they apply to the media house, Chahali says she ensures that at least one woman is among those employed.

"If there is one industry that has been long dominated by men, then it is the media industry," noted Chahali, "Such a composition makes it difficult for women to penetrate and show their talent. Having more women in the

newsroom is therefore important in showcasing their potential, and proving that they are just as good as, or even better, than their male counterparts."

Things seem to be on track, for now, because there are gender-sensitive women and men in leadership. Still, Chahali knows the reality is "things might change when we leave". So she argues: "Therefore to institutionalise the practice of having equal men and women in the newsroom, we must have a gender policy. This would ensure that equality continues, regardless of who is in authority.

"The other thing I am trying to do is ensure that I and other women journalists leave a good legacy; a legacy of being able to deliver and outshine our male counterparts. Meaning that in future anyone who holds this office will find it difficult not to work with female counterparts, both at management and reporter level."

"To institutionalise current practice, we need a gender policy to ensure the practice of having equal men and women in the newsroom, continues regardless of who is in authority," Chahali said. "Meaning in future, anybody who holds this office will find it difficult not to work with female counterparts both at the management and reporters level."

This chapter shows that although not all women or the same; have the same awareness or commitment to gender issues, women are more likely to be sensitive to the concerns of women in society; to reflect them in media content and to want to build them into media practise. But a majority of women and men also believe that men can be as gender aware and sensitive as women. Indeed, a critical indicator of the extent to which women make a difference in the media is the effect of their presence on the attitudes of men.



Making sure that the views of women stay on the agenda in Tanzania

Photo: Trevor Davies



Mauritian editors at a gender and media seminar

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

New men for a new era
Male champions of gender equality in the media

Albert Ntoni, director of *Top Congo*, one of the DRC media houses that has a higher proportion of women overall, and also women in senior management positions, has worked in the media for 17 years.

The drive towards parity has not just been a coincidence. It derives from the gender-sensitive approach of management at *Top Congo*. Ntoni says the higher numbers of women were achieved through the belief that "we had to give opportunities to everyone".

"So we have 19 women, 21 men and four men technicians. I proposed that management nominate a woman as deputy editor-in-chief. This news has been accepted by nearly everyone, because we consider posts with responsibilities should also go to women. This nomination will be officially announced [next week]. I insist on parity," he says.



Albert Ntoni *Photo: ?????*

Ntoni says he knows that placing women in these positions can be challenging. "My wife works in an enterprise and manages 45 men, all of them older than she. Her nomination was not well accepted by the men. We have considered that. They give her a tough time. So I understand the situation better. My vision is different. Everyone must have a chance. The essential factor is to get results. Whether you are a woman or man, if you are a hard worker, we take you on board."

Gender parity is important for Ntoni because, "Men and women have different ways of seeing things. It is always good to have two versions. If today we are one of the best radio stations, it is because of parity."

Ntoni also believes women media practitioners add value to the work of *Top Congo*. "They are more concise. Men are more artificial. They have a big contribution in radio, especially in areas like health and society. They dig deeper into things. And it is the same if you are in sport. Their work is more concise, more in-depth," he says.

There is no formal gender policy at *Top Congo*, but an implicit one exists to say that everyone is equally considered. Top Congo is also one of the media houses interested in developing a gender policy. In the meantime, Ntoni says, "Men and women are provided with all the resources they need. And when I have a vacancy, all candidates are put to the test on their capacities. I am sure that even if I go away, this spirit will continue."

The previous chapters underscored both the sexist attitudes of some men in the media and the progressive attitude of others. This chapter concerns the "new men for the new era." The chapter moves from the premise that men like Ntoni who have embraced gender equality in their own lives are more likely to recognise the benefits of an enlightened approach in media.



Rob Jamieson, former chair of the Southern African Editor's Forum (SAEF) championed the Media Action Plan on HIV/AIDS and Gender *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Gender equality begins at home

For women in the media, the most significant, if unspoken factor in their success is often the attitude of male partners and husbands in the home. Although they were not interviewed for this study, the comments made by women underscored the importance of gender equality beginning with new men in the home.

When Daniele Babooram, the Manager and Editor in Chief of *La Vie Catho-lique* finds it odd when she receives invitations that says Ms Babooram and Mr Babooram, as her husband's name is Rannoojee. She chose to keep her maiden name because "gender equality in work also means gender equality in the home."

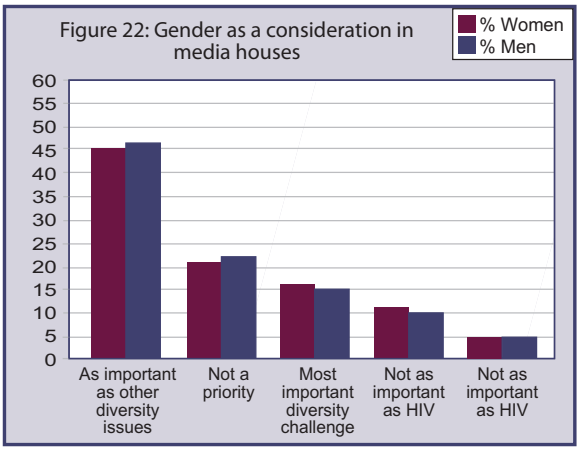
At the time of writing, her husband was home maker since he had just lost his job. He takes the children to tuitions, helps with the cleaning of the house, the washing and the cooking. "He has even organised himself with other mothers to take the children to tuition in turns. He seems very happy as now he is giving his two girls quality life," Babooram said.

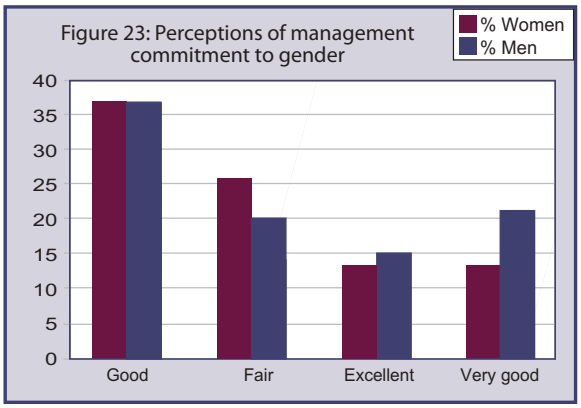


Daniele Babooram *Photo: Loga Virahsawmy*

The extent to which men start to champion gender causes in newsrooms is in turn a measure of the extent to which women's equal representation and participation in the media leads to a "normalising" of relations so that it becomes natural for either to champion human rights and diversity in the work place.

Where men stand on gender equality in newsrooms





Earlier analysis, including on such thorny issues as quotas, shows that there is a close alignment between the views of women and men in the media on most gender issues. For the purposes of this specific analysis on men in the media the alignment of views in **Figures 22** and **23** is especially important. This degree of concurrence is encouraging.

On where gender ranks among other diversity issues men (46% compared to 45% for women) see gender as equally important to other diversity issues. A minority of women and men thought that it was more or less important than other diversity issues, or that it is not as important as HIV and AIDS.

Similarly, over a third of both women and men rated the commitment by management to gender issues as "excellent" or "very good", and another one third as "good." Considering that the majority of managers in the media are men, this is also an encouraging finding.

Gender-awareness from the top-down

In Lesotho Motlasi Majara is the director and founder of *PCFM*. He has been in media for more than 20 years, and says he has always had a deep respect for women's issues, as well as a regard for the interests of young people and other vulnerable groups.

Majara, a trained journalist, presenter and broadcaster, says in the 'olden days' journalists had more diverse skills. This helped them to be broad-thinking, and facilitated news gathering. He founded the corporation in 1999, and has been acting director ever since.

He says there were many more female journalists at the start of the corporation who became enthusiastic, and had a keen interest in social reporting. But now they had diminished in numbers and passion. "They are just using [the media] to while away time until they can enter other professions. The ethics and standards are drastically compromised."



Gender activists in Lesotho plan for the Sixteen Days of Activism *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Majara acknowledges the many constraints on journalism in Lesotho, and on female journalists in particular. Women will not venture into outlying districts, or spend a lot of time in villages with which they are not familiar, because of a lack of security and safety. With the volatile environment, many women are limited to desktop research, and this, he believes, diminishes their ability to write deeper and more investigative stories.

Still, Majara points out, almost three-quarters of the departments are headed by women: programmes, station, and finances. The news department used to be headed by a female (Mrs Falls, as mentioned) but as she had left to study, the department was now headed by a man.

Majara firmly claims his corporation is a gender-aware radio station. He mentions the 16 Days of Activism campaigns of No Violence Against Women, and says these are discussed on radio throughout the year. They have had the wife of the Prime Minister in their studios to discuss the campaigns. He says it is important to debate on the old institutions, and how they silenced women. He urges that "We need modern institutions where women can present themselves freely." The programme *Let's Talk* is one of those that focuses specifically on such issues, and was designated the best programme by MISA-Lesotho.

Majara says women have a significant impact on the newsroom in ways such as:

- Commitment: "The women here give their very best!"
- Training/mentoring: "They instigate in-house training among our older and newer staff, and willingly share their knowledge with junior staff."
- Flexi-time: "They have motivated the need for flexi-time. Also, having women in the newsrooms has allowed their children to come in and watch what their mothers do for a profession – a new generation seeing that women can do the work men do."

Majara believes gender awareness will happen in more media houses if it starts at the top, and as the director he believes it is his duty to ensure gender parity in the newsroom.

Men leading gender transformation in newsrooms

Several examples have been given in earlier chapters of men leading processes in their media houses to increase women's representation and participation. The two in-depth examples that follow are interesting in that in one case a male editor is leading the process from the front, and in another from behind, as the CEO of the media house in question is a woman. The two examples illustrate the different vantage points from which men in media houses can champion gender causes.

***Case study:* Men and change at the Swazi Observer and Malawi Daily News**

The *Swazi Observer* is an example of a newspaper that has shown a commitment to taking gender seriously in its policies and practices.

In August 2008, Dumisani Ghandi, programme manager for MAP at Gender Links, travelled to Swaziland and met the finance manager, marketing manager and the editor of the *Swazi Observer* to discuss the outcomes of the audience research (conducted by Gender Links in 2007), and how they could tap into the audience preferences to increase their share of revenues and readership.

The paper also adopted and launched their HIV/AIDS MAP policy in 2008 on World Aids Day. Article 19.1.2 of their editorial policy states: "Gender, HIV and AIDS: journalists shall be aware of and be able to present the gender dimensions of HIV and AIDS, bearing in mind that women are the most infected and affected gender... Journalists should also be aware of gender-based assumptions and prejudices, and should guard against continual negative stereotyping."



Gender benders in Swaziland *Photo: UNDP*

The *Swazi Observer* has made commendable strides towards gender parity, but there is always room for improvement. The *Swazi Observer* has 42% female representation overall: 43% on the board of directors, 100% in top management (this is the female CEO, SM Magagula) and 25% women in senior management. They are one of the media houses in this study that expressed an interest in implementing a gender policy to increase female representation at all levels of decision-making and overall in the company.

The critical mass of women at this newspaper has had an effect on how business is conducted, and even on how male colleagues understand the importance of gender equality in the media industry.

As one male respondent from the Swazi Observer put it: "My institution is a perfect example of what happens when you have a woman CEO. The tendency to focus on women's issues is almost always at the forefront, and this has changed the way we view women's issues in our newsroom."

This is so much the case that the point person for gender is actually News editor Ackel Zwane has been at the Observer for 17 years. Zwane has been instrumental in having a lot of the policies adopted, as well as being largely responsible for the newsroom's gender-aware environment. "I do not believe a person should

be oppressed just because she is a woman. This is not a job that requires physical skills, so if a person comes with the skill they should be free to use that.



Ackel Zwane on the importance of gender parity in a media house

Photo: Bheki Maseko

"I was inspired by a woman, Jane Goddard (reporter in Rwanda, Burundi). She is an American journalist, and there's nothing she can't do. Seeing her in that position (and also GL Deputy Director Kubi Rama) made me want to increase this type of input in our newsroom." Zwane says women have a profound impact on the way content is handled and read. "I always deal with the circulation manager upstairs - if you put a woman and a child on the front page, look at the sales!

"People want to know about these people. In terms of writing we are able to identify the language we use, and even the sources we use. The sub-editor (a female) will say all your sources are men, yet you are writing a rape story. We really push the story to balance.

"The executive management is very particular. They will say: 'Why are your stories not balanced? For instance, the bread price. We need to get our female MP as a source, because women are the ones who dish out food in the home. She understands the need for bread in a different way'."

Still, Zwane agrees that gender equality will not happen automatically in a media house, and there must be concerted efforts to bring this about: "We try to implement the recommendations of GMBS (the Gender and Media Baseline Study) on how to increase our gender awareness. Our CEO is a woman, so she's very particular on these issues.

"At the entry point for a job we publish the post internally, and then externally. When we shortlist we make sure there is 50/50 representation of males and females. All the policies we developed are being implemented. The most outstanding has been the wellness policy of the Media Action Plan (MAP). You can be terminally ill, but you will get 75% of your salary until you pass away.

"It is also good for the image of the company to avoid discrimination. We are trying to engage the media NGOs to talk about gender equality. Our previous experience with them has been helpful. There is nothing as fulfilling as seeing in practice a theory you learned at some round-table discussion. We would definitely be interested in applying a gender policy here.



The Daily Times is the largest national daily newspaper in Malawi, with a circulation of 14 000[32]. It is a part of Blantyre Newspapers Limited (BNL), established in 1895. BNL has less than 30% representation of women in their media house. The editorial team for three papers consists of eight women out of 35. Of the eight only two are sub-editors, and they have no say on decisions at higher level.

Brian Ligomeka, senior editor at *The Daily Times,* and chairperson of the National Media Institute of Malawi, continues to push for the advancement and participation of women in the media. He states the case for change: "The low representation of women in the newsroom has an impact on editorial content, in the sense that most male reporters, except for a few trained in gender reporting, do not include substantial amounts of news and issues about women in their coverage. The stereo-typed and negative coverage about women and issues that affect them is a reflection of the low representation of women."


Suzgo Khunga, reporter at *The Daily Times*
Photo: Pushpa Jamieson

Suzgo Khunga is a female reporter at *The Daily Times* who struggles in a male-dominated environment. She asserts: "The low proportion of women also affects content, because the editors and a large number of sub-editors are male, so what they say goes, no matter what your opinion is. Being at a bureau headed by males, stories at the head office are selected without consideration for gender or impact, but for the sales they will generate."


Mike Chipalasa, *Daily Times* reporter
Photo: Pushpa Jamieson

Khunga's male colleague Mike Chipalasa agrees: "Fewer women in the newsroom inhibits women from participating more fully in decision-making, because most decision-making positions are held by men." Chipalasa, a journalist for a little more than two years, says he feels dishonest when he talks about women empowerment in his articles, because this is not practised in the newsroom. "I am a hypocrite when I talk about women empowerment, when my own office has low representation."

Ligomeka says strategies have been put in place to increase the number of women by retaining those working for the newsgroup, and luring others to join. He agrees it is important to

[32] 2007. So this is democracy: State of media freedom in Southern Africa 2007, Windhoek: MISA

achieve gender parity in for a number of reasons, the first of which is that such an achievement enables the media house to be a role model on practices they advocate.

Ligomeka believes that instead of being hypocrites by advocating 50-50 when they are not living up to that ideal, media houses should play a pro-active role and set standards themselves, before expecting others in society to achieve such targets. It is encouraging that while the media are not yet there, most media houses are striving hard to achieve gender parity.

Among strategies he listed are:

- Ensuring that among trainee journalists, BNL accommodates 50% females. Once the interns graduate they are considered for permanent placement. Four females working for the group were once interns, and are now employed full-time.

- Fast-tracking female promotion to ensure retention. A number of the female journalists are now senior reporters, while those who were senior reporters are being trained in-house as sub-editors.

- Making it possible for women journalists who would like to follow their spouses to other cities or towns be allowed to do so. This strategy should help to retain female staff.

- Encouraging women journalists to upgrade their qualifications, as in the case with their male counterparts. One female journalist has just completed post-graduate studies in media management at Rhodes University in South Africa, and another is upgrading from a diploma to a degree course at Shareworld Open University. These are future female editors of Blantyre Newspapers Limited publications.

Ligomeka says the inclusion of more women in the newsroom will increase positive coverage on women and their issues. One of the publications, the Malawi News, has a supplement called FeMail headed by a female editor.

"It is encouraging to see that the whole supplement of more than eight pages celebrates the achievements of women in society. The positive portrayal of women in the FeMail supplement is a clear demonstration that, if we have more female journalists in the newsroom, we will have positive news about women – unlike the current situation where women are portrayed as victims and villains, and not as celebrities and achievers."



Malawian women are tired of being portrayed as victims of villians *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

The examples in this chapter go to show that men can and are championing gender equality in the media. In the next chapter we explore a case study of a newspaper that has just undergone a leadership change from a woman to a man. If gender considerations are embedded in the way an in institution works, it should not matter who is at the pinnacle. This is the ideal that the media, like other institutions, should be working towards.



The Mail and Guardian's new editor, Nic Dawe with GL Deputy Director Kubi Rama at a joint session of the Critical Thinking Forum on gender, elections and the media

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

No more Males and Guardians?

Case study of "Africa's best read"

Surprise, elation, and a flicker of doubt was Ferial Haffajee's reaction when publisher Trevor Ncube announced her appointment as editor-in-chief of the *Mail and Guardian*, South Africa's leading weekly. "This was my dream job and not remotely within the realm of potential," she recalled. "The image of an editor is a male. I was thinking a black male would get it."

"Are you sure I can do it?" she asked Ncube, who answered with a robust "yes".

In February 2004, Haffajee, 36, became the first woman of colour to head a leading South African paper, and the third woman editor in the country. At the time, Caroline Southey was the editor of the weekly *Financial Mail*, and Alide Dasnois, of the daily *Business Report* supplement. But these two titles, serious and business oriented, pale when compared to the polemic, campaigning and high-powered *Mail and Guardian*. Up until then, all the editors at the



Ferial Haffajee *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Mail and Guardian had been white male with her immediate predecessor black male.

For five years, Haffajee steered the paper to greater heights before moving on to become editor-in-chief of the weekly *City Press*. In June 2009 a white male, Nic Dawe, took over the helm, with Rapule Thabane (black male) as deputy editor. Had the *Mail and Guardian*, so roundly praised for its enlightened choice of a woman editor, taken a step back in time? Or had it taken a step forward, with enlightened male leadership taking over an institution so gender aware that it does not really matter who is at the helm?

The in-depth case study of the South African *Mail and Guardian* presented in this chapter brings together many of the theories and themes explored in earlier chapters, casting the spotlight on one particular media house that serves as a useful sounding board for several reasons.

First, the *Mail and Guardian,* with its claim to being "Africa's best read" is one of the few newspapers in Southern Africa that has a regional presence. The paper has grown in content and stature since Ncube, a Zimbabwean media entrepreneur, bought the company shortly before Haffajee took over as editor.

Second, a newspaper that has traditionally had a high proportion of women in senior positions and now has had a woman at the helm for five years is fair game for one of the key question in this study: do women make a difference? "I didn't have a template, it evolved," Haffajee said in an interview for this research. Even if the answers are only anecdotal and qualitative at this stage, they are an important component of the growing body of gender and media knowledge and discourse.

Third, the editor in question is one who grew up in the gender and media movement, mentored by women editors who have also been activists most of their lives. How did this rub off, if at all, in her leadership and direction of the paper? Did it make a difference to the proportion of women sources consulted (the question raised in Chapter seven)? Did it make a difference to perspectives and approaches? How did this woman editor view the issue of "spaces for women" as opposed to "women in all spaces" in media content?

Fourth, although the new male editor has just taken over, he is an example of one of the "new men" in the media des-cribed in the last chapter. That makes the *Mail and Guardian* a useful springboard for some of the future questions that are raised in this report that go beyond numbers and start to probe the importance of a gender consciousness, whether held by women or men, as what may ultimately be the most important key to transforming gender relations in and through the media.

As the two editors of this report have worked closely with Haffajee and the *Mail and Guardian* over several years, GL commissioned freelance journalist Mercedes Sayagues to conduct the research and interviews for this section of the report.

Context

A must-read for its political and cultural coverage, the *Mail and Guardian* has set standards in incisive, gutsy and irreverent journalism since it was founded in 1985 (see box).Then, it defied the apartheid regime. After the democratic elections in 1994, the paper persisted in its watchdog role of the new, non-racial government, unearthing corruption and defending press freedom.



When a bunch of unemployed journalists and supporters pooled US$10,000 to start the *Weekly Mail* in 1985, fresh air blew into the South African media landscape. The paper filled a gap that mainstream media could not, being dominated by big white-owned corporations, restricted by tough press laws, and divided across racial lines to the point that dailies had special editions for black and white audiences.

As the first national independent paper, the *Weekly Mail* quickly positioned itself as a vocal critic of apartheid, an insider into the African National Congress (ANC), a human rights defender, a source of quality reporting with colour-blind news selection, and a shaper of South Africa's political and cultural discourse.

Its reporters were on the political frontline throughout the violence of the late 1980s and early 1990s, chronicling the violent unravelling of apartheid, and on the cultural frontline, covering progressive issues difficult to touch under apartheid, such as gay rights, gender, the environment and the emergence of a young, hip, urban life.

With the end of apartheid in 1994, the paper had to adapt to the tricky task of being critical of the first democratically-elected government, keeping its tradition of tough investigative reporting and exposing corruption that undermines democracy.

An email edition that started in 1992 morphed two years later into *The Mail & Guardian Online,* the first internet-based news publications in Africa. It turned into an award-winning, fast-growing, profitable site, one of South Africa's three top web news publishers (www.mg.co.za).

In 1995, The Guardian group in the United Kingdom became the majority shareholder in the *Weekly Mail*, stabilising its precarious finances, and the paper was renamed the *Mail & Guardian*.

In 2002, the *Guardian* reduced its shareholding in the paper to 10% and sold a majority share of 87.5% to Newtrust Company Botswana Limited, owned by Zimbabwean publisher Trevor Ncube. A few months later, Ncube appointed the paper's first black editor, Mondli Mahkanya. In February 2004, he appointed its first woman editor, Ferial Haffajee.

As of May 2009, the weekly's circulation is 52,485, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, translating into over 500,000 readers. The website records 530,535 unique browsers per month and 5,084,116 page impressions per month. Daily, 18,000 subscribers receive the online newsletter, and 15,000 receive the Thought Leader blogs by email.

Readers are black (57%), whites (31%), coloured (10% and Indian (2%). Forty percent of readers fall into the affluent 35–49 year age group, and seventy percent of readers are between LSM 7-10 in the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) index LSM 1-LSM 10, with ten being the most sophisticated consumer. The national average monthly household income is R6, 849; the average *MAIL AND GUARDIAN* reader's household income is R17 057.

Its niche market consists of professionals, academics, diplomats, business people and non-governmental groups interested in a critical approach to politics, arts and current affairs.

Haffajee had a long association with the *Mail and Guardian*, where she started as a trainee reporter in 1991. Between 1994 and 1997 she worked as a radio producer and television reporter at the national broadcaster *SABC,* and as a freelancer for, among others, *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, a global news agency based in Rome that promotes South-North information flows. Then she went back to the *Mail and Guardian* for two years. In 1999 she joined the weekly *Financial Mail* as senior writer, later managing editor. In 2003 she returned to the *Mail and Guardian* as media editor, opinion page editor and associate editor.

When Ncube, who owns two weeklies in Zimbabwe, bought the *Mail and Guardian* in 2002, he wanted to reposition the newspaper "from a left-leaning alternative paper into the mainstream," the Zimbabwean publisher said in an interview. Twenty months after his appointment, Mkhanya told Ncube that he was leaving for the *Sunday Times*, Ncube took a walk around the newsroom.

As he recalls it, Haffajee was working at her terminal. Ncube tapped her on the shoulder and said: "Mondli is leaving; I think you should apply for his position. She was surprised; and hesitant, unsure. She thought her moment had not arrived yet."

Although the paper got massive accolades for appointing a woman who went on to win various awards like the Woman of the Year and Media Woman of the Year award, Ncube said that gender was not a major consideration in the appointment.

"We saw the talent, the skills and the presence. We needed someone sensitive to South Africa as a transforming society, yet critical, aware of inequalities, who understood the issues that colour this society and would create a platform to debate them, and for me, it had to be a person of colour," he said. The accolades as a result of appointing a woman came as surprise and a bonanza: Ncube said he was: "delighted with the response of the market, we felt we were in the right place."

Haffajee studied law to please her mother, but discovered her vocation for journalism at Wits University at a lecture by Anton Harber, one of the founders of the *Mail and Guardian*. Her family background (Asian origin, Muslim) taught her about the politics of exclusion under apartheid; student activism on campus, about the politics of change.

Haffajee's brief was to develop the paper's African identity, to give meaning to its slogan "Africa's Best Read", and to build a new audience, capturing the emerging black middle class, young, urban, and upwardly mobile, and the corporate business readers. To this job, Haffajee brought, besides her varied media experience, her roots in the women's movement, which infused her editorship.

Gender and media in South Africa and at the *Mail and Guardian*

Gender reporting in South Africa operates in a space between rhetoric and reality, between the enabling environment, the pro-equality laws and discourse, and the large number of women achievers, and the reality of the majority of women, threaded with poverty, AIDS and sexual violence.

Forty-four percent of Members of Parliament are women, placing South Africa third in the world's ranking after Rwanda and Sweden. Nearly half of the Cabinet are women. 'We must thank the ANC for its push for women leaders," said Haffajee.

With regard to media content, the *Gender and Media Baseline Study* (2003) found that women constitute 19% of media sources in Southern

Africa, compared to a regional average of 17%. In the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) 2005 this figure had risen to 26% compared to the global average of 26%. Although South Africa is higher than the global average, the views and voices of women (52% of the population) are still grossly under represented.

Within the media, two studies now have confirmed that while South Africa is doing relatively well with regard to women's overall representation in the media, the glass ceilings are still real, especially for black women.

The first of these studies is the 2006 *Glass Ceiling Two Study* commissioned by the South African National Editor's Forum when Haffajee chaired this body. The second is the wider regional study that Haffajee encouraged in her capacity as a board member of both the International Media Women's Foundation (IWMF) and Gender Links.

The SANEF study found that women in South African newsrooms constitute 45% of the total, while the regional Glass Ceilings study, that covered entire media houses, put the figure at 50%. The most recent *Glass Ceilings* study on South Africa found that women remain under represented in boards of directors (38%), top management (25%) and senior management (35%). Women constitute 35% of those in senior management in media houses in South Africa; higher than the regional average of 28% and the *Glass Ceiling Two* finding of 33%.

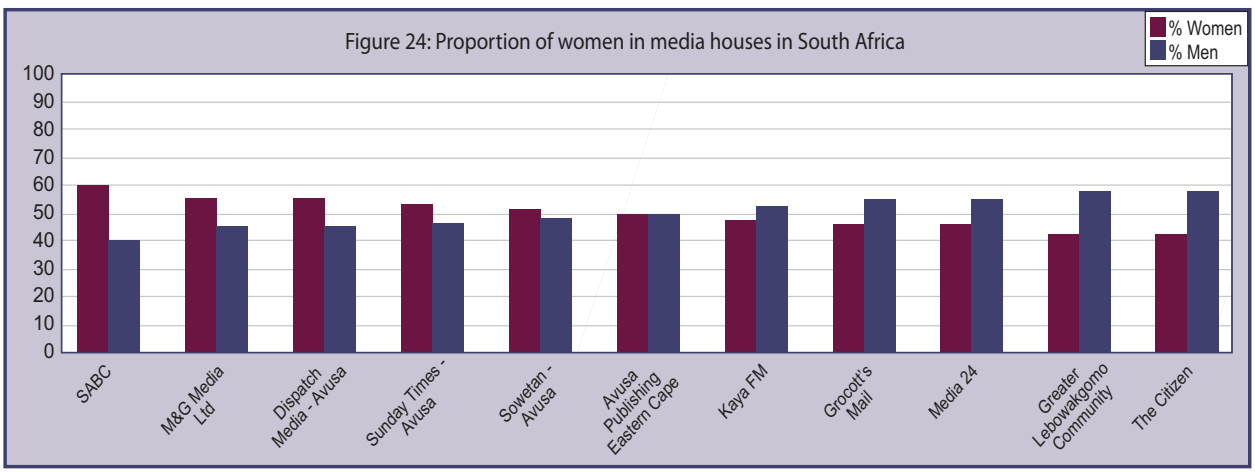
Making a difference?

Did having a woman at the helm at the *Mail and Guardian* make a difference? This question is answered by examining a number of different indicators raised in the report both with regard to institutional make up and norms, as well as editorial direction and perspectives.

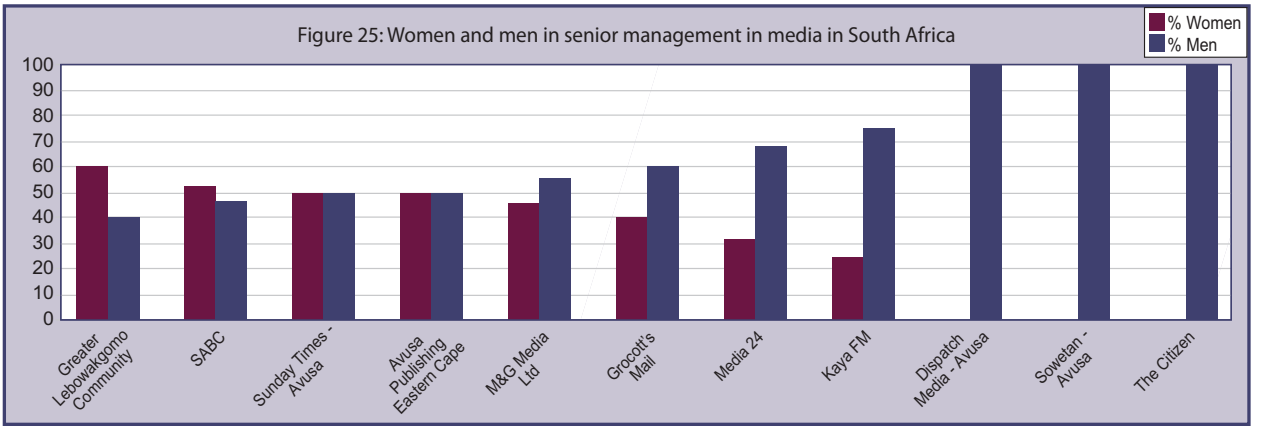
Women at the top and in senior positions

Statistics from the latest South African *Glass Ceiling* report confirm that under Haffajee's stewardship, the Mail and Guardian attained gender parity at the top and in senior management positions. What did not happen, a failing she admits later in this report, was to groom a woman successor. It is also difficult to say to what extent having women in senior positions is a result of having a woman at the helm, since the paper has traditionally had a high level of women in senior positions, albeit not right at the top until she came. What can be affirmed is that during her tenure, the paper achieved gender balance. This is important, as there is a prevailing view that women at the top fail to affirm other women.

Figure 24: Proportion of women in media houses in South Africa



As illustrated in **Figure 24** based on the latest study showing the overall proportion of women in media houses, the *Mail and Guardian* (55%) comes second after the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), at 60%. The lowest is the Citizen at 42%; still considerably higher than in other media houses in the region.



The overall parity between women and men in the media in South Africa belies serious inequities in the decision making positions in South African media. As is evident in **Figure 25** *Dispatch Media-Avusa; Sowetan-Avusa* and *The Citizen* have no women in senior management. Only a quarter of the top management are women. But at 45%, women in senior management in the *Mail and Guardian* again scores high. This figure also shows progression as women in senior management stood at 33% in the 2006 Glass Ceiling study. The managing director for advertising and marketing, the associate editor, the managing editor and the online news editor are women.

Gender and race

Because the latest study was regional, the South African data is not disaggregated by race. But the 2006 study found that while black women constitute 46% of the population, they account for 18% of media practitioners and 6% of media managers.

TABLE NINE: OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS IN THE *MAIL AND GUARDIAN*

	Male		Female		Total	% Female		
	Black	White	Black	White		Overall	Black	White
Top management	0	0	1	1	2	100%	50%	50%
Senior management	1	9	2	3	15	33%	13%	20%
Professionally qualified and experienced specialists and mid-management	0	0	0	1	1	100%	0%	100%
Skilled technical	10	5	6	8	29	48%	21%	28%
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision-making	0	0	0	2	2	100%	0%	100%
Non-permanent	0	5	0	4	9	44%	0%	44%
TOTAL	11	9	9	19	58	**49%**	**16%**	**33%**

Source: Glass Ceilings Two (SANEF and GL 2006)

Table nine provides the 2006 findings for the *Mail and Guardian*. It shows that although women constituted 49% of the media house, white women accounted for 33% of the total and black women only 16% of the total. At that time, women constituted 33% of senior management but 20% of these were white and only 13% black.

In 15 years of journalism, five as training editor at the *Mail and Guardian* (2003-2009), Nicole Johnston has mentored many young journalists. Retaining young African women journalists in the profession is particularly challenging, she noted. "They don't see a career path and lack African woman editors as role models. They realise that an interest in social issues such as health or development journalism will not put them on the fast-track to an editorship," explained Johnston. Male trainees, instead, are "captured" by senior male journalists and drawn into politics and investigative reporting, the stepladder to the top, she said.

Journalism also involves long hours, little company support for balancing work and family, and the pay is not great. "It is not a 9-5 job and, if you have kids, you need a supportive partner, but most women shoulder the childcare burden alone," said Johnston.

The first and second Glass Ceiling study gathered data on average earnings in media houses in South Africa. The figures are arrived at by taking total earnings for women and dividing them by the total number of women and vice versa for men.

Average earnings are not a comparison between what women and men at the same levels earn. Rather they encompass the overall gender gaps in relation to the kinds of occupation of women and men and their location in the hierarchy of any given institution. Average earnings are therefore a good overall indicator of gender gaps in an institution. One of the few news rooms in both *Glass Ceiling* studies in which the average earnings of women and men are almost at par, the *Mail and Guardian* does well on this score.

Management style and newsroom culture

Beyond the numbers, perhaps the most important legacy of a woman editor has been what Dawes calls a shift away from "the broadly accepted, traditional, brusque and brutal newsroom culture", where editors tell reporters their work is rubbish, and reporters are expected to swallow it and go re-write.

"Ferial made it clear that the *Mail and Guardian* is not the boiler room of the Argus building (a major newspaper chain), that we had to change that macho culture. White boys learn that conduct at school and don't mind it too much, women and Africans don't react well to it," said Dawes.

Treating reporters harshly "is actually counter-productive, "says political reporter Mandy Roussow. "Some people don't have the tools to handle that newsroom culture. Some are not used to talking about what hurts."

Before joining the *Mail and Guardian* in 2007, Roussow worked for five years in the Afrikaans-language daily *Beeld,* "always with male editors and male colleagues." At the *Mail and Guardian*, she saw "a lot more hugs and personal talk in the newsroom."

Charlotte Bauer is one of the founders of the *Mail and Guardian* in 1985. Ten years later she moved to the *Sunday Times*, with a stint at the daily *This Day*. In 2008, she returned to the *Mail and Guardian* as associate editor for the series *Voices of Africa* discussed later in this chapter.

Bauer remembers the style of most women in the newsrooms in the 1980s: "Severe, formidable, competent, frightening, unapproachable and one-dimensional." That stereotype is fading away. "There is no need for a woman editor to wear shoulder pads and be mean in the boardroom," said Bauer. She appreciates working with an editor who can say "I like your shoes", before a serious editorial discussion.

On whether women have a different management style, Bauer feels that "there are fewer boundaries between the personal and the professional", and a greater willingness to expose feelings. "Male bosses seldom say 'I'm sorry', it's that male stiff lip reserve," said Bauer. At the same time, she cautioned, women can over-empathise and that can get in the way of work.

Haffajee remarked that, "Although I bought into that stuff about women being nurturing and empathetic, I can be dictatorial and hard-headed, but I try to keep channels open and be democratic."

Open talk

A high point for the newsroom was the open discussion around a sharply divisive issue: in February 2008, the Forum of Black Journalists did not allow white journalists into a press briefing it had organised with the then president-elect Jacob Zuma. South African journalists split in favour and against, broadly, but not exclusively, along racial lines.

With the *Mail and Guardian* bitterly split, Haffajee held a meeting where people spoke their minds and hearts. In that week's editorial, the paper deplored the exclusion, but noted that the newsroom was divided on this issue. "That was effective leadership, we were able to talk about race and how it relates to work," said Roussow.

As a result of the meeting, the weekly diary meeting was opened to everybody, from trainees to photographers, "to change the perception that a small white clique made the editorial decisions," explained Haffajee.



Young women feel affirmed at the *Mail and Guardian* *Photo: Susan Tolmay*

Winning over the investigative team

When asked if she met with any resistance in the newsroom, Haffajee pointed out that the *Mail and Guardian* had a tradition of senior women journalists. In the newsroom, more than resistance to a woman, reporters had doubts about whether she would be, in the words of Dawes (formerly part of the investigative team) "more conciliatory to the ANC (African National Congress), to power."

Stefaans Brummer joined the *Mail and Guardian* in 1994 as a junior reporter in politics and

investigations. He left in 1998 to work at the SABC, later freelanced, and returned in 2001 as part of the *Mail and Guardian's* investigative team. "I was concerned with the prospect of her appointment," said Brummer. "I thought she was young, lacked weight, massive seniority, experience in investigation, and would not be forceful enough."

"The investigative team thought I would yield to outside pressure," Haffajee recalls. "I had to win them over. I participated. I fought alongside them. I found money to fight the court cases," she said.

In late 2004, the *Mail and Guardian* broke the story of a corruption scandal, dubbed 'Oilgate', where US$1.5 million of state oil money had gone to the ANC to finance its electoral campaign. In May 2005, just hours before the *Mail and Guardian* would go to print, the company obtained a court order gagging the paper – like in the old apartheid days.

"I was pleasantly surprised at how she [Haffajee] stood up to defend us. She had balls and teeth. Her mild manner can be quite deceptive, which goes to show that gender stereotypes don't apply." A productive, trusting relationship ensued. "We had lost a bit of drive in the previous years, and we got back our momentum," recalled Brummer.

Another contentious issue, said Dawes, was tighter commercial discipline - less space for stories, more for ads, and some bruised egos until journalists understood "that ad revenue secures the paper's independence."

As for Haffajee's own doubts, a learning curve was sitting with Ncube every Friday to critique the paper, from headlines to content, during the first months. Both identified these sessions as a key tool for support and growth.

Gender and editorial content

Proving her bone fides with those involved in the *Mail and Guardian*'s flagship business, muck raking and investigation, gave Haffajee the room to explore issues like gender and the media that are at the core of her value system.

As a freelance journalist with *Inter Press Service,* a development news agency with strong Latin American roots, Haffajee had the issues of exclusion of voices from the south, and of particular groups like women and women drummed into her. Several times she joined women's media teams on ventures like producing daily newspapers at UN and African conferences to review progress on the advancement of women. She shone out as the reporter who not only empathised with the issues but asked the tough questions, like whether African first ladies are doing a disservice to the women of Africa.

In spite of her hectic schedule, Haffajee found time to speak at events at Gender Links and Inter Press Service, of which she is also Board Member, to chair the South African Editor's Forum in 2006, be a Board member of the World's Editor Forum and to speak to students.

> "I make a conscious effort to give back to the institutions and people, like my mentors Colleen Lowe Morna and Pat Made, who helped me develop and grow as a journalist,"

Women sources

If women sources were the sole criteria by which the contribution of a woman editor to gender balance and sensitivity were to be measured, we might conclude that contrary to the conventional wisdom that having women in decision-making leads to an increase in women's sources this is not so in the case of "Africa's best read."

The *GMBS* took place before Haffajee's tenure and the sequel Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) will take place after she left (2009/2010). However, spot monitoring on various occasions during Haffajee's tenure put women sources at between 22% and 30%.

In July 2004, monitoring of the South African media as part of the Mirror on the Media series found that the Star (40%) scored highest, followed by Kaya FM at 30 percent and the *Mail and Guardian* at 29 percent.

In the latest monitoring, during the national elections in April 2009, the Media Monitoring Africa found that female sources at the Mail ands Guardian at 22%, well below the 40% reached by other newspapers.

Is number counting of sources an accurate measure of gender awareness in the media? In February 2006 Haffajee pondered this point herself in a key note address at the launch of the Global Media Monitoring Project 2005 report in London, also published in the *Mail and Guardian*. Below is an excerpt from the article that also sets out her "editorial mission" on gender and media matters:

Counting sources: does it matter?

Hands up. Who of you read newspapers, listen to the radio, watch television and count the numbers of times women make and report news? Honest now. Of course, we all lose it at times with a particular pungent page 3 girl caption or an obvious story on rape, but that is not what I'm asking about.

If you are not a media and gender activist, chances are that you don't. It's not the way in which media are consumed, which is why the following travesty has been allowed to continue: around the world, women make up only 17% of all news.

On February 16 last year, Margaret Gallagher undertook a daunting task. She agreed to manage a global team who would monitor print news, radio and television bulletins around the world to take the snapshot of women in the media. They counted the number of women in the news, and they counted the number of female reporters, the number of experts (also called taking heads), and analysed subject matter as well as the content of photographs.

The fruit of their work is the Global Media Monitoring Project 2005. Says Gallagher: "It is often said that news provides a mirror on the world. But our study shows that it does not. The world we see in the news is the world in which women are virtually invisible." She continues and notes that, "For every woman who appears in the news, there are five men."

Where women are featured, it is hardly ever in what the authors describe as the "hard" coverage of politics and business, but is weighed far more heavily in celebrity or royalty coverage. Only 4% of all stories analysed dealt with gender inequality, and women reported more often in this topic than men did.

Why does it matter? The media is a vital and extremely influential institution. It should be a reflection of society if it is to do its work well and the imperative to do so is as serious as women's representation in the halls of political power (the executive and legislature) as it is in the judiciary.

Moreover, women readers and consumers are increasingly held up as more and more influential to the future of media, according to the World Association of Newspapers. It is good practice (and good business) to reflect women as equal

readers and viewers. For many this means a women's page, but best practice is to seamlessly integrate women into coverage: as journalists, as sub-editors, as expert voices, in photographs and in columns.

The methodology of the report is sound, but the results are not gospel: measuring news and doing so on only one day cuts out an analysis offeatures and of media that are not daily. The media reflect the society they are part of, so because South Africa has high numbers of visible women leaders across the private, public and non profit sectors, this is reflected in our coverage. The crude separation if journalism into "hard" (good) and "soft" (not so good) is not accurate for a developing region like ours where the coverage of poverty, welfare, education and housing must be elevated if we are to play our roles sufficiently.

Quibbles aside, the report is a useful benchmark for the next five years when the monitoring will be done again. Gallagher and her team advocate lobbying, rather than nagging. "The experience of the past 30 years of gender and media campaign has shown that criticism of media content creates a lack of trust and interest on the part of media professionals."

Ultimately, gender equality in the media must go beyond a numbers count of editorial staff: sustenance of coverage counts and for those of us who got where we are because of affirmative action policies, it does require that we be the change and the empowerment we embody. Not all my sister journalists and editors will agree with this; the *Mail and Guardian* does not always get it right but it is part of my editor's mission.

~ Ferial Haffajee

As a mark of her concern about women sources and a practical contribution to ensuring more women sources are consulted by the media, Haffajee started the Book of South African Women, published yearly by the *Mail and Guardian*, now in its fifth edition. It lists women achievers across public and private sectors, from mining to housing, media, labour, judiciary, banking, health, arts, human rights, engineering and more.



(http://www.mg.co.za/specialreport/sa-women)

Women in all spaces

The women sources number count in the *Mail and Guardian* points to the many challenges that this paper and many others still face. But it does not tell the full story. For example, one of the tasks that Haffajee set herself, and largely succeeded in achieving, was to ensure that women's views and perspectives are taken into account in all sections of the newspaper. In other words, instead of opting for a space for women, she opted for women to be in every space. This is gender mainstreaming at its best; the tougher but ultimately far more sustainable route for increasing women sources and achieving the real objective which is to give women voice in all areas of endeavour.

Haffajee did not create a women's section, because these "tend to deteriorate into empty lifestyle sections," she said. "We wanted a diversity of voices that would reflect our nation and bring them into pages one, two and 11. It took a long time but we did it."

The shift involved seeking out women in male-dominated fields like the economy, politics and science, and not only on the classic events like International Women's Day. A young Muslim explaining why she likes to wear a hijab; black

women in favour or against lobola (bride price); and lesbian adoptive parents featured alongside women economists, scientists and entrepreneurs.

Unlike other weekly newspapers that have a back page featuring blonde and blue-eyed pin ups from Hollywood, the *Mail and Guardian* has a Body Language columns that addresses male and female sexuality with the same opinionated sauciness. Topics like ageing, menstruation, giving blowjobs and wearing sexy underwear surface in the popular column in a way that gives women voice and allows them to celebrate their sexuality rather than be treated as voiceless objects and wall hangings.

Women began cropping up regularly on the front page, and in photos and headlines inside the paper. Rapule Tabane, now deputy editor-in-chief, joined the *Mail and Guardian* as senior political reporter in 2003 and two years later became the political editor. He had worked before at the daily The Star. "I thought of myself as pretty progressive, but when I started looking at our front page, I learned how often we didn't have women there," Tabane said. "Ferial made us think about sections that only reflected men. Once you have this consciousness, you make an effort to look for women sources and photos."



Rapule Tabane *Photo: Gender Links*

Tabane noted "a cascading effect, signs that people got in line with her [Ferial] thinking". For example, the sports section started covering netball and gymnastics, sports popular among women, as well as women's soccer, hockey and rugby.

Sports editor Phatisani Moyo, who joined *Mail and Guardian* in 2008, is clear about his mission: "To diversify coverage beyond rugby and soccer and to include women." He believes that if girls are to go for sports, the media must first improve its coverage of women in sports.

Women everywhere !



On 24-29 April 2009, the front page carried photos of triumphant opposition leader Helen Zille, cheering female supporters of Jacob Zuma, a drawing of a woman announcing a 4-page supplement about black economic empowerment and women, and a drawing of a female customs agent for a feature on drugs in Swaziland.

Inside were two op-eds by women writers on corruption, one by Zuma's spin doctor, who is a woman, and a piece by the female editor of a celebrity magazine explaining why she ran a story about a married sportsman's sexual romps.

New voices

Schooled in the IPS tradition Haffajee also made a conscious effort to diversify writers, especially young black women: as columnists, political commentators and op-ed writers, especially in the on-line blog section *Thought Leaders*.

The voices of black men reflecting on gender issues such as masculinity, relationships, fatherhood, circumcision, tradition, violence, polygamy, dating and waxing, the gym and the bedroom. Gay and lesbian issues had a space, as they always had.

Tolerance and openness are part of the paper's DNA. "The *Mail and Guardian* is the home of metrosexuals and homosexuals, both as journalists and readers," said Haffajee.

Voices of Africa

Voices of Africa is Haffajee's brainchild, embodying a vision of citizen journalism for the 21st century, capturing ordinary voices beyond the conventional news format.

Lending itself both to scouting out writers not usually featured in the mainstream media as well as a wider variety of women writers the popular weekly page is also an example of how Haffajee sought to bring women's views and voices to all spaces of the paper.

Launched in June 2008, this series of features about life in Africa is written by the people who live it, not necessarily journalists. "It's a glimpse over the fence," said Voices editor Charlotte Bauer. "Stories about how we live, not how we die in Africa; how people find life in the middle of adversity and poverty."

Stories that reflect the daily texture of life in urban and rural Africa, the private and the public spheres, the personal and the political – this is something that gender studies have long argued: that ordinary people are as interesting and newsworthy as politicians, that news is more than politics, and that women's voices emerge when the media explores new formats and topics.

The series shows a continent grappling with technological, urban and gender changes - like the Zimbabwean who chronicles his journey as a new father, from his wife's pregnancy to changing diapers.

A fair amount of pieces are written by women. The day Bauer was interviewed for this research, she was editing a piece by a woman ballet teacher in Khartoum, Sudan, and one about the travails of being naturally thin in Africa by a young woman from Ethiopia.

Women have written about shopping and coping with inflation in Nairobi and Addis Ababa, purse-snatchers in Gaborone, jogging in Bujumbura, Kigali's social life, lobola in Botswana, worrying about your child's health in Kenya, the social meaning of shared meals in Zimbabwe, a painful visa application at the Swedish embassy in Addis Ababa. An elderly rural woman from Zimbabwe wrote in Shona and her son translated the piece into English. The range is as vast as life itself.

Dealing with the tough issues: Zuma's rape trial

The hottest national scandal in recent history popped up during Haffajee's first year. The rape trial of former deputy-president (now president) Jacob Zuma, who was charged in December 2005 with raping a family friend, a woman half his age, shook South African media and society to the core.

In a country wracked by twin epidemics of gender-based violence and AIDS, this was the 'Mother of all Rape Trials'. It was an editor's dream - and nightmare, for its many polemic angles:

- Shortcomings of the judicial system and legislation around rape
- Double victimisation of the complainant as her traumatic past sexual history was made public
- Triple victimisation as pro-Zuma supporters threatened her
- Old-fashioned constructs of rape as a crime of lust, instead of power
- Blaming the woman for wearing a short skirt
- Traditional Zulu culture vs. women's rights
- Patriarchal attitudes
- Violent pro-Zuma protests outside the courts, bullying of anti-rape activists, police inaction
- Hate speech against women
- Unethical practice of disclosing her name and photo in the media
- Confusing AIDS messages: Zuma showered after unprotected sex to avoid HIV infection, knowing the woman was HIV-positive
- Unmasking a culture of sexual violence in the ANC
- ANC politics, Mbeki-Zuma confrontation

In May 2006, the judge ruled that sex had been consensual and acquitted Zuma, but admonished him for reckless behaviour. Haffajee was away from the country when the story broke. She found the initial *Mail and Guardian* coverage to be ""patriarchal and pro-Zuma, without considering the hate messages, the stereotypes, and power relations in society." Upon return, she called for a newsroom meeting to discuss the many facets of the rape case.



Tabane said the meeting changed his perceptions: "We had gone for the court angle, guilty or innocent. Ferial made us aware of the behaviour outside the court and the victimisation of the accuser."

The *Mail and Guardian* coverage broadened from the political and the judicial aspects into gender, power, AIDS and sexuality, deep fault lines of South African society. Op-ed pieces analysed these angles. Other stories looked into the treatment that courts accord to rape complainants, the inadequacies of the Sexual Offences Bill, and the multiple and changing narratives of Zulu culture.

The debate on polygamy raged through its print and online editions, with op-eds in favour and against, and reader comments on the web page that often turned vicious – a symptom of how the issue of polygamy cuts across the fabric of South Africa, pitching culture, tradition, race, patriarchy and equality in a combustible mix.

"It was a highly complex balancing act," said Dawes. The details of the case were salacious and tabloid-like; court testimony sounded like a bad sitcom. Reporting had to be at the same time discrete, hard-hitting and fair.

When *The Sunday Independent* and other media disclosed the complainant's name against her will, which is illegal in South Africa, the *Mail and Guardian* reported the disclosure, but refrained from naming her.

The most famous and enduring piece of the rape trial coverage at the *Mail and Guardian* is the showerhead that cartoonist Zapiro attached to Zuma's head. It acquired a plurality of meanings through the years: lust, lies, greed, manipulation, machismo, etc. The showerhead earned Zapiro death threats and lawsuits, but neither he nor the *Mail and Guardian* budged. (As a gesture of good will when Zuma became president, Zapiro detached the shower from his head, but kept it nearby in the cartoon.)[33]

Quality coverage and debates: elections through a gender lens

The gender analysis of media coverage of the April 2009 elections being conducted by the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, GL and Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) at the time of writing this report provides an interesting glimpse into why simplistic quantitative monitoring does not tell the full story of the *Mail and Guardian's* coverage from a gender perspective.

According to MMA data gathered over three months of monitoring, women accounted for 22% of the election sources in the paper over the period, compared to the overall national average of 24%, and well below some papers that scored as high as 40%. Yet the GL/GEMSA report argues that viewed from a gender perspective, *Mail and Guardian* coverage was among the most sophisticated and thought provoking. The paper also nailed its colours to the mast by holding several joint debates with civil society, the Human Rights Commission and Constitution Hill on gender-related election issues, including a self-critical one on media coverage of the elections from a gender perspective. The following are some examples of the paper's coverage and related engagements from the forthcoming GL/GEMSA *Gender Audit of the 2009 South African Elections:*

- Media watchdogs such as the Freedom of Expression Institute have bemoaned the lack of depth and issue coverage in the elections; this also reflects in the coverage of gender issues. For example, much of the media focus



Is the personal political? One of the elections Critical Thinking Forum topics

Photo: M&G

[33] For an analysis of media coverage of this trial, see:
http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/index.php/resources/entry/showering_coverage_on_zuma/
For a feminist perspective: http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/33434

on President-elect Jacob Zuma's polygamous life style centred on who would be the first lady and what it would cost tax payers to have such an extensive first family rather than what this reflects about his views on the Constitution and women's rights. To its credit the *Mail and Guardian* ran an opinion piece by Gender Links on the subject that prompted several on-line responses on whether polygamy can be squared with progressive leadership. The paper ran its own editorial on the issue titled "One Love." It subsequently agreed to partner with GL and SABC International in a spirited public, Africa-wide debate on polygamy and leadership.

- Sexist comments like ANC Youth Leage Julius Malema's offside on women who are raped not asking for taxi money in the morning prompted spirited debate and a well positioned piece in the *Mail and Guardian* (30 January).
- This in turn prompted a debate on whether or not the personal is political, set out in a brilliant article by current editor Nic Dawes, with strong gender underpinnings. Dawes essentially posed the question of the extent to which male politicians who lie or lack integrity in their private lives can be relied upon to be transparent and accountable in public life. The *Mail and Guardian* Critical Thinking Forum partnered with GL, the Human Rights Commission and Constitution Hill in posing this question to a panel of all the political parties, providing the substance for a special supplement on Gender and the Elections by the *Mail and Guardian* (March 20).
- Throughout the period GL ran Gender and Leadership debates that resulted in a checklist of transformative leadership to be circulated shortly.
- While white male commentators and analysts predominated in all media, the report congratulates The *Mail and Guardian* for its frequent use of black female experts and opinion shapers like Nikiwe Bikitsha and Phumla Gobodo-Madikizela who shed refreshing views on the issues (like the Sunday lunch disputes in Bikitsha's home over whether to vote COPE or ANC). The *Mail and Guardian* also consistently consulted "ordinary" women and men in equal numbers for their views on the elections.

When DA leader Helen Zille appointed an all male cabinet in the Western Cape and wrote an opinion piece in the *Mail and Guardian* decrying quotas, Haffajee (in one of her last articles as editor of the paper) wrote back one of her finest rejoinders, published on the same page. She pointed out, among others, that Zille herself had quotas to be grateful for, as it is unlikely that without the ANC's lead the Democratic Alliance would ever have had a woman leader.

Mixed responses by women readers

A result of Haffajee's mix of fiercely independent journalism and strong feminist roots, and perhaps one of the strongest indicators of her impact as a woman editor, is the mixed response she evoked from women readers.

True to the paper's style, Haffajee never shied away from taking on women leaders, arguing that having a high number of women in top political jobs may not translate into women-friendly policies, "unless they have a gender consciousness and a mandate. What is so good about, say, a woman minister of energy who looks after mining corporations, but forgets electricity for poor female-headed households?" she asked.

Reporting of abuses of power and corruption, failing of national institutions for women and of individual women ministers, came with a price. "I've been accused of being patriarchal and a cow-girl, but corruption is such a cancer in South Africa and in Africa, I make no apologies," said Haffajee.



Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile *Photo: Gender Links*

In one instance she found herself squaring off with the then Speaker of Parliament, Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile for taking a private jet to the inauguration of the first African woman president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in Liberia. The then Speaker maintained and provided evidence of poor flight connections between South Africa and West Africa set against the historical significance of the event and the importance of South Africa participating. Haffajee insisted it has been a waste of tax payer's money. Privately she admits that she may have been too dogmatic in her approach; airline connections in Africa are a nightmare! But publicly she stood her ground.

Another touchy area, but perhaps an indicator of the space that being a woman editor with a gender consciousness bought her, concerned sometimes heated debates between different strands of feminism in the *Mail and Guardian*.

Haffajee likes "fun feminism", pieces that combine anger with irony, facts and humour, that are deadly serious but not whining, "things that go up the nose of traditional feminists," she said. For instance, on national cleavage day, instead of criticising the objectification of women's bodies, the *Mail and Guardian* ran humorous stories on bras and bosoms.

Many strands of feminism converge and sometimes clash in the *Mail and Guardian* pages, reflecting a healthy variety of opinions. A more academic Christi van der Westhuizen dissects the problems of the national machinery for women, while an acerbic Khadija Magardie writes columns with the provocative title "Jihad on a G-string" about sexuality under the veil.

In one instance that riled gender activists Magrdie wrote a stinging article on the Sixteen Days of Activism against gender violence, accusing it of being unimaginative and boring. Alleging that Magardie had completely missed the point of the annual campaign that runs from 25 November to 10 December, and in an illustration of the power of the Internet, feminists from various countries wrote a response coordinated by GL that the *Mail and Guardian* published.

Haffajee concedes that the space between various strands of feminism is "difficult to navigate. The feminist lobby can get angry and accuse our coverage of being flippant, not serious, trivialising issues."

Reflecting on this and other experiences with coverage in the paper GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna noted: "Ferial and I do not always agree on issues. But what I like is her professionalism. There is a progressive space under her that is open to everyone. Rejoinders are published. Debate is healthy. My family tease me about my Friday evening ritual of stopping by my local garage to buy the *Mail and Guardian*. I feel an ownership of this paper that I do not experience with any other."

Growing the woman readership base
Perhaps one of the most telling indicators of Haffajee's stewardship is the extent to which she not only grew the circulation of the paper by 25 percent in the last five years, but also its woman readership. According to marketing manager Anastacia Martin in the same period, female readership rose from 33 per cent to 40 percent, while readers with tertiary education doubled, from 121,000 in 2003 to 245,000 in 2008.

To put these figures in context, the 2005 Gender and Media Audience study conducted by GL and GEMSA showed that more South African men (21%) than women (15%) rely on newspapers as their main source of news. Across the globe, the gender gap in newspaper readership is pronounced. For the *Mail and Guardian* to have grown its female readership under a woman editor, and to be edging towards gender parity, is a major feather in Haffajee's cap.

Looking to the future

At a *Mail and Guardian* party several years ago, stand up comedian Pieter Dirk Uys joked about the Males and Guardians who ran the paper. Haffajee challenged that image of the paper by breaking the glass Ceiling and bringing with her changes in management style that in turn transformed newsroom culture, editorial perspectives and circulation figures. But will that legacy continue? In this final section we explore the issue of a gender policy; succession planning and the man who worked under Haffajee that now takes over stewardship of the paper.

Shying away from a gender policy
In its work on gender policies in newsrooms, GL has consistently argued that gender perspectives and awareness should never be left to individuals who come and go. They need to be cemented in policy and practise.

Gender Links got a verbal buy-in from the then editor of the paper, Ferial Haffajee to help the *Mail and Guardian* develop a gender policy for the paper. Subsequently, in April 2008, GL was contacted by General Manager Human Resources Mendo Molefe Letlape. GL's Media Action Plan manager set up a meeting with him and three members of staff who constituted the Gender Committee.

The MAP manager then prepared a questionnaire to conduct an attitude survey at the *Mail and Guardian* as part of the situation analysis at the media house. Subsequent efforts to contact the *Mail and Guardian* to set up a date for the workshop and to collect the questionnaires to finalise the situation analysis report proved fruitless. The MAP manager then decided rather to wait and hear from them as to when they would be ready. At the time of writing, there had still been no response.

Asked why she had not given this initiative the necessary drive, Haffajee explained that South African laws governing gender equality and black economic empowerment are clear, and that the *Mail and Guardian* respects and follows these. "We should not over-bureaucratise the institutions where we work," said Haffajee. She did not reflect on the fact that these laws do not cover editorial content nor do they necessarily ensure female leadership going forward.

Succession planning
When the paper's owner announced with regret Haffajee's decision to take on a new challenge by moving to *City Press* in April 2009, he also announced that she would be succeeded by two men - Nic Dawes as editor-in-chief and Rapule Tabane as deputy editor. Dawes, a political and investigative journalist, has been

with the *Mail and Guardian* since 2004, based in Cape Town.

Ncube said that the succession was done under Haffajee's guidance, from the existing pool. "There should have been a cohort of women as successors," Haffajee admitted. "I tried to put women in line, but it didn't work out."

New man for the new era?

interesting question for the future, and an important test of the effect of having women in decision-making. As raised in the conceptual framework in Chapter two, one of the measures of having a "critical mass" of women in decision-making is the extent to which men are equally able to take up gender concerns.

Dawes, who is recommended by Haffajee not just as one of the finest journalists she has ever encountered, but also "a fine cook" is steeped in feminist theories, having studied English literature under professor Dorothy Driver, a pioneering thinker on the intersection between gender and colonialism. Dawes later worked with Driver in the now defunct Southern Africa Review of Books, an experience that "vastly enriched and complicated my thinking about gender, language, epistemology and the law."

To Dawes' surprise, sometimes he would choose a politically correct expression and Haffajee would go for a bolder one. For a story about a rift between two top women executives at the parastatal company Transnet, the headline writer came up with *'Clash of the Amazons'.* Dawes felt the headline brought their gender into play when the story was about two executives. Haffajee thought it had punch; it stayed.

In the Critical Thinking Debate on *Gender, Media and the Elections* televised by SABC during the transition period from Haffajee to Dawes, she insisted he sit on the panel on behalf of the newspaper and answer questions by gender and media activists about the paper's coverage of the elections.



Doreen Gaura challenges Dawes at the Critical Thinking Forum *Photo: Gender Links*

When Doreen Gaura, a young activist accused him of ducking the issue on the low proportion of women sources by giving a long explanation about how the *Mail and Guardian* tries to ensure women sources in all its pages, he gave a graceful response, admitting that the paper has still not achieved the balance and sensitivity that it would like in all areas of coverage.

Looking to the future, Dawes says that the gender gaps still apparent in the *Mail and Guardian* are on his 'to do' list: "There are many women, both in our own newsroom and at other newspapers, who have immense potential, and the ones that don't work here, I hope to hire someday. The pipeline, as drug manufacturers say, is primed."



First Gender and media awards 2004

Photo: Trevor Davies

Conclusions and recommendations

The *Glass Ceilings in Southern African Media Houses* study shows that while in countries like Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa, women are in media houses in larger proportions, overall across the region, there are fewer women in media houses and particularly in governance structures like boards of directors, and top management and senior management levels.

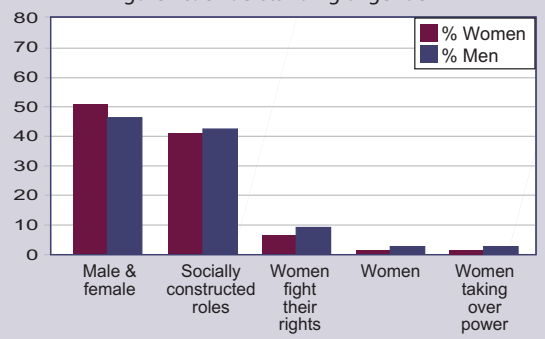
The "glass ceiling" is created by the "old boys' networks"; no policies to advance women; and the fact that men are taken more seriously. Men are usually encouraged to take up senior positions in a way that women are not.

A woman faces glass ceilings in all the media departments; and, although women are splintering some cracks in news beats in a few countries, the gender division of labour is still alive in media houses throughout Southern Africa.



Promoting diversity: Uruguyan journalist, Mercedes Sayagues, reporting from Ethopia *Photo:ECA*

Figure 26: Understanding of gender



A key finding of the study, reflected in various ways in the report, is the lack of understanding of what gender means among media managers and practitioners. **Figure 26** shows tha when asked what gender means, 51% of the women respondents and 46% of the male respondents said it means "male and female". Less than half of both the women and men the sample chose the correct definition: "socially constructed roles.

Figure 27: Women's top three policies and practices to promote gender balance in Southern Africa media houses

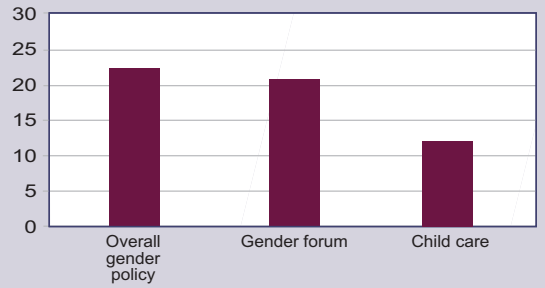
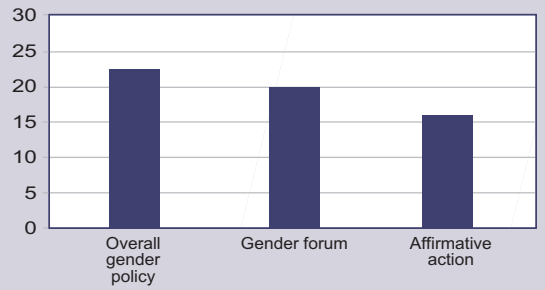


Figure 28: Men's top three policies and practices to promote gender balance in Southern Africa media houses



Figures 27 and 28, reflecting the top three choices of women and men in response to the question of what needs to be done, shows that the majority of both women and men believe that having an overall gender policy is the top priority. This is followed by creating a gender forum. Interestingly, the third choice for men is affirmative action, while that for women is child care.

One of the key findings of this study is that there is high level of commitment to gender equality in media houses. However, there are no comprehensive and systematic policies and practices to address the gender gap. Only 16% of the 126 media houses surveyed in the region said they had policies; the majority either wanted a gender policy or a better gender policy. The study cites several examples of media houses in the region that are taking deliberate policy measures to address gender gaps. The in-depth case study of the Mail and Guardian suggests that while both women and men leaders can be imbued with a gender consciousness and take up gender concerns, this should not be left up to individuals but rather embedded in institutional policy and practise.

Key strategies for follow up will include:

- Awareness raising and publicity through the launch of the findings of this research and workshops to discuss the findings and forge strategies at regional and national level.
- Supporting the 68% of media houses that expressed interest in developing or improving existing gender policies as a way of addressing gender inequalities in their media houses. This will be done in tandem with the advocacy work around the global Glass Ceiling Study as well as the 2009/2010 Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) on media content. The studies will enable advocacy groups to share with media houses data on gender in their institutional make up and media content.

- Ensuring that there are functioning sexual harassment policies in all media houses.
- Developing strategies that will ensure that the policies are implemented including the development of monitoring tools for ensuring effective implementation (monitoring and evaluation; self monitoring; career pathing, etc.) to ensure the goal of gender parity and sensitivity in newsrooms is achieved.
- Networking with editors forums, media unions and media development NGOs for advocacy and lobbying around the SADC Gender Protocol target.
- Training and development programmes to build the capacity to manage mainstreaming gender at the work place and in editorial content.
- Facilitating leadership training for women in media houses.
- The bi-annual Gender and Media Summit where awards will be made and best practices shared.
- Carrying out another region-wide survey of the position of women and men in Southern Africa media houses in five years, as a way of gauging progress in achieving gender parity in media houses in Southern Africa.



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Media provisions in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development



Ensure gender is mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies, programmes, laws and training in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport.

Encourage the media and media-related bodies to mainstream gender in their codes of conduct, policies and procedures, and adopt and implement gender aware ethical principles, codes of practice and policies in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport.

Take measures to promote the equal representation women in the ownership of, and decision making structures of the media accordance with Article 12.1 that provides for equal representation of women in decision making positions by 2015.

Take measures to discourage the media from:

- Promoting pornography and violence against all persons, especially women and children;
- Depicting women as helpless victims of violence and abuse;
- Degrading or exploiting women, especially in the area of entertainment and advertising, and undermining their role and position in society; and
- Reinforcing gender oppression and stereotypes.

Encourage the media to give equal voice to women and men in all areas of coverage, including increasing the number of programmes for, by and about women on gender specific topics and that challenge gender stereotypes.

Take appropriate measures to encourage the media to play a constructive role in the eradication of gender based violence by adopting guidelines which ensure gender sensitive coverage.



"The next frontier is women's ownership of media. It is already happening in West Africa where markets are smaller and less monopolised. If you own it, you can really make an impact."

~ Ferial Haffajee, first woman editor of the Mail and Guardian newspaper; Editor-in-chief of City Press and Board Member of Gender Links.

gender links

GEMSA
Gender and Media Southern Africa

Gender and Media Diversity Centre

OSISA
Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

MDG3*Fund*
of the
Netherlands Government