Glass Ceilings

Women and men in Southern African media

SOUTH AFRICA



gender links

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Gender and Media Southern Africa

Gender and Media Diversity Centre

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Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

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

GLASS CEILINGS: WOMEN AND MEN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA
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SUMMARY OF KEY QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA HOUSES				
CATEGORY	% SOUTH AFRICA		% REGION	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Percentage of employees by sex	50	50	41	59
OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS				
Non-permanent	56	44	36	64
Unskilled	23	77	29	71
Semi-skilled	55	45	55	45
Skilled technical	51	49	45	55
Professionally qualified	42	58	31	69
Board of directors	38	62	28	72
Senior management	35	65	28	72
Top management	25	75	23	77
CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT				
Part-time	61	39	23	77
Full-time, fixed term contract	55	45	37	63
Freelance	54	46	43	57
Full-time open-ended contract	49	51	42	58
DEPARTMENTS				
Percentage of women and men in:				
Human resources	74	26	44	56
Advertising/Marketing	61	39	57	43
Finance & administration	59	41	54	46
Editorial	52	48	42	58
Design	40	60	31	69
Production	34	66	30	70
Printing & distribution	33	67	24	76
Technical/IT	23	77	16	84
BEATS				
Top beats covered by women				
Education	100	0	54	46
Gender violence	100	0	71	29
Health	100	0	59	41
HIV and AIDS	100	0	53	47
Human rights	100	0	42	58
Lifestyle	100	0	55	45
Media	100	0	42	58
Youth	100	0	52	48
Top beats covered by men				
Science & technology	0	100	39	61
Investigative/In-depth stories	0	100	20	80
Disaster/War/Conflict	0	100	35	65
Agriculture	0	100	41	59
POLICIES	**South Africa**		**Region**	
Existence of a gender policy	9		16	
Existence of a sexual harassment policy	82		28	
Need for or improving existing gender policy	64		68	

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This audit of women and men in South Africa media houses is part of the *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in Southern African Media* conducted by Gender Links (GL). This study follows two previous studies initiated by the South African National Editor's Forum (SANEF). The Glass Ceiling study was conducted in two phases. Phase one of the *Glass Ceiling* report, launched in August 2006, investigated:

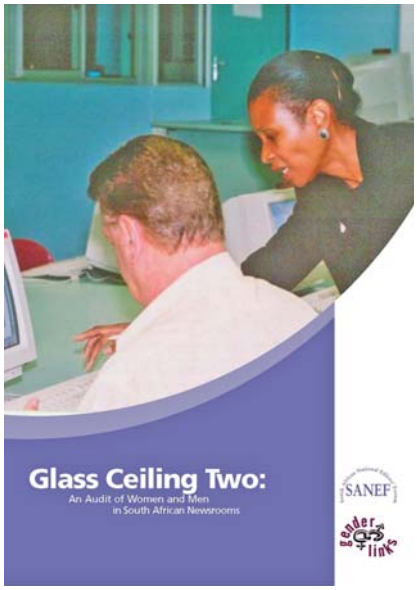
- What are the realities facing women journalists, specifically senior women journalists in South African newsrooms?
- What do they identify as obstacles, and which strategies can be implemented to redress the situation?

In total 40 respondents, 25 women and 15 men, completed the mostly quantitative questionnaire. Some of the key findings in the *Glass Ceiling One* report included:

- Several references to an "old boys' club" operating within the media.
- Discriminatory practices, structural inequalities, cultural biases, prejudices, patriarchy and sexism are still prevalent in newsrooms. These form major obstacles to women realising their full potential.

The second phase of the project, *Glass Ceiling Two,* a partnership between SANEF and GL, gathered quantitative data to complement the qualitative data gathered in phase one. Nine media completed the quantitative questionnaire. The study established:

- The overall proportion of women and men in South African newsrooms.
- Conditions of employment.
- Comparative information on the average earnings of women and men in newsrooms.
- The gender division of labour in newsrooms.
- The gender division of labour in news beats.
- Policies in place for bridging gender gaps such as recruitment, career pathing and work place policies.



This study is different from the *Glass Ceiling One and Two* in that it focuses on the **media houses** not **newsrooms**. South Africa is part of a regional study *Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in the Southern African media*.

The regional and country findings will be used in a global study being carried out by the International Media Women's Foundation (IMWF) through the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC), 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 has also facilitated partnerships around the fourth Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), and second Southern African Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) that will take place in 2009/2010.

The study took place in the context of the August 2008 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development that urges the media and all decision-making bodies in the region to achieve gender parity 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.

In South Africa, the study is based on research carried out with 11 media with a total of 11750 employees. Researchers conducted in-depth case studies of two media houses and interviewed four journalists/senior managers/editors for their perspectives on the results. A further 24 senior staff responded to perception questionnaires.

In total, 126 media houses (approximately half of all media houses[1]) in 14[2] of the 15 countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) representing 23 678 employees participated in the research. Some 463 respondents filled in the perception questionnaires. Relevant regional comparisons are made throughout the report. This report should be read in tandem with the regional report: *"Glass Ceilings: Women and Men in the Southern African Media."*

Sikhonzile Ndlovu (GL Media Literacy Co-ordinator) and Rochelle Davidson Mhonde (GL Senior Researcher) conducted the research. GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna and Deputy Director Kubi Rama edited the final report.

Key findings of the study include:



Community radio journalists at the GL Gender, media and elections training in Cape Town in February 2009
Photo: Lowani Mtonga

- ***Gender parity in South African media houses:*** In the Southern African region Lesotho has the highest number of female media employees (73%) followed by South Africa with 50%. The proportion of women in media houses in South Africa is considerably higher than the 41% women in Southern African media houses overall. The findings of the *Glass Ceiling Two* study indicate that there are 45% women in South African newsrooms. As this study is broader than newsrooms it is not possible to say if gender parity has been achieved in newsrooms since *Glass Ceiling Two*.

- ***High proportion of women in the South African media generally:*** Six of the eleven media houses in the sample have more than 50% women. The other five have between 42% and 49% women. The proportion of women in the South African media is between 42%-60%. This is the smallest differential between the highest and lowest proportion of women in media in the region.

- ***But, these figures are not mirrored at decision-making:*** Women remain under represented on boards of directors (38%), top management (25%) and senior management (35%). This is in line with both the regional findings and the *Glass Ceiling Two* findings for newsrooms.

- ***Women constitute just over one third of the boards of directors:*** Women constitute 38% of those on boards of directors in media houses in South Africa, compared to 28% in the regional study.

- ***But they barely feature in top management:*** Women occupy a quarter of top management posts in media houses in South Africa; slightly more than the regional average of 23% women in top management and slightly less than the 27% of women in top management in newsrooms in the *Glass Ceiling Two*.

- ***There are low levels of women in senior management positions:*** 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%. The findings for women in senior management point to the "glass ceiling" that women experience in the media and the challenges they face in breaking into management.

- ***High proportions of women in the South African media are employed part time or on a non permanent basis:*** Women (61%) are more likely than men (39%) to be employed in part time positions. Women constitute 56% of those employed on a non permanent basis. The regional average for women in part time positions is 23% and 36% for non-permanent employment. This reflects a much higher level of job insecurity for women in the South African media.



Ferial Haffajee, Editor *City Press*, one of the few women to break the glass ceiling
Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

[1] 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.
[2] The Angolan researcher failed to deliver results on time.

- ***There are substantially more women in the support departments:*** Women in the South African media predominate in human resources (74%); advertising/marketing (61%) and finance and administration (59%). These areas are considered to be "women's work". In the region women dominate in finance and administration (54%) and in advertising and marketing (57%). The Glass Ceiling Two study found that women constitute 69% of those in the administration category.



Developing a gender policy at Kaya FM
Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

- ***More women in editorial departments than in the region:*** In South Africa 52% of those in the editorial departments in media houses are women; this is higher than the regional average of 42%. The South Africa findings are similar to the *Glass Ceiling Two* where there were roughly equal numbers of women and men in editorial.

- ***The gender division of labour in certain beats are extreme:*** Based on the data collected, education; gender violence, health, HIV and AIDS, human rights, lifestyle, media and youth are the sole preserve of women while science and technology, investigative/in depth reporting, disaster/war/conflict and agriculture are the sole preserve of men.

- I***nteresting gender benders in some beats:*** In a finding that defies regional trends, economics/business/finance reporting is dominated by women (83%). The difference in the proportion of women (40%) and men (60%) in sports reporting is not as wide as in the region (24% for women and 76% for men). In the *Glass Ceiling Two* report men dominated economics and crime while women dominated the entertainment beat.

- ***Gender balance in surprising beats:*** There is gender balance in the coverage of crime; entertainment/arts/culture and gender equality.

- ***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 all areas and at all levels of media work in line with the SADC 2015 parity target.

- ***Fast tracking women is not a priority in South African media houses:*** In a finding similar to the region, only 18% of media houses in South Africa have strategies in place to fast track women within the organisation.

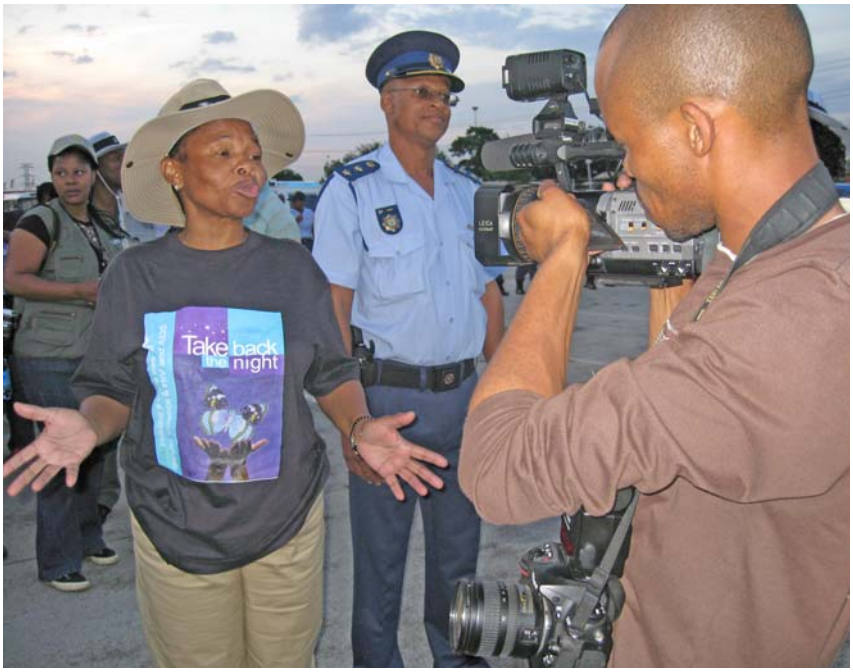
- ***There is not enough effort to target women candidates:*** Of the sample only 18% of the media houses stated that they have a database of women candidates and 36% target women specifically. In the regional sample a much higher proportion of media houses (40%) have a database of women candidates and a 57% of media houses in the region target women specifically for jobs.

- ***More commitment to maternity than paternity leave:*** In the South Africa sample, 91% of the media houses offer maternity leave; this is higher than the regional average of 81%. Only 64% of South African media houses have paternity leave, higher than the regional average of 33%.

- ***Child care is not a priority but flexi time is high on the agenda in South African media houses:*** A very small proportion (9%) the media in the sample offered child care, compared to 17% in the regional sample. But 82% of media houses in South Africa (and 75% of media houses in the region) said they offered flexi-time.

- ***Very few South African media houses have gender policies:*** Only 9% of the media houses in South Africa stated that they have gender policies although 82% have sexual harassment policies. Some 64% of media houses showed interest in developing or improving an existing gender policy. Only 16% of media houses in the region said they had gender policies while 28% said they had sexual harassment policies.

SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA CONTEXT



Under the spotlight: Minister of Mines, Susan Shabangu *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

The South African media is one of the largest in the region. It has a well established public broadcaster, the *South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)*. The institution is currently experiencing a financial and leadership crisis. There are concerns about how the SABC will restructure and reposition itself within the South African media.

Within the print media sector there are a few media houses that control many titles. The concentration of ownership within the print media sector is cause for concern. Stories are syndicated within a group creating generic stories as opposed to stories relevant to a particular context. This also limits the diversity of views available to the public. South Africa has community radio, newspapers and television stations. The availability of these media provide alternative voices within the media.

The global economic crisis has taken a massive toll on the media industry. Several entities have had retrenchments and this will ultimately affect the quality of the products coming out of the media. Also in times of crisis gender becomes a "nice to do" not "a have to do".

This research supports the need to have a systematic, ongoing and comprehensive gender plan that addresses all the different operations in the media. In the absence of such a plan there will be low proportions of women in decision making, gender insensitive work environments, gender imbalance in content and a lack of focus on the women consumer, a very important niche market.

Gender and media in South Africa

The Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) of 2003 found that women constituted 19% of news sources in South Africa. In the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) conducted two years later, this had risen to 26%.

Women's voices were virtually absent in certain occupational categories including sports, economics, politics, disaster/war/protest and crime. They predominate as victims of violence, media and entertainment and on the topic of children. The GMBS also found that women constitute 29% of print journalists. While the GMBS research focused on the representation and portrayal of gender in the editorial content in the media, the current research seeks to probe the gendered dimensions of the institutional composition and practices of the media and how this impacts on media output.

The work on gender and institutional transformation builds on ongoing collaboration to develop HIV and AIDS newsroom policies. Since March 2005, GL has worked with Grocotts Mail and Kaya FM in developing gender aware HIV and AIDS policies as part of the Media Action Plan on HIV and AIDS and Gender led by the

Southern African Editor's Forum (SAEF). In the second half of 2009 GL will be working the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) to develop gender and HIV and AIDS policies for community radio stationsacross South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

With over 50 media houses, South Africa is ranked as "high density" media country. Table one shows that the sample of eleven media houses with a total of 11750 employees including state/public media; broadcast and print media, private/commercial and community media.

Table one: Media houses that completed the questionnaires in South Africa

Media House	Type	Classification	Number of Employees		
			Women	Men	Total
Avusa Publishing Eastern Cape	Print	Private	132	88	220
Mail and Guardian Media Ltd	Print	Private	73	59	132
Greater Lebowakgomo Community Radio	Print	Community	18	15	33
Sunday Times - Avusa	Print	Private	135	124	259
Media 24	Print	Private	3199	3014	6213
Kaya FM	Print	Private	65	65	130
Sowetan - Avusa	Print	Private	98	106	204
SABC	Print	Private	1945	2241	4186
The Citizen	Print	Private	71	82	153
Dispatch Media - Avusa	Print	Private	83	113	196
Grocott's Mail	Print	Community	10	14	24
Total			**5829**	**5921**	**11750**

Human resources managers or payroll administrators provided most of the data while those who responded to perception questionnaires did so in interviews. The data for *Glass Ceilings: Women and men in Southern Africa media* was collected between July-August 2008. The research team gathered and compiled all of the questionnaire findings using Ms-Excel spreadsheets to generate graphs and tables.

FINDINGS

Women and men equally represented in the South African media

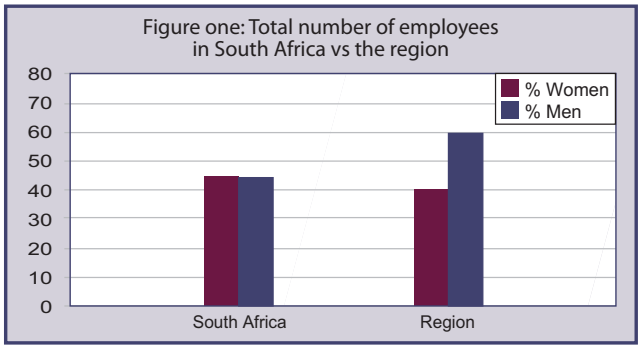
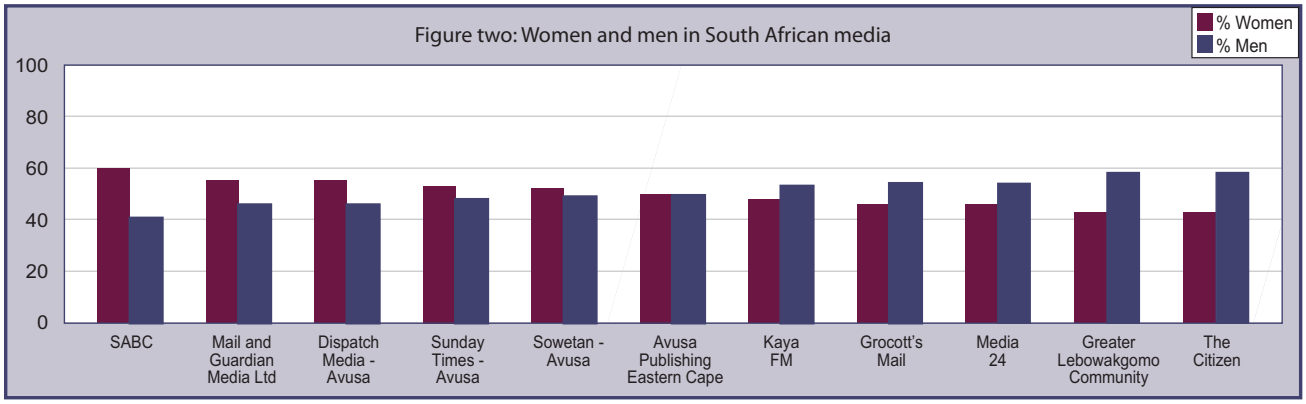


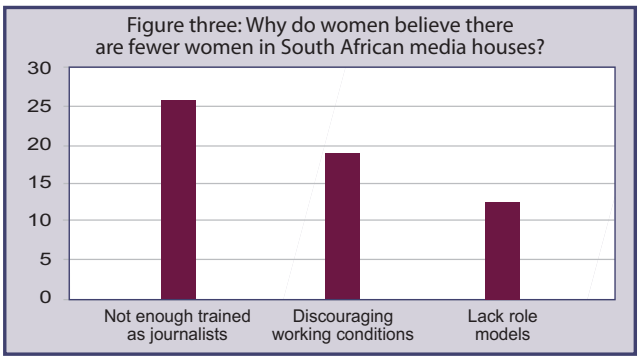
Figure one shows that there are equal proportions of women and men in South African media houses compared to 41% and 59% respectively in the region. Six of the eleven media houses have achieved or exceeded the 50% SADC target for gender parity by 2015. Others are not far behind with the lowest proportion of women at 42%. As this study compared South Africa to the region, the figures were not disaggregated according to race. *Glass Ceiling Two* found that women constituted 42% of the population but only 18% of media houses.

Variations by media house

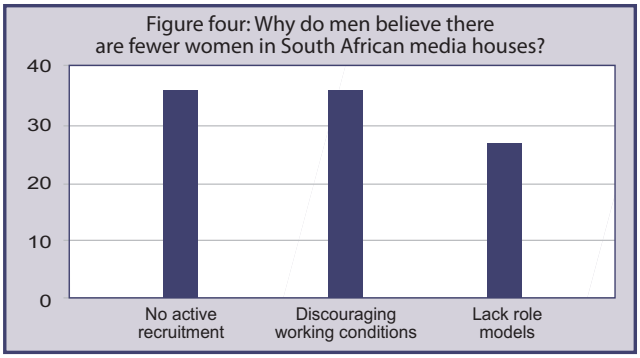


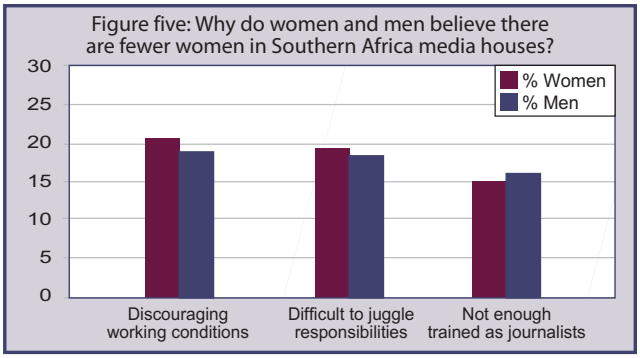
As illustrated in Figure two, the *South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)*, the public broadcaster, has 60% women followed by the *Mail and Guardian* (55%), *Dispatch Media-Avusa* (52%) and *Sowetan-Avusa* (51%). *Avusa Publishing Eastern Cape* has equal representation of women and men. The five additional media in the sample have between 42 and 49%. Based on the current statistics it is very likely the media in this sample that have not achieved gender parity in overall numbers will do so by 2015.

Why are there fewer women in South African media houses?



The top three reasons why women and men believe there are fewer women in some media in South Africa are shown in the figures three and four. Most women (26%) cited "not enough training" as the main reason for fewer women in media houses while most men (36%) said discouraging environments resulted in fewer women being present in media houses. Both women (13%) and men (27%%) believed that women do not have sufficient role models to encourage them to join media houses.





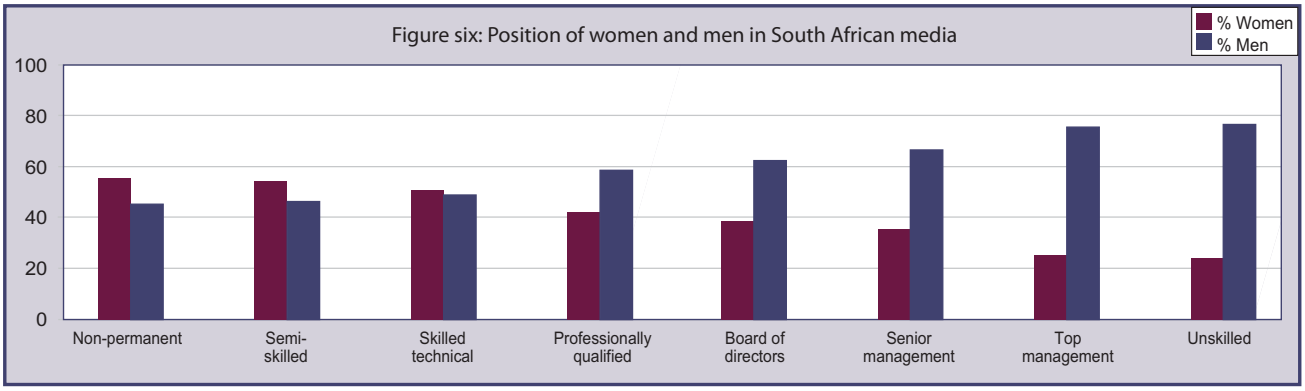
The regional finding differed from the South African findings in that the majority of women and men cited *"difficulty in juggling responsibilities"* as one the key reasons for fewer women in media houses. It is interesting to note that 26% women in South Africa and 17% in the region suggested that insufficient training might also account for the low representation of women in media houses.

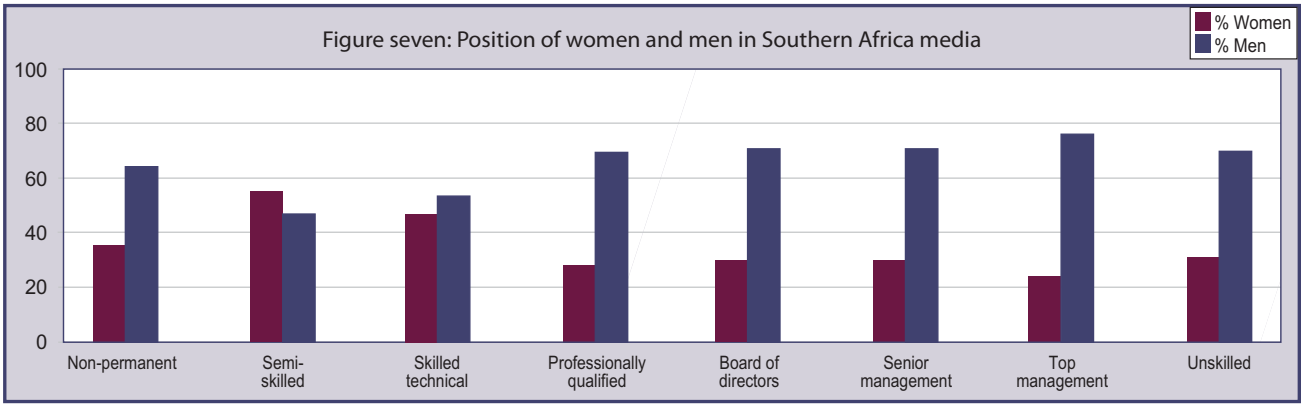
Women are under-represented in the top echelons

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

Table two: Occupational levels and examples of positions	
Occupational levels[3]	**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

Figures six and seven illustrate where women are within the media hierarchy. The two graphs show that in general, women are poorly represented at the top echelons but have higher representation in the lower positions.





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

Women constitute a quarter of the top management in South Africa; slightly higher than the regional average of 23%.The figure is similar to *Glass Ceiling Two* which also found that black women constituted only 6% of top management.

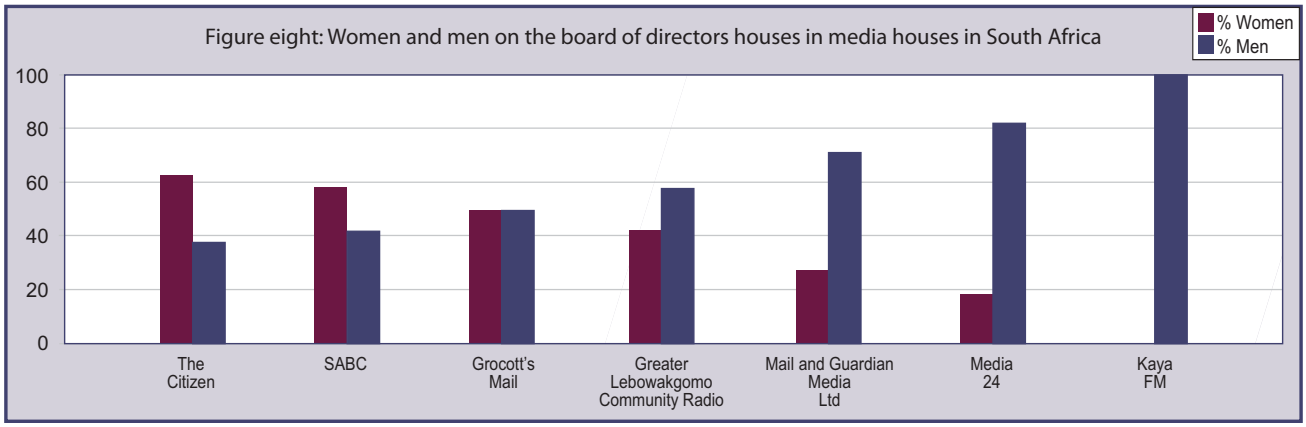
In South Africa women constitute 38% of Boards of Directors which is higher than the regional average of 28%. But there are only 35% women in senior management in South Africa. This is higher than the regional average of 28% for women.

South Africa media has a high proportion of women in non- permanent employment (56% as compared to 36% in the region). However, South Africa is similar to the rest of the region in that women comprise 23% of unskilled staff, compared to 29% in the region.

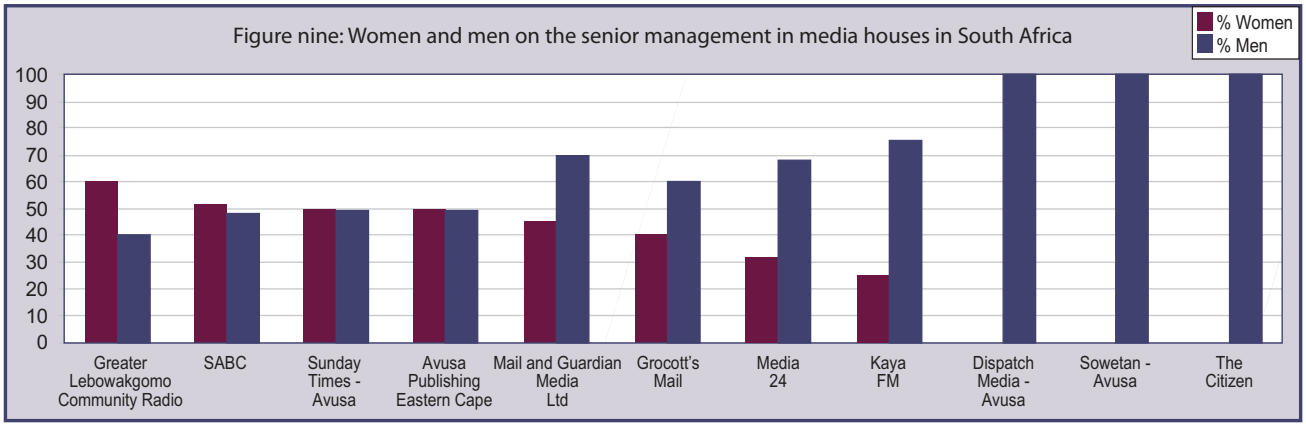
The skilled technical category is generally a male preserve: in South Africa however there are marginally more women (51%) than men in this category; higher than the regional average of 45%.

However, at 42%, South Africa has more women in the professionally qualified category than the regional figure of 31%. This is an interesting finding in that journalists are included in this number. This suggests that women are making it into journalism but not into management positions.

Variations by media house



AVUSA Limited did not submit information as a group. Individual media houses in the group submitted data and have been treated as separate entities. Therefore figures for *AVUSA Limited* overall have not been included for boards of directors and top management. Figure eight shows that *Kaya FM* had zero representation of women on their Board of Directors compared to 63% at *The Citizen*; 58% at the *SABC*; 50% at *Grocotts Mail*; 43% at *Greater Lebowakgoma Community Radio*; 27% at *Mail and Guardian Media Ltd* and 18% at *Media 24*.



The overall parity between women and men in the media in South Africa belies serious gaps in the decision-making positions in South African media. As is evident in figure nine *Dispatch Media-Avusa; Sowetan-Avusa* and *The Citizen* have no women in senior management. Only a quarter of the top management are women. There is still much work to be done to promote the equal representation of women at all occupational levels in the South African media.

Why are there fewer women than men in senior positions?

Figure 10: Why do women believe there are fewer women in senior positions in Southern Africa media houses?

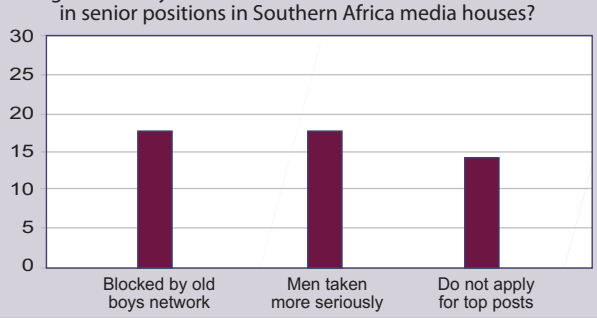


Figure 11: Why do men believe there are fewer women in senior positions in Southern Africa media houses?

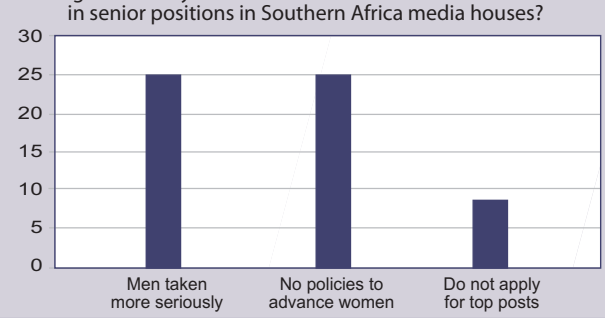
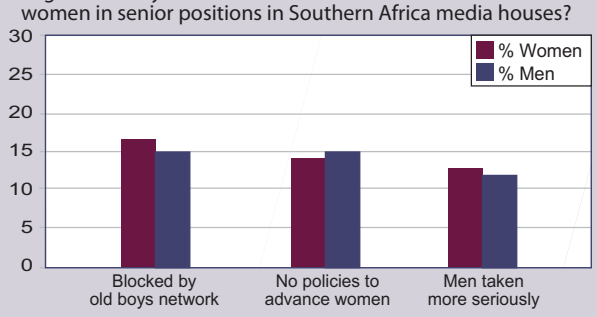


Figure 10 shows that in South Africa, the highest proportion of women cited the "old boys network" as the main reason for the glass ceiling in media houses. Figure 11 shows that higher proportions of men cited the fact that "men are taken more seriously" and that there are "no policies to advance women" in media houses as the main reasons for women being scarce in decision-making.

Figure 12: Why do women and men believe there are fewer women in senior positions in Southern Africa media houses?



Respondents in the rest of the region (figure 12) also cited the "old boys network" as the main reason for women not advancing, with men and women citing "no policies to advance women" and "men are taken more seriously" as their reasons.

Missing in action!

Gertrude Makhafola, journalist at the *Sowetan* 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 Sunday Times not knowing that I would become a journalist. I was in the public service for 3 years; then I took a pay cut and joined AVUSA."

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 raised the fact that the young woman was being portrayed as a victim and suggested instead that the issue be tackled. The story became a feature on 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.

The work place environment presents several challenges for female employees. Female employees 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…"



Gertrude Makhafola *Photo: The Sowetan*

The old adage that if you work hard you will get where you want does not work in the media house. Makhafola says: "It's not workable because the institution has a serious history. Most women move to magazines. It's hard to break through."

But, she reflects: "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 3pm'. So she ends up going and asking us to finish the story 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."

Conditions of employment

The study found that men had more favourable working conditions than their female counterparts. The position 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.

Women in South Africa have better conditions of employment than in region

Figure 13: Conditions of employment in South Africa

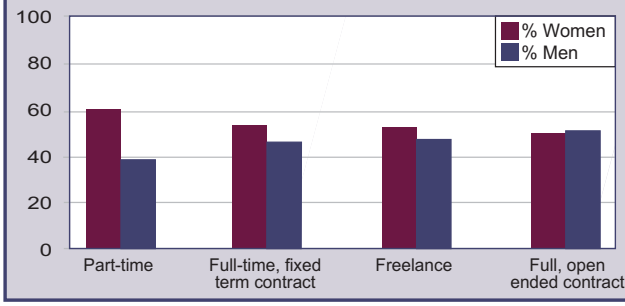
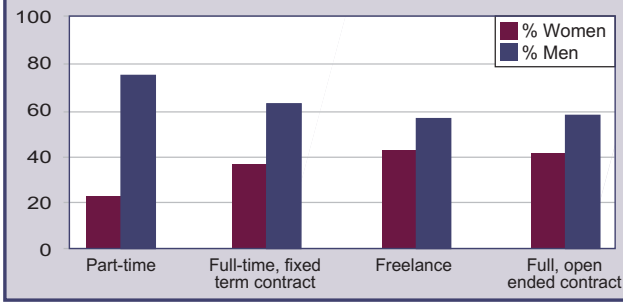


Figure 14: Conditions of employment in Southern Africa

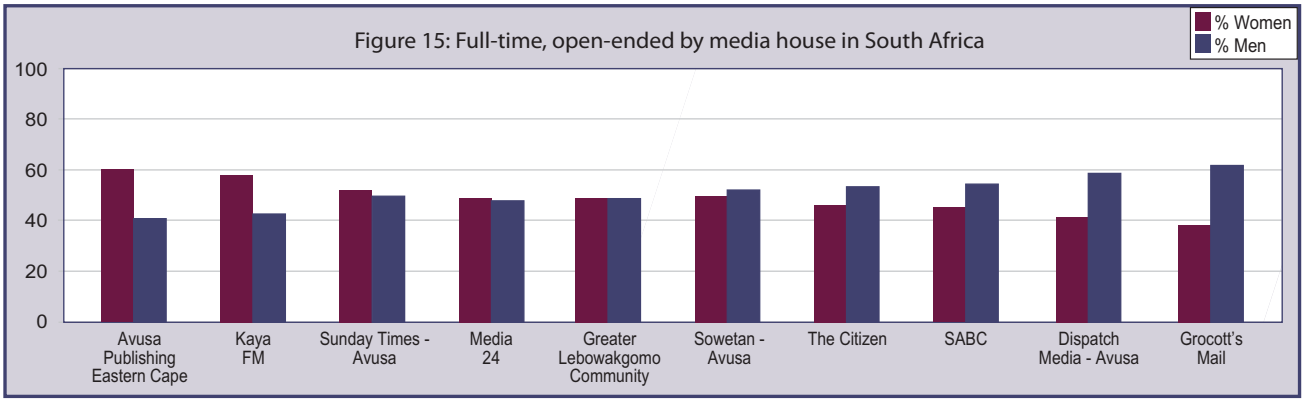


Figures 13 and 14 illustrate the conditions of service for media practitioners in South Africa and the Southern African region. The most secure form of employment is full time, open-ended contracts. Whereas in the region, 42% of women media workers are on such contracts, in South Africa the figure is higher at 49%.

The next most secure form of employment consists of full time, fixed term contracts. At this level there are more women (55%) than men (45%) in the South African media. This is substantially higher than the regional average for women on full time, fixed term contracts in the region. Women in South Africa constitute 54% of all freelance journalists (in the region this is 43%).

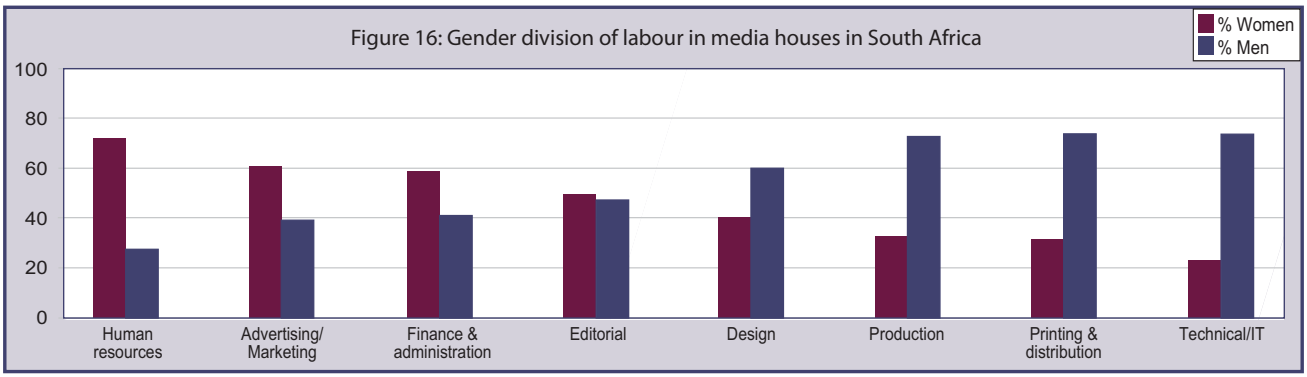
Unlike the region women constitute 61% of those in part time employment in the South African media; men in the region occupy 77% of part time positions. Women usually predominate in this category due to the dual roles that they plan in the home, and has implications for their earnings.

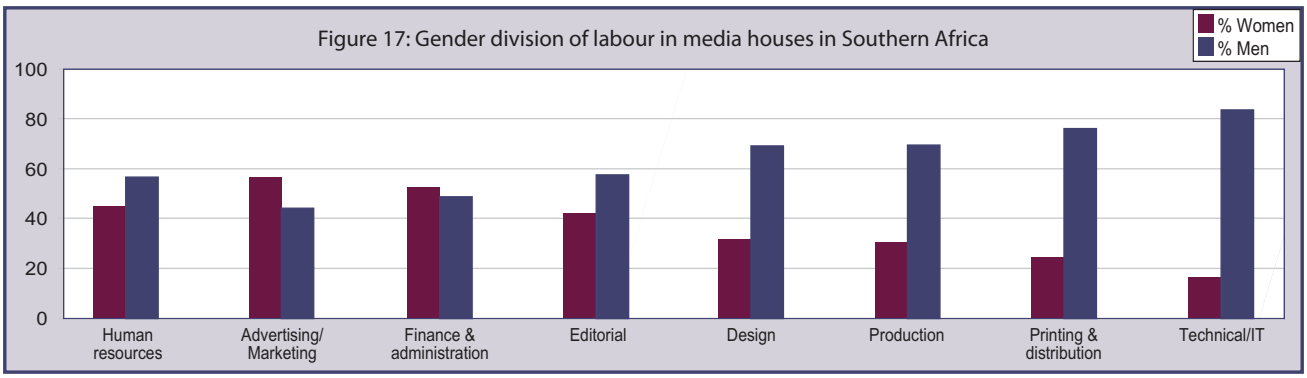
Conditions of employment by media house



Avusa Publishing Eastern Cape followed closely by *Kaya FM* has the highest proportion of women with full time open-ended contracts. The proportions of women on full time open ended contracts are reflective of the high proportion of women in the South African media. However, it is important to note that women constitute the highest proportions of those in the two most insecure categories of work, non permanent (56%) and part time (61%).

Gender division of labour in the media



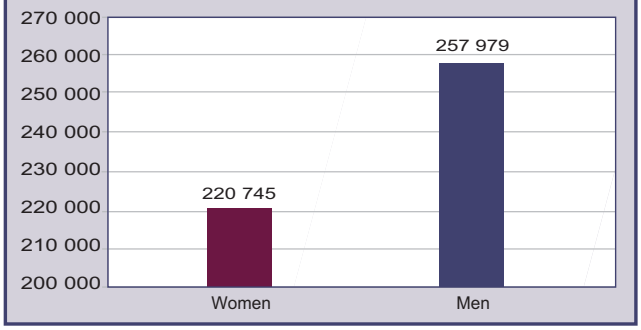


The highest proportions of women in the South African media are in Human Resources (74%); Advertising/Marketing (61%) and Finance and Administration (59%). In the region women predominate in Advertising/Marketing (57%) and Finance and Administration (54%), there is, also a significant proportion of women in human resources (44%). In contrast to the region South Africa has more women (52%) in Editorial than in the region (42%). This is the category that includes journalists suggesting that more women are working as journalists but few are entering management.

In South Africa and the region women are least well represented in printing and distribution (33% and 24% respectively); technical and IT (23% and 16% respectively) and production (34% and 30% respectively). While women comprise 31% of media designers in the region, in South Africa this figure is 40%.

Differences in earnings

Figure 18: Female versus male earnings in South Africa in Rands



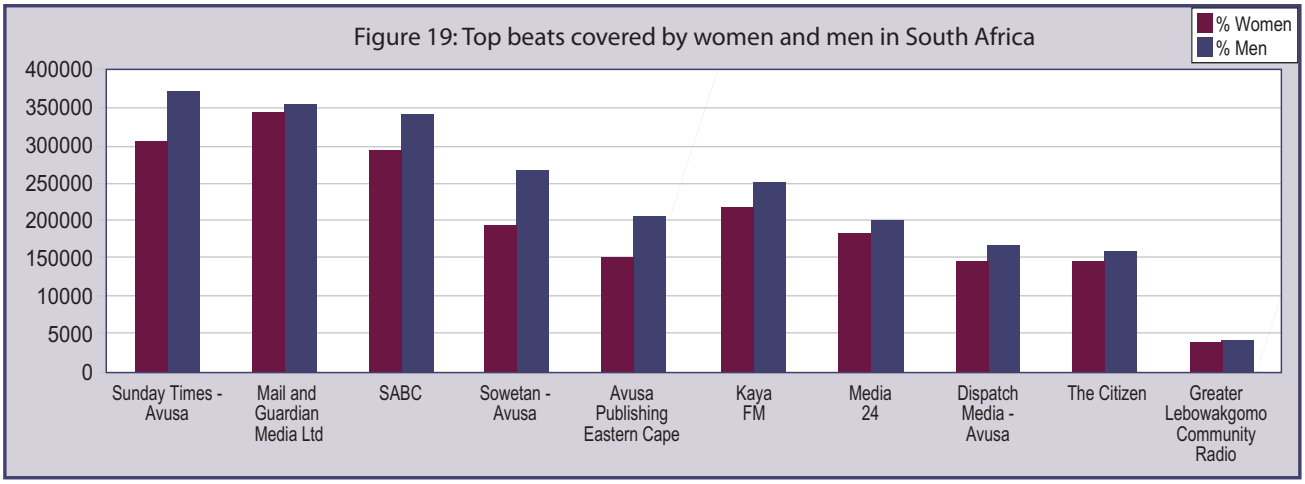
Ten of the eleven media in South Africa submitted earnings. Only the *Grocott's Mail* did not submit any figures. Based on the data submitted women in the South African media earn an average of R220 745 ($26596) per annum while men earn an average of R257 979 ($31082) per annum (8% more).

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 in the media houses that provided this data. The gender gap in *average* earnings encapsulates differences in conditions of employment; occupational types and levels of women and men. Indeed, the gender gap in other institutions tends to be higher than 10%.

The reason why this is lower in the media is that while men dominate in the highest paid management positions, they also dominate in the lowest paid posts, because production and distribution (which are intrinsic to the media industry) are male dominated.

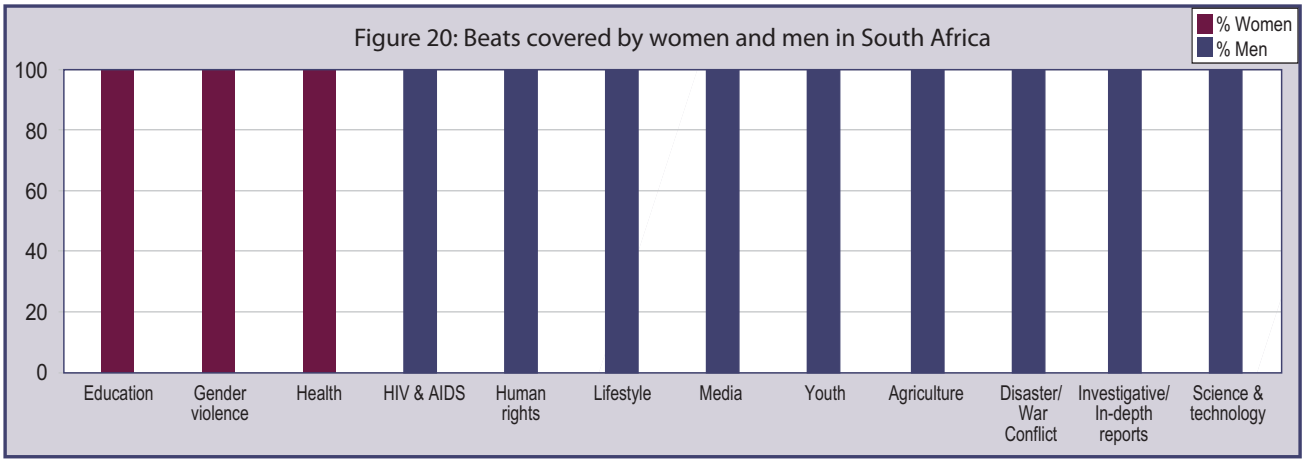
Earnings across the media

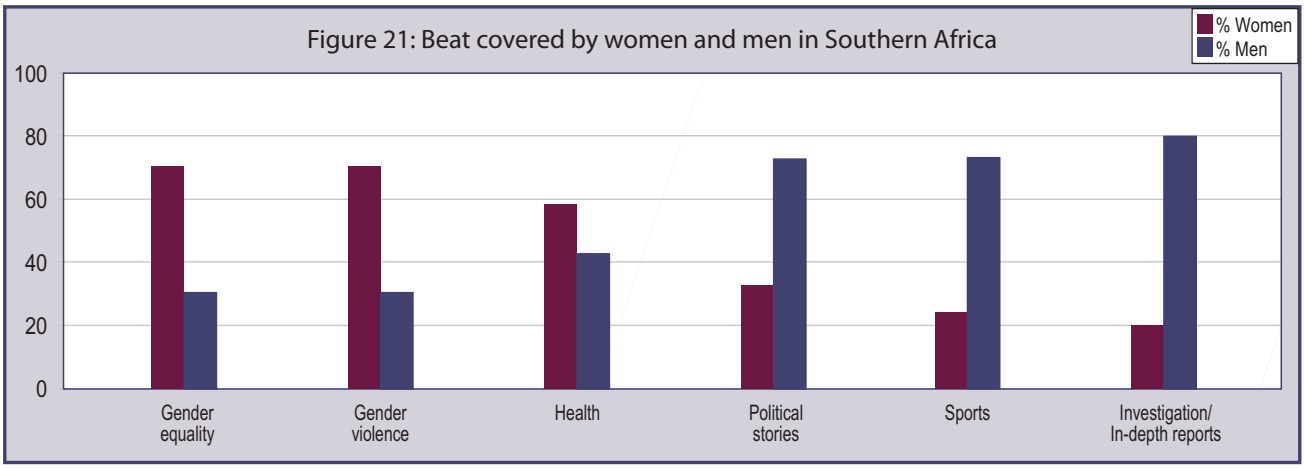
Figure 19: Top beats covered by women and men in South Africa



None of the media in the sample have reached parity in average earnings, despite the fact that six of the media in the sample employ between 50-60% women. The *Sunday Times* has the highest average salaries (R309 949 per annum for women and R373 419 per annum for men) but also has the biggest gender gap in earnings. The *Mail and Guardian* (R344 080 per annum for women and R357 159 for men) has the lowest gender gap.

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. Only three media constituting a total of 138 responses submitted information on beats. These were *Avusa-Dispatch Media; Avusa-Sowetan* and the *Citizen*.

Figure 20 illustrates the top beats for women (education; gender violence; health; HIV and AIDS; human rights; lifestyle; media and youth) and the top beats for men (science and technology; investigative/in depth reporting; disaster/war/conflict and agriculture). According to the data submitted the top beats for women were covered by women only and similarly the top beats for men were covered by men only.

In the region gender equality, gender violence and health topped the list for women while political stories, sports and investigative/in depth reports topped the list for men.



Purity Zwane, journalist, interviewing a small business woman during the Gender Links Business Unusual course at the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism in July 2007 *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Table three: Women and men in different beats in South Africa and the region				
Beats	South Africa		Region	
	% Women	% Men	% Women	% Men
Education	100	0	54	46
Gender violence	100	0	71	29
Health	100	0	59	41
HIV & AIDS	100	0	53	47
Human Rights	100	0	42	58
Lifestyle	100	0	55	45
Media	100	0	42	58
Youth	100	0	52	48
Economics/Business/Finance	83	17	39	61
Religion	80	20	52	48
Labour	60	40	36	64
Courts	57	43	37	63
Crime	50	50	37	63
Entertainment/arts/culture	50	50	42	58
Gender equality	50	50	71	29
Sports	40	60	24	76
Political stories	38	63	25	75
General	34	66	37	63
Sustainable development & environment	14	86	33	67
Agriculture	0	10	41	59
Disaster/War/Conflict	0	100	35	65
Investigative/In-depth reports	0	100	20	80
Science & technology	0	100	39	61

Table three, which reflects the findings for all beats, shows that there are some interesting gender benders in the South African media. For example, 83% economics/business/finance are covered by women; equal proportions of women and men cover crime; entertainment/arts/culture and a much higher proportion of women in South Africa (40%) as opposed to the region (24%) cover sports which is traditionally a male preserve.



Women in science and technology *Photo: Trevor Davies*

Gender blind beats?



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

In the South African media there appears to be shifts in some beats such as the economy; courts and crime beats but there are still high proportions of women in "soft" beats. There are some journalists who believe that women do not bring different perspective to stories.

Cecil Motsepe, journalist at the *Sowetan* for the last seven years holds this view. According to Motsepe "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". Motsepe says: "I believe that perspectives have nothing to do with your sex/gender."

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."

Liza Albrecht, Editor-in-Chief, at the *Rapport* has a different view. She 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. Women editors cover more in-depth stories, says Albrecht.



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



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

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 did a story on 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 further explains that several compelling angles emerged. "The story focused on the issues of 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."

Making a difference?

The study sought out opinions on whether having more women in media houses makes a difference. The Global Media Monitoring Project (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 and 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.[4]

[4] 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.

Table four: Women and men's perceptions - does gender make a difference in media houses in the region and in South Africa?				
	South Africa		Region	
	% Women who agreed	% Men who agreed	% 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	15	0	31	39
b) Female journalists are more likely to seek out female opinion than male journalists	40	50	46	45
c) Female journalists are more likely to cover gender related topics more than male journalists	53	83	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	75	100	70	49
e) Where there is a "critical mass" of women in the media house this affects the way that men think and behave	60	83	53	50
f) Men can be as gender aware and sensitive as women	63	100	78	87
g) Women are their own worst enemies	36	25	45	45

Table four shows that only a few women, and no men, believe that there is no relationship between having women in the media and achieving gender balance and sensitivity in media coverage. Almost half of the women and men believe that women are more likely to seek out female opinion.

Men (83% and 100% 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. Fewer women (75% and 60% respectively) believe that "when there are women in senior management positions gender is more likely to be taken seriously in the work of the media house" and "where there is a 'critical mass' of women in the media in the media house this affects the way that men think and behave".

A higher proportion of women (36%) than men (25%) believe that "women are their worst enemies." Women and men believed that "men can be as gender aware as women." Men (83%) felt it is crucial to have a "critical mass" of women in the media if they are to make a difference.

A higher proportion of men than women in the sample responded positively to several of the questions. This does raise the issue or question of whether the responses are based on what the respondents believe the researchers want to hear or their own beliefs.

Critical mass?

South African women interviewed said that a "critical mass of women" at decision-making level makes a difference. They went on to say that women should not discuss issues amongst themselves but raise these in forums where action may be taken.

Some women believed that women are naturally intuitive in their leadership style and are able to see beyond self interest to the bigger picture. Women said that on the surface,



To make a difference, women must be represented in sufficient numbers
Photo:Trevor Davies

women are involved and participate in working groups, committees etc. but none of these are headed by women. The general feeling amongst women is that there has to be a critical mass of women in senior management positions to ensure that gender balance occurs in all areas of the media.

Some men felt that women should not act like men once they become managers. As one respondent put it: "Women should not be 'one of the boys' when they reach management level."

Workplace policies and practices

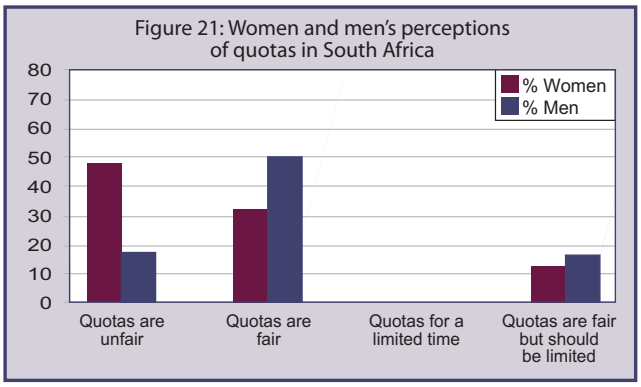
The workplace environment has a substantial bearing on achieving gender parity in media houses. Respondents indicated what kinds of practices or policies their companies had put in place to increase women's participation and representation in media houses. Among others, these included whether they had gender policies (or would wish to have one); affirmative action (fast tracking); career pathing and promotion. Table 5 summarises what proportion of the media houses checked "yes" to having the following policies or practises in place:

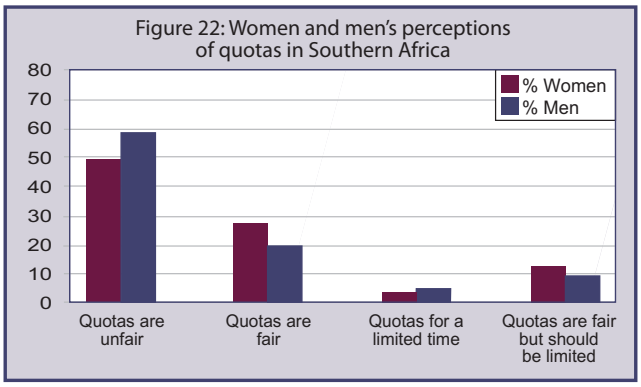
Table five: Workplace indicators in South Africa and the region

	% South Africa	% Region
Targeting women	36	54
Data banks for women	18	36
Gender-balanced panels	64	54
Fast-tracking	18	10
Promotion	36	32
Succession	45	35
Flexi-time	82	75
Maternity leave	91	81
Paternity leave	64	33
Child care facilities	9	15
Women's participation	73	63
Sexual harassment policy	82	28
Gender policy	9	16
Need a gender policy or to improve one	64	68

Affirmative action

Despite the SADC target of achieving gender parity in media houses by 2015, only 36% of the media houses indicated that they had specific targets for achieving gender equality in all areas, compared to the regional average of 54%.





Some 59% men and 49% women in the region did not support quotas for achieving gender equality in the media. In South Africa it is interesting that 50% of the men, compared to 33% of women supported such measures. South Africa has a strong constitutional stance on affirmative action. The strong negative reaction to special measures for increasing the level of women's representation, especially among women, is a concern because, with few exceptions, nowhere in the world has gender parity in decision-making been achieved without special measures being taken.

Recruitment

Some 18% of media houses in South Africa stated that they have databanks for women and 64% said that they use gender-balanced panels. These strategies are reflected in the overall figures for the representation of women in South African media houses. It is crucial to examine how promotion and selection for higher level positions is done in the South African media.

Career pathing, fast tracking and promotion

In a finding similar to the rest of the region, only 18% of media houses had strategies to fast track women within the organisation. A similar proportion of media houses (36% in South Africa as compared to 32% in the region) actively considered women for promotion. Succession planning for women in South Africa is high on the agenda but not in enough media houses in the region: 45% in South Africa compared to 35% in the region.

Work environment

A large proportion of media houses in South Africa (82%) offer flexi-time. This is higher than the regional average of 75%. Women (63%) and men (50%) said that media houses in South Africa are sensitive to, and try to accommodate family life and responsibilities.

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."



Very few media offer child care facilities *Photo: Gender Links*

Although a legislative requirement, 91% of the sample stated that they offer maternity leave and 64% offered paternity leave. The latter perpetuates the stereotype that the mother is responsible for the primary parenting role. Only 9% of media houses said that they had child care facilities.

Gender and 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 contrast gender policies have been neglected within the media. Only 9% of the media in the sample stated they had a gender policy lower than the regional average of 16%. Some 64% of the media houses in South Africa and 68% the region want a gender policy or an improved gender policy.

Table six: Workplace indicators by media house

Work place indicators that exist within media houses in South Africa	SABC	Mail and Guardian Media Ltd	Dispatch Media (Avusa)	Sunday Times (Avusa)	Sowetan	Avusa Publishing Eastern Cape	Kaya FM	Grocott's Mail	Media 24	Greater Lebowakgomo Community Radio
Targeting women			✔		✔		✔			✔
Data banks for women		✔	✔							
Gender-balanced panels		✔	✔	✔	✔		✔	✔		
Fast-tracking			✔						✔	
Promotion		✔	✔		✔					✔
Succession			✔		✔	✔	✔			✔
Flexi-hours		✔	✔	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Maternity leave	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Paternity leave	✔			✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		✔
Child care facilities			✔							
Women's participation		✔	✔	✔		✔		✔	✔	✔
Sexual harassment policy	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Gender policy										
Need a gender policy		✔	✔			✔	✔		✔	✔

Table 6 shows that *Avusa-Dispatch Media*, a media house with no women at senior management level, has the most number of ticks against its policies or policy intentions, while the SABC (which has 60% women) has the least number of ticks. This is to some extent explained by the fact the latter media house has already implemented progressive practices. But the ticks also raise the suspicion that policies on paper are not necessarily being implemented in practise.

It is also important to note that only two media have databanks for women *(Mail and Guardian Media Ltd* and *Avusa-Disptach Media)* and fast tracking policies (*Avusa-Dispatch Media* and *Media 24*). Only *Avusa-Dispatch Media* has child care facilities.

CASE STUDY:

MAIL AND GUARDIAN

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. 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 Nic Dawe,
took over the helm, with Rapule Tabane as deputy editor.



Ferial Haffajee *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

Although the paper got massive accolades for appointing a woman in 2004 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. But did having a conscientised woman at the helm make a difference? This issue is explored in greater depth in the regional report, in which the *Mail and Guardian* case study, undertaken by Mercedes Sayagues, is used in Chapter nine as a testing ground for the various themes and theories that informed the *Glass Ceiling* case study. This country report summarises findings and reflections on a few key indicators.

Women at the top and in senior positions

Statistics in this study confirm that under Haffajee's stewardship, the *Mail and Guardian* attained gender parity at the top and came close to doing so in senior management positions, although as she herself admits, she failed to groom a woman as a successor.

This report shows that overall, the *Mail and Guardian* with 55% women comes second after the *South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC),* at 60%. Women in senior management increased from 33% in the 2006 *Glass Ceiling* study to 45% in this study. The managing director for advertising and marketing, the associate editor, the managing editor and the online news editor are women.

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.



Before joining the *Mail and Guardian* in 2007, Mandy 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.

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."

Women sources

Spot monitoring on various occasions during Haffajee's tenure at the *Mail and Guardian* put women sources at between 22% and 30%. In the latest monitoring, during the national elections in April 2009, Media Monitoring Africa put female sources at the *Mail and Guardian* at 22%, well below the 40% reached by other newspapers.

But the source count alone 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.

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.

Women began cropping up regularly on the front page, and in photos and headlines inside the paper. For example, following the April elections, the front page of the *Mail and Guardian* showed women cheering for the new president Jacob Zuma; opposition leader Helen Zille celebrating her success in the Western Cape and a pull out on women's economic empowerment. Deputy editor Tabane reflects: "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. 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."

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.

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*.

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.

Growing the women readership base

Haffajee had many a tiff with women politicians that she took to task and gender activists who felt their issues had been trivialised as a result of her "fun" approach to feminism that sometimes poked fun at more politically correct approaches.

But 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.

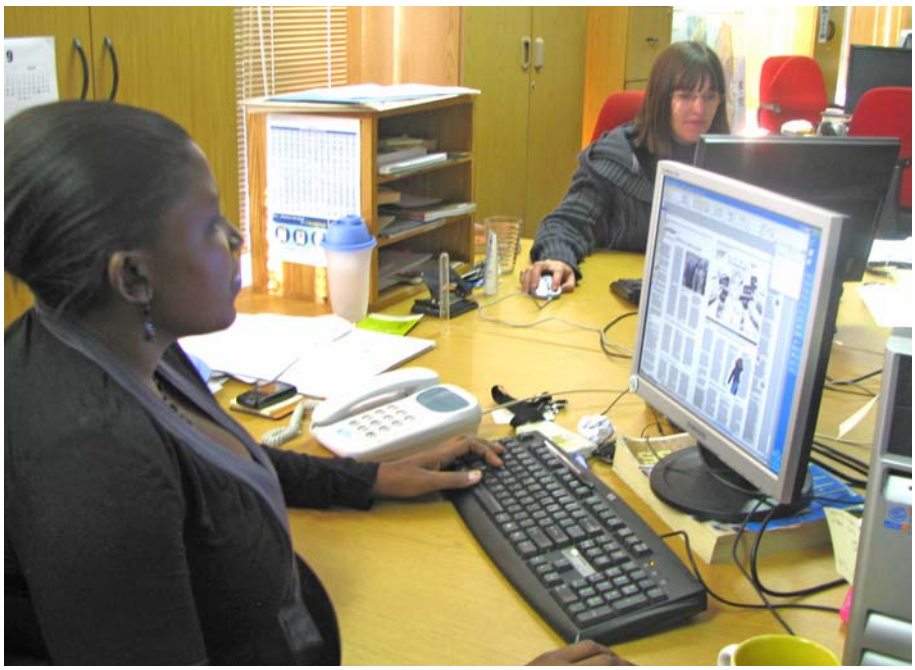
Looking to the future

While members of her team indicated an interest in developing a gender policy, Haffajee shied away from doing so, arguing that South African laws governing gender equality that the *Mail and Guardian* respects and follows these. "We should not over-bureaucratize the institutions where we work," said Haffajee.

When the paper's owner announced Haffajee's resignation he also announced that she would be succeeded by two men. 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."

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.

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."



Young women feel affirmed at the *Mail and Guardian* *Photo: Susan Tolmay*

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study shows that there are equal numbers of women and men in the media in South Africa but that gender balance is not evident in boards of directors, top management and senior management level. The "glass ceiling" is created by the "old boys networks" and gender insensitive work environments. As this study compared South Africa to the region it did not disaggregate gender by race. Had it done so more glaring gaps are likely to have emerged.

Women face glass ceilings in production; printing and distribution and technical and IT. Although they are splintering some cracks in news beats the gender division of labour is still alive here as well.

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. Less than 10% of the media houses said they had policies; the majority either wanted a gender policy or a better gender policy.

Respondents were asked what should be done to promote gender balance in media houses. These were their responses.

Figure 23: Women's top three policies and practices to promote gender balance in South Africa media houses

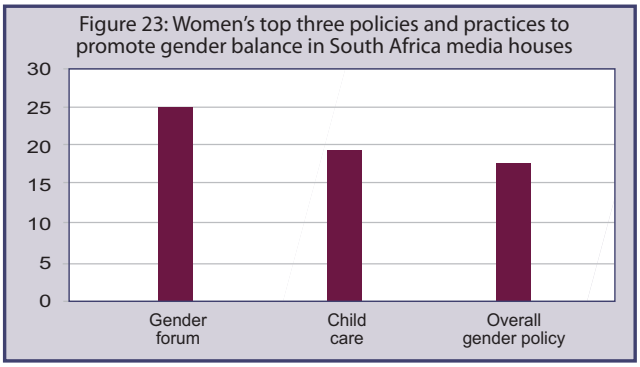
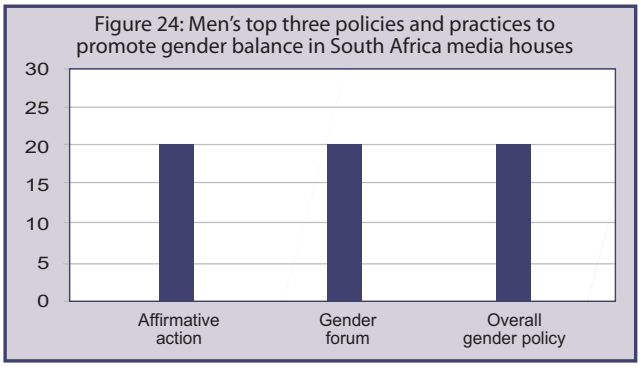


Figure 24: Men's top three policies and practices to promote gender balance in South Africa media houses



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.
- Following up and supporting the 64% (both South Africa and region) 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 GMMP/GMBS 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 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, including South Africa, as a way of gauging progress in achieving gender parity in media houses in Southern Africa.

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.

"One of the most significant things that happens to a woman in her career is being pregnant. 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."

- Liza Albrecht, Editor-in-Chief, Rapport

