<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TSM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>JM</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi/Unskilled</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>131 802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Colour</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>143 663</td>
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<td>93 705</td>
<td>82 083</td>
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<td>53 509</td>
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</table>

**TSM:** Whites earn 10% more than people of colour  
**MM:** Whites earn 2% more than people of colour  
**JM:** People of colour earn 9% more than people of colour  
**Skilled:** Whites earn 14% more than people of colour  
**Semi/Unskilled:** Whites earn 6% more than people of colour

The highest discrepancy was in *skilled labour* with whites earning 14% more than do people of colour. The lowest discrepancy is in *middle management*, with whites earning 2% more than are people of colour. People of colour earned 9% more than whites in *junior management* positions. Interestingly, in the *middle management* category, males earned 12% more than females but whites earned just 2% more than did people of colour.

Generally, whites earned more than people of colour and males earned more than females. The salary discrepancy in terms of race was less than that of gender. Perhaps there is more pressure on companies in relation to redressing racial imbalances rather than those of gender, in the context of affirmative action. In addition, in *junior management* positions, people of colour and women earned more.

*Junior Management* is a new category for creating well-paid affirmative action positions. Further, companies do not want to lose these individuals as they are in high demand.

There has been a slight increase in the number of women and people of colour in the higher job categories within the industry. This has taken the form of shifts, in terms of employment within and between the job categories in the company, with a general decrease of white male employees, possibly due to retrenchment. This is a reflection of companies’ attempts to address the past imbalances. The debate that arises is how are people experiencing these changes and are companies focusing on gender, race or both. The establishment of the new positions is in keeping with the belief by management that affirmative action is
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a process of identifying, recruiting, training and promoting an individual into a junior management position (Alperson 1993a).

Re-dressing the salary discrimination on the basis of gender and race should be of utmost importance and specific attention should be made of this in the company policy.

Males earn more than females and whites more than people of colour. The reverse is true for both race and gender in the category of junior management.

c) Distribution of Power

Trade Unions and Schreiner (1996) define affirmative action implementation as collective empowerment. If one accepts this definition then affirmative action is failing. Empirically, the best reflection of power is through the analysis of job categorisation. This section investigates the distribution of each group across sectors/grades of the industry.

In a study on Women Broadcasters and Affirmative Action at the SABC, Susan Manhando (1994) found that the SABC was not reflective of the demographic picture (in terms of race and gender) in South Africa. Further, through interviews conducted with staff, she found that there still existed discrimination based on race and gender. While men held most senior positions, white women held those few posts held by women. In general, promotion of women referred to white women. In general, women had to work twice as hard to show that they could do the job.

Karen Jackman (1998) conducted a study on Women Journalists and Career Advancement in the Case of Independent Newspapers in Durban over the preceding four years. She found that more males, especially white males, than females were employed in top and senior positions and hence that the glass ceiling effect continued. Treatment of leaders differed based on gender. Women had to work harder than did men in the same positions. She also found that workers felt that the affirmative action policy merely played lip service to women and was not effective in ensuring real change. Racial issues dominated gender issues and workers felt that affirmative action applied specifically to black men.
The following graphs depict the distribution trends (race and gender; race; gender) in the industry in 1999 across job categories.
Distribution of Race and Gender by Grade

There are more males of colour in the industry than white males. The distribution of this across grades however shows that most white males (38%) held top and senior management positions. Most males of colour (36%) worked as semi/unskilled labour. There was an approximately even number of white females and females of colour in the industry, however, 45% of females of colour hold semi/unskilled jobs. White women are equally concentrated among middle management, junior management and skilled labour.
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Distribution of Race by Grade

There were more people of colour than whites in the industry. The semi/unskilled sector employs 40% of the total number of people of colour and only 5% of the total number of whites. Whites were concentrated in the top and senior management, middle management and junior management positions. There were more people of colour than whites in the category of skilled labour. d)Women in the media.
Current Average Race Distribution for Each Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>People of Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSM</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JM</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi/unskilled</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Race
Distribution of Gender by Grade

Males were concentrated in top and senior management and middle management positions, with a steady and gradual reduction of the number of males in the lower grades. The opposite was true for females in the top and senior management positions, with a gradual increase of women from middle management to semi/unskilled positions.
Current Gender Distribution for Each Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSM</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JM</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi/unskilled</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage
Towards Affirmative Action

The race and gender distribution and general trends reflect the historical legacy of the country. Some groups (Indians, coloureds and Africans) were excluded (strategically and structurally) from developing and thus from being able to advance within the corporate structure (Innes 1993; Kraak 1996; Sikhosana 1993). This occurred via legislation to inhibit economic growth, including ownership and access to facilities of certain groups, making it very difficult for Africans, in particular, to penetrate the centres of power in this country. This also explains the salary discrimination in terms of race (Innes 1993; Kraak 1996; Leresche 1993; Nkulu 1993; Sikhosana 1993). Thus, there is a need to rectify the past discrimination as emphasised by the new government. This has to occur via the Equity Act and affirmative action policies of the companies.

The lack of women in senior positions is a problem experienced internationally in media organisations (Beasley 1989; Gallagher 1981; Hersch 1993; Jackman 1998; Joshi 1987; Manhando 1994; UNESCO 1987). Women have to be empowered and barriers created by men have to be broken. It is to this that we now turn to the following section.

There is an unequal distribution of power across job categories. Whites and males dominate the higher categories while people of colour, especially women of colour dominate the lower categories. For males and females a mirror effect was observed.

d) Women in the media

Statistical information and experiences of media staff in this report show that there is an unequal power distribution, with white males dominating. Thus, although change is noted, marginalisation of women and people of colour occur. The marginalisation of people of colour is specific to the South African historical context (Apartheid laws and residue beliefs). Findings by Manhando (1994) and Jackman (1998) support this. Results in relation to gender follow international trends.

In the world much is known about women's representation in the media while very little is known about women's participation in the media industry. What is needed is not only numbers but also an account of what their job entails. (UNESCO 1987:20)
In a study by UNESCO (1990) covering eleven countries and seventy television stations, women were located in very specific areas in the organisation. Women accounted for 44% of jobs in administration (most of these jobs were junior secretarial and clerical posts which offered few career prospects in media), 30% in the newsroom, 4% in the creative professions and 1% in the technical sector. Thus, there appeared to be some barriers on jobs offered to women in the media. Further, women were allocated specific types of stories, as some were considered too dangerous for them (Smith, Fredin, Ferguson 1989).

Various studies conducted around the world concluded that sexism continues to exist in media. Women did not hold decision-making positions and hence positions of power within organisations (Dyer 1989; Gallagher 1981; Johnson 1989; Joshi 1987; UNESCO 1997). This was the result of the stereotyping1 of the sexes. The reason men gave for this sexism, was that women were incapable of making independent decisions (Joshi 1987).

DuToit (1996) found that even in community stations that relied on volunteers, usually men ended up on the air and in management positions. Women on the other hand, took on ‘invisible activities’ such as administration and secretarial work. When women did go on air, it was often as newsreaders and talk show hosts rather than music presenters. There was thus an off-air division of power as well as an on-air one. The latter she argued, was reflective of a basic split along gender lines with men acting out “self-interest” and women taking responsibility for community development.

This study supports international literature. In response to the open-ended question “In what fields are women concentrated”, in the questionnaire, the majority of companies replied that women are found in the administrative fields, with a few token women in senior positions. Reiteration of this occurred in the staff interviews.

The reason given for this concentration was that women did not study in other fields and thus there was a lack of availability of women, in certain types of jobs. Further, one company linked this to a societal belief that certain fields are suitable for each gender. Societal beliefs and its effect on the employment of women is well documented (Joshi 1987). Thus, there is a need to address these issues.

A more recently formed media organisation stated however, that women

1 Stereotyping is an act of categorising behaviour. The categorising allows people to organise their world around them. It is informed through the things that people tell us before we experience them and the things we imagine the world to include before we see them (Lippman, 1922, 59). For women not being allowed as announcers on radio, the stereotyping was that their voices were not low enough and hence not authoritative enough and that women are not as ambitious as men, so are not in top positions (Cramer, 1989, 221).
Towards Affirmative Action

were concentrated in all areas. In this study, women in small companies feel they have more opportunities than those do in larger companies.

In Manhando’s 1994 study, the SABC did have a plan in operation to redress the imbalances from the past. They investigated who was due for retirement and then filled those vacant positions in light of their plan. They found it difficult though to get the right qualified people for the new positions and had to deliver training on the job. They also introduced a mentorship programme that involved selecting individuals in the SABC to be ‘protégés’ which would ensure the advancement of their careers. The focus of affirmative action was more towards race than gender. Women however did feel that this policy would indeed help them.

Further, there was salary discrimination with women earning less than were men. The reason cited for this was the fact that society does not regard women as breadwinners. No day care facilities were available at the SABC. She also reported that women felt that there was a lack of consideration for the multiple roles they played. Coloured and Indians felt marginalised (Manhando 1994).

The qualification of women as submissive, unassertive and unambitious is entrenched in society. Hence, in the workplace women encounter two types of gender discrimination. Firstly, those men who do not acknowledge women’s equality and potential; and secondly those men who feel that they are being kind when they give women fewer responsibilities because of their chores at home (Alperson b 1993).

Women’s subordination then, occurs primarily through their destinies as wives and mothers. Society dictates that they should operate primarily within the private sphere, while men should operate within the public sphere (Rappaport and Rappaport 1993).

In this study, many companies felt that the uneven gender distribution was changing as women gained more opportunities due to affirmative action and skills training. However, another organisation, which stated that the employment of women has not changed as the focus is on increasing black representation as opposed to female representation, contradicted the finding. Thus, women still do not fill senior positions.

Thus, there is a need to address salary discrimination, maternity leave, paternity leave and child-care facilities, as recommended by Manhando (1994) and Jackman (1998). Men and women must be recognised for the complex roles they play. Entrenched and internalised gender
stereotypes and attitudes must be addressed within the work environment and then perhaps a ripple effect will occur in the private sphere. Managers must realise that the exclusion of women from training for senior positions is illegal.

When this was presented at a SANEF meeting a white male manager responded:

*Women turn down promotions*

When I responded that this is possibly due to the internalised belief that they are not good enough, he responded:

*That is your assumption, women would not say that if you ask them.*

Four women editors retorted:

*What would we say?*

Based on this, it is clear that there are many possibilities for informal discrimination to take place against women and people of colour and we will now turn to that.

### 3. Conclusion: Evaluating Affirmative Action

There are more people of colour than whites employed in the industry which is representative of the South African population. Further, there is a 42% employment of women in the industry. While this is not representative of the population, one could argue that it is "fairly impressive". Further, if one compares the 1994 and 1999 race and gender distributions within each grade, change is noted. Thus, affirmative action is effective.

However, if one examines the distribution (race and gender, race, gender) across grades, the experiences of staff and the economic distribution, the conclusion drawn would be that affirmative action is not working. Further, that is it is not effective as inequality persists in the power relations. Even if one examines the new *junior management* positions, white males continue to dominate.

In conclusion, management felt that the implementation of affirmative action has been effective, while journalists and administrative staff generally felt that it was "window dressing". From this distinction, together with the examination of the *Affirmative action as a concept* and in the *Critique of affirmative action*, we can conclude that affirmative action as a concept and in practice, is a contentious issue.
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Summary

There is a lack of women and people of colour (blacks, Indians and coloureds) in senior positions. White males dominate and a male corporate culture exists. There are more males than females in the industry and more people of colour than whites.

White males tend to dominate on a decreasing scale, from the category of top and senior management to that of skilled labour. The next most predominant, in the grades of middle management to skilled labour is white females. This is followed by males of colour, except for the category of middle management where they have a stronger presence than white females.

Thus, males, particularly white males dominate the top and senior management positions. People of colour dominate the positions of semi and unskilled labour. White women are well and equally distributed across levels of middle and junior management. The distribution of white males, white females and males of colour is more or less equal at the level of skilled labour.

There is salary discrimination. Generally, whites earn more than people of colour and males earn more than females, except for the new affirmative action category of junior management in which the reverse is true.

Further, women are concentrated in administrative fields.

The overall distribution in the industry and the examination of changes within each grade since 1994 shows that affirmative action is effective. This belief is supported by managers and technical staff.

An examination of the distribution across grades and the economic distribution provides evidence that the implementation of affirmative action is not effective. This is supported by journalists and administrative staff who also feel that affirmative action has been “words reduced to paper.”
Possibilities for Informal Discrimination
THE PREVIOUS sections have dealt with laws and trends. As noted earlier in the report, companies should be careful that informal discrimination does not substitute entrenched laws. Informal discrimination can apply to both women and people of colour.

Gerbner (in Creedon 1989:21) argues that when the dynamics of a social movement threaten to overpower or restructure a particular set of social values and relations, the result is cultural resistance. This includes "isolating", "discrediting" and "undercutting."

The possibilities for informal discrimination for women and people of colour include:

1. General obstacles for women;
2. Sexual harassment;
3. The allocation of assignments;
4. Relationships in the organisation;
5. Problems experienced by unions;

1. Obstacles For Women

Internationally women report problems at work. What these are and the reasons for them must be explored.

It may be possible that the way men and women (and the way people from different cultures) go about making decisions and the final purpose of the decision is different. In the experience of women, men may not recognise the validity of the decisions or the process adopted by women.

It is often for these reasons that in an attempt to deal with the male corporate world, women in managerial positions are regarded as the ‘same as men’ or ‘harder’ as they adopt the established practices to ‘survive’. It is thus important to explore the experience of marginalised groups within an organisation to understand and address the concerns.

In an international study, for UNESCO, by Gallagher (1995), she concluded that the following were obstacles for women:

1. Stereotyped attitudes
   - Not being taken seriously;
   - Flirting by male staff;
   - Old boys networking; and
   - Perceptions of what a manager should be like and being forced to conform to this.
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2. Salary differences.

3. Values and priorities: if women restrict themselves to what they consider “important” (and that can vary), they are viewed as having “soft” interests and hence their promotion prospects are limited. When they move into areas dominated by men, they feel that neglecting other “important” issues. They are thus caught in the middle.

4. Working conditions: reconciling work and family demands.

Specific Obstacles Identified by Staff

These above obstacles occur in South Africa as well. Discussions of these occur throughout this paper. However, a specific question “what do you think are obstacles for women?” was put to the interviewees. The responses applied to women at all levels, even those where affirmative action appears to be working/is effective.

- There is a lack of opportunity. Women are not trained for leadership positions.

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) said:

Women do not get enough opportunity to progress and are met with resistance by men when they do succeed.

An Indian female journalist (8) responded:

Well, we are not trained in the company to actually advance. There are training opportunities but we are not sent on them because they say we need to stick to our deadlines etc... They generally groom men for management... they are targeted more to be in leadership positions than women are.

- Women have to work harder than men to gain respect and are undermined. Black women in particular are undermined.
A black female journalist (3) stated that black females are not taken seriously:

They don’t take young, black, female journalists seriously. We need to be assertive but we also have to work twice as hard to be recognised.

A black male manager (13) reported that black women find it particularly hard especially at management level and are undermined:

Black women find it very hard, especially at managerial level. They are undermined. We had a person promoted, a black woman. The staff undermined her, she became unproductive, and she left. We also had a white woman that left. In the black woman’s case, she was undermined and people became very aggressive towards her. With the white woman, she didn’t show respect to the workers so how could she get any?

A coloured male technician and union representative (2) said that some people have a disregard for women:

Some people have a disregard for females. I believe they have a hang-up. Some people also have a disregard for her colour, her hair, and her size. So I think different things will affect the males. I think it’s because men feel threatened when a woman takes charge of them, they aren’t used to it, it doesn’t happen at home.

A black male manager (21) stated that often men are quite patronising to women:

There are very few women and I wonder how to get females involved in terms of being journalists and how to address the issue of men being quite patronising to the women who enter the company.

The environment is white male dominated and women feel undermined. Black women in particular find it very difficult to get recognition within the working environment and for fear of losing their job learn to live within the constraints.
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A black female journalist (16) expressed her experience:

*It is male dominated, with a white male attitude. As a black woman, it’s difficult to get a job, it used to be that’s for sure, so you just continue suffering without complaining and learn to live within the constraints of the job. Men also see women as subordinate, especially if their wives don’t work and depend on them. But men also fear women because they know they are capable of doing the job. Also I grew up dominated by my father, so it’s also difficult for me to believe that I don’t have to be dominated by men and I can succeed. So there’s a general attitude that’s the problem.*

She went on to say:

*The number of males dominates the number of females in the newsroom. Even if you have balanced race groups in the newsroom, as far as women are concerned, but it is still dominated by men. Even in senior positions, maybe they want us to work twice as hard to see if we can fit in that position... You have to keep quiet. You know when they said in the past, you can be spoken to, but you cannot speak to me (the boss) but I can still speak about you, that still exist. How can it change? Only with employing a balanced gender and race within all positions.*

- Biological/Maternal/Social Constraints: Women often leave the work environment after a few years, either because of the lack of pay, or family responsibilities. Bosses fear that they will leave and they would have to re-train someone to fill the positions and are therefore hesitant in hiring or promoting them. (See also the above section). Further, women in general are regarded as wives and mothers. Women also express that men feel threatened with a woman in charge. Women also have difficulties exerting themselves due to the male-dominated up bringing. Thus, it is not only the working environment that needs addressing but a broader social context as well.

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) reflected:

*I think age normally comes into it. Many women will want maternity leave and at the back of the bosses mind is this when looking for people, which shouldn’t happen.*
A white male manager (1) reported:

Women don't stay in the business for more than 5-10 years. They move to magazine, get married and stop work, have children, most get to junior positions only.

Both sexes grow up in a male dominated household making it very difficult for them to break these barriers and internal beliefs. Therefore, they often believe that women are subordinate.

A black male senior journalist (12) reflected:

You see the inability of men to come to terms with the idea that they would have a woman as a boss and that they should take instruction from her. It's very difficult for some men. Because of either historical or cultural reasons, the man is always seen to be the head of the house, the provider etc. etc. etc. We obviously know that's a load of codswallow. On the other hand, women need to be more assertive and assert their constitutional rights and their rights in terms of the Labour Relations Act.

The obstacles that women encounter relate to their roles as mothers and wives. While over the years there has been recognition that women want to work, and a growing need for women to work, little has been done to make balancing of the roles easy. Further, companies have made little acknowledgement, on an international scale that men are moving towards a more active role within the family. Thus, rather than moving towards making the work environment more accessible, and conducive to family life, women are expected to be superwomen and men are expected to want to work with no real family life. (Alperson 1993b; Beasley 1989; Gallagher 1981; Hersch 1993; Rappaport and Rappaport 1993; Tong 1989). Without acknowledging the very real problems and complex situations faced by women in the companies and by the companies themselves, and addressing these, the discriminatory cycle will continue.

A study in 1987 by Joshi, found that women often held at least half of the positions in training institutions, but less than half of the jobs. Given equal qualifications, a woman had less of a chance than a man did in finding full-time work in the industry. Women are more likely than men are to seek part time employment. The reason for this is personal difficulties women express in trying to reconcile their domestic responsibilities with their professional career. Often, companies force

Women are expected to be superwomen and men are expected to not want a family

Companies force people into gender stereotypes with little acknowledgement
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people into these gender roles as women are not recognised as breadwinners and family is not a priority for men. Little acknowledgement is made of the fact that women support between a quarter (1/4) and a third (1/3) of families around the world, but these are the poorest families. This is because there is little acknowledgement of women as breadwinners. They are hence paid less than men are (Gallagher 1981). This is a contentious issue that has to be addressed.

The industry, which continues to be adapted to traditional male requirements and priorities, does not address the specific nature of problems experienced by women (UNESCO 1987).

• Job Allocation: The belief that certain jobs are reserved for men exists. Although this is not a policy, it is an attitude. Thus, the glass ceiling effect is dominant both in terms of a salary and in terms of opportunities. Women express the difficulty of penetrating the male dominated and male corporate culture because of the existing attitudes and boundaries. The added problem that women express in trying to progress is that they have to work harder than men do. Further, they feel that their domestic responsibilities also hinder their chances and thus, men should be more active in this sphere.

An Indian female manager (5) remarked that it was a boys club:

It's a boys club. Certain jobs will only go to men and women have to really fight for these. Women also have to work harder to prove themselves but also they have domestic responsibilities. I think that men and women should share the domestic responsibilities and companies should realise that these are important and do not mean that the people are not committed to the company as well. They should be more flexible. Women also fall pregnant and have to be more assertive... this is their right and they should not be discriminated based on it. It's a society problem and managers shouldn't have to work the long hours they had to previously. I don't think your work should affect your family life, for men and women, that's wrong. Families are drifting apart and should be growing closer together and there's strain and stress so generally one person makes a sacrifice with the career and because women earn less than men, they do and that's wrong. It has to be addressed and family life must be important as well.
She went on to say:

*I think that certain jobs will always be considered to be male, like managing directors. I don’t think they will even consider putting a female in, they won’t even develop a female to fulfil the position.*

A white female manager (14) reflected that top positions are perceived as male jobs:

*There are not enough women in senior positions, and in editorial positions, it is perceived as male jobs.*

A black senior male journalist (12) remarked that there is an attitude that men should be managers:

*The attitude of men in general, is that in order for a manager to be effective, he must be a man.*

Women are not the only ones who experience discrimination. Males also feel that they are stigmatised when they apply for jobs regarded as female. A coloured male administrator (6) reported:

*There is definitely the attitude that some jobs are for males and others for females and when a male applies for these jobs, like a secretary, PA, there’s a stigma attached and people get shocked. It’s a social thing.*

There is a belief that women cannot do manual or high paying jobs. Women are not trained for the latter. There is also a stereotype and a stigma attached when males apply for traditional female jobs such as receptionist, PA etc.

Males still dominate the newsroom and the decision-making positions making it very difficult for women to alter the pre-conceptions that exist. This is an international trend. (Gallagher 1995; Joshi 1987; Manhando 1994).

A white male manager (21) realised the complexity of the situation and on this basis expresses the need for gender workshops to include both men and women.

*Generally the corporate culture is very white male, middle class and gender issues have to be brought to the fore. People*
have tried to do this before but it doesn’t always succeed because there is a continuation of culture, people can go to workshops, they change a little but they go back into this corporate culture... Because this corporate culture is difficult to penetrate, with regard to workshops, men and women have to be included.

2. Sexual Harassment

The recognition that there are unequal power relations brings another variable into the equation, that is, the problem of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment changes fundamental power dynamics at work. Sexual harassment most broadly defined refers to the unwanted imposition of sexual requirement in the context of a relationship of unequal power. This often stems from the accepted language used to talk to women. It includes sexual suggestions, pick-up lines and suggestions, jokes, leering, brushing against the body, friendly pats, squeezes or pinches, indecent proposals and threats to lose one’s job unless sexual requirements are met (Mackinnon 1989).

Sexual harassment at work not only undercuts women’s potential for social equality, but also disadvantages, degrades and objectifies them (Mackinnon 1979). Men who address women as ‘baby’ and ‘doll’, for example, often believe that women enjoy it. They feel that it is harmless and flattering. A woman might initially admit to being flattered. On closer questioning however, she expresses feelings of discomfort. The contradiction merely asserts that her sexuality is not hers alone but is rather an aspect of her public personality which belongs to any man who wishes to appropriate it through comment. This is a notion which many women have internalised (Maroney 1986).

Research into the extent of sexual harassment in South Africa is limited. One survey suggests that 67% of working women have experienced harassment (Mowatt 1986 cited in Soul City 1999). Another study found that 76% of female respondents had been harassed (Institute of directors cited in Soul City 1999:26).

A sexual harassment policy is necessary for creating an equal working environment, establishing a commitment towards addressing the role, and use of language in establishing negative attitudes, beliefs and values. Gender sensitisation workshops must occur to educate the workforce on what sexual harassment entails and that “little comments” affect the way
they relate to each other as workers. These policies must be accessible and highly publicised (Hersch 1993; Lereche 1993).

The ideal is to create an environment where the person affected can simply tell the other that his (/her) behaviour offends her (/him), and where the person whose conduct has caused such offence take this seriously and desists (Hersch 1993:179).

It is not only the responsibility of men to change the way they relate to women, but also the responsibility of women to acknowledge their feelings and to assert themselves.

- There is under-reporting on sexual harassment in the organisation.

A coloured female administrator and union representative (4) reflected:

Since I have been working here I have dealt with 2 cases of harassment. I have reason to believe that this is just a drop in the ocean. There’s a lot of harassment going on and people don’t talk about it. The reasons from this I am not sure.

Most respondents report that there have been no cases of harassment. It would seem however that people are quite sceptical about what harassment really entails.

An Indian female manager (5) said:

A lot of us get harassed but it’s not at a level that you can call it harassment. It is the way you are been spoken to, but its not sexist harassment. I don’t call it harassment. I think people are just damn right bloody rude, and they don’t have manners, and they don’t know how to talk to people. People call it victimisation. That’s harassment but people don’t look at it like that

Managers are aware that the issue needs addressing but are unclear on how to address these issues, although they are aware that it is a dynamic.

A coloured male manager (20) reported on the complexity of the situation:

What is important is that within the company, there are males and females and there does exist a mutual understanding.
however; what happens is men refer to women that they see in the work situation as ‘babes’, that is, with a derogatory word; they also refer to females as ‘girls’; this has previously offended female staff who have stated that this is disrespectful; the response of the men was that they should also be called boys. This type of tension has to be addressed and it is not used in addressing one sex only, dynamics of the situation need to be addressed, as this is what is encountered in everyday situations.

A black male manager (13) stated that the structure is in place:

There is now an acceptance that women do not like to be spoken to in certain ways, and they are aware that men are aware. There are times when the language continues but only in certain conditions and with certain people, but it has reduced. Even with males, some people will swear each other while others will be offended, so it is very circumstantial. People do know that there are structures in place, they can go to the unions but there is also a grievance procedure. If the person doesn’t speak that’s their problem.

There is a need to educate the workforce that comments affect interaction (Hersch 1993; Lereche 1993). Managers and employees need to be educated on what harassment is and how to address these on both an informal and formal basis.

3. Allocation of Assignments

Respondents reported that assignment allocation occurred based on culture/language. This form of informal discrimination is linked to perceptions.

People of colour reported that where a difference in the allocation of assignments does exist, it was in terms of culture or language rather than gender. Allocation of assignments occurred based on race. Blacks have to attend to their own communities, the broader community and have to help whites in black communities. This they felt ensures that there is no real breaking of stereotypes.

According to the study by Manhando (1994), this has changed. She found that the emphasis in the allocation of assignments occurred on gender.
An Indian female journalist (8) who works in a large company, expressed that there is a difference in the type of concern given by the editors to people of colour. She expressed the unfairness of the situation:

*Oh, yes there is a difference: they will not send a white woman to certain areas, but its OK for the black women to go to those areas. Whenever whites go to their areas they are checked upon, contacted, but we aren't, its just expected that we would handle ourselves and don't need to be checked on, so I don't feel they care the same about us. We don't even get debriefed and we experience some horrific things.*

A black female journalist (16) from a large company expressed the unfairness in terms of work-load on black reporters due to the issue of language:

*There is still a gap between journalists. They will send a black journalist to different stories, but a white journalist because of language they will mostly send to white areas and stories, or will also be given another reporter who speaks the language or knows the area. So the black person does a double job, the white attitude doesn’t change because there is no need for them to learn the language, and no training offered for them to learn the language.*

An Indian female journalist in a small company (15) however believed that when this occurs, it is addressed because they have a say and can discuss the issue:

*We always talk about if we think we are being assigned because of race and then it is changed. We always have meetings, every morning. If you have a problem you can always talk about it, go to the assistant editor etc.*

The allocation of assignments based on language and culture is a problem particular to South Africa. It means that in smaller companies, the black journalist has to do double the work. The black journalist attends to stories across sectors and suburbs. At the same time, he or she gives assistance to those journalists who wish to conduct stories or interviews
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in black areas or with African-speaking people. In larger companies, journalists are allocated assignments based on the language they speak with blacks and white journalists only then covering stories in their own areas. Thus, breaking the stereotypes that have existed is very difficult. Training must occur to break these barriers down.

Morale appears to be affected by the amount of autonomy the reporter has or thinks he/she has. Further, it is affected by the extent to which the reporter thinks a raise/promotion is likely and the process is fair (Smith et al 1989).

4. Relationships in Organisations

a) Relationships with Male and Female Managers

Individual experience decided the attitude towards managers based on gender.

- Women are better as they are more supportive and do not need to have their egos boosted.

An Indian female journalist (8) said:

*There is such a difference. I get a lot more support from the female supervisor than the male “bosses”. They say that the door is open you can come to talk at any time, when you do, they don’t hear you, they talk and talk but they don’t actually hear a word that you are saying... its very condescending sometimes. So from my experience females are better.*

A coloured female administrator and union representative (4) stated:

*When there was a male editor, he used to give women softer stories, now with a female; she’s more sensitive to ensure that this does not happen. With women, there is not a need to have your ego boosted and to feel a need to throw your weight around.*

It is interesting that stories stereotyped in particular ways take on a gendered outlook. Preference to “male stories” occurs, both in the media and in terms of promotion (Gallagher 1995).
Possibilities for informal discrimination

- Men are better as they are more assertive.

Some staff in the company disregard female managers, based on stereotypes and general socialisation.

A black male senior journalist (12) stated:

_The attitude of men in general, is that in order for a manager to be effective, he must be a man. They will listen to men and believe he knows what is wanted._

A coloured male technician and union representative (2) said a woman’s personal appearance is more important to men that what she is saying:

_Some people have a disregard for females. I believe they have a hang-up. Some people also have a disregard for her colour, her hair, and her size. So I think different things will affect the males. I thinks its because men feel threatened when a woman takes charge of them, they aren’t used to it, it doesn’t happen at home._

A coloured male administrator (6) expressed:

_It depends on the individual._

b) Relationships with Managers of Different Races

Black men also have to overcome prejudice.

There was a belief that blacks would lower working standards, that white education and ideas were perfect, that blacks resented private enterprise, that blacks had no work ethic and that they lacked initiative (Modi 1993). The general attitude towards the black workers was that they were not business-people, and would simply be satisfied with a good salary and benefits. Therefore, management felt that there was a need to promote blacks while recruitment and normal operations continued. This resulted in a slide back to the status quo (Modi 1993).

In the affirmative action of 1992 management expected blacks in their new positions not to perform necessarily, but simply to represent their
community. Affirmative action occurred as a result of guilt for the sins of the past and the belief that it would be good for the company's image. Mkhuanazi (1993) argues that corporate South Africa was willing to redistribute income but not assets, management and decision-making power. He argues that until affirmative action addresses ownership and decision-making power, it is ineffective.

Perceptions of abilities of blacks were not commented upon directly. However, they did reveal themselves.

An Indian female journalist (8) felt that white managers do not understand the cultural experiences and the present changes:

_I think my white manager is totally out of date with everything that happens in any other community. He doesn't empathise or understand or identify with my experiences and can be quite condescending at times._

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) however felt that because of education and social environments, white managers are better equipped to run departments.

_I'd say that a white manager may run the department better, but there are reasons for this. My understanding of those reasons are that the white manager for example compared to the black manager had access to better education and come from better, more sound environments, domestically and otherwise. And that's a direct reflection on how they manage, on how they do their job. The black manager can become equal if not better than the white manager, but it's going to take a lot of hard work._

A coloured male administrator (6) expressed the idea that coloured and black managers are still at an early stage and need to have their ego boosted.

_I think black and coloured managers always try to make a point in wanting to show everybody that I'm boss because I think people differentiate between a white and coloured or black boss. I think that coloured bosses really want to prove a point and be firm._
A black female journalist (3) said:

*It's easier to relate to a superior of the same culture.*

Black staff felt that there was a lack of understanding on a personal basis and a lack of consideration for another point of view on a professional basis, from white managers. It was believed that white managers and editors were more inclined to change the story in the editing stage to fit more in line with the general beliefs held by the newspaper.

When this was reported at the SANEF meeting, a white male editor expressed concern that this would re-iterate the stereotype that white editors and journalists are racist. He went on to say that the stories were subbed due to copy-errors.

It is interesting that black males were not “attacked” like females were and when criticism was levelled, social explanations were offered. This did not occur for females, where comparisons remained at a personal level.

c) Relationships between Colleagues

A black male senior journalist (12) spoke about the difficulties with working with people from different cultures:

*The cultural difficulty has to do with language and the way you associate as you grow up.. it will take considerable time for that divide to be closed. There is often resistance to any initiative within the company or by the newspaper to try to encourage understanding of different cultures.*

A coloured male technician and union representative (2) expressed the misunderstandings that can arise:

*There can be a misunderstanding of cultures, but I believe you can find out about a person’s culture and talk more to the person then you understand why he does certain things.*

A coloured male administrator (6) reported that residue beliefs from Apartheid continue and time is needed to fully eradicate these effects:

*I still think that whites feel that they are superior to coloureds and coloureds feel that they are superior to blacks. As much as*
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we want to think that we are equal and that we want to prove we are equal and the same goes for parties and company function, you would still find the blacks grouping, and the coloured grouping and the whites grouping. Maybe it's just because of our cultural backgrounds and whatever but I think in this case, you wouldn't find it. But the worms are there in the woodwork.

A white male manager (17) spoke about the less stressful situation that is now present within organisations:

You're going to have pressure points, no matter how you approach it. If you bring in people from different backgrounds, into any individual environment, you're going to have certain pressure points. Whether those translate into tension is another matter. I don't think we have a kind of racial sensitivity that we might've had 4 or 5 years ago... where people automatically assume that there is a racial bias. Now people can make comments, certainly about politics that they would not have dreamt of making 4-5 years ago.

A black female journalist (16) expressed the learning about cultures from colleagues:

You learn a lot when your colleagues are from different backgrounds, but you have to be open to this, otherwise there's no point. You learn about other people's cultures. But because of our upbringings and because of our systems, we didn't get a chance to share that, for us to know we are in fact going through the same thing.

Although social groupings continue to exist, some members of staff expressed the opportunity to learn about different cultures via the interaction of staff from different cultures.

An understanding of cultures and cultural pressures and practices needs establishing. This will not only facilitate the general process of change and transformation in attitudes in the country, but will also ensure that better working relationships are established.
5. Problems Experienced By Unions

There is a general commitment by unions to improve working conditions of staff. Union representatives however, complained of a lack of time to dedicate to the unions. Interestingly, the South African media union members were ambivalent about demanding adequate and progressive training for staff. While the unions are committed to a collective empowerment, they feared that their demand for expansive training might lead to individual empowerment. In this scenario, the unions feared the loss of the skills of the member when he/she progresses. This fear and apparent lack of commitment to ensuring the development of members, led to the members feeling as though the unions are not doing enough.

- There was not much support for the Unions.

A coloured male administrator (6) said:

I don’t think the union actually plays that big a role in the company. From my experience, the unions don’t mean a thing. The unions should actually be in a stronger position in the company because sometimes there are issues which you can’t discuss with your boss because you’re having a dispute with your boss but you can go to your union official and he/she can then represent you should there be an issue.

- Union representatives had difficulty in reconciling their union duties with the demands of their job.

A coloured female administrator and union representative (4) expressed her difficulty:

I don’t really do my job that well, because of my professional job. We try as far as possible, but because you have to split your time between your union work and your professional job, it’s lacking. The unions have been in a bit of a slump at the moment and people are only interested in the unions for wage negotiations. What is needed is someone who is at home to run the union side of matters because that person obviously has more time to send circulars, information sheets and stuff like that. The workers don’t say things to the right people and must become more assertive.
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- Union representatives were ambivalent about insisting on training for their members.

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) said:

*The unions are two-minded about getting involved in demanding training for staff. We want our members to move up the ladder and improve themselves. But there's also a fear that when the members reach a certain level, instead of re-investing with the union, they move away. We lose the skill and the experience that should be available to us.*

### Summary

The following are possibilities for informal discrimination at the time of the study:

**Women experience the following obstacles for promotion:**

- They are not trained for leadership positions
- They have to work harder than men
- The organisation is male dominated and a male corporate culture exists
- Women in senior positions are often undermined
- There is a belief that certain jobs are suited to certain genders
- Society regards them only as mothers and wives, although in the workplace, hence they receive no concessions and no facilities are available to aid them in these roles. This then hinders their chances of promotion and even applying for the promotion.

There is an under-reporting of harassment. In keeping with international research, the interviews revealed that members of staff, within the organisation and across all levels, are not aware of what constitutes sexual harassment.

Men are stigmatised when they apply for positions stereotyped as being for “females” such as receptionists.
Misunderstandings occur due to different cultures and a lack of understanding of cultural pressures.

Black journalists feel that they have to do double the work as they work in townships and other areas. They report that whites are only allocated to urban areas and some say they are only ever allocated assignments in townships. This, they conclude, results in stories being stereotypical and proves that job allocation based on race continues.

Added to this problem, blacks expressed that when they then write stories, white editors change them to fit into established stereotypes, and hence that affirmative action is not effective in relation to content. A white editor, however, felt that this interpretation merely reinforces the belief that white editors and journalists are racists. He went on to say that stories are subbed due to copy-errors, rather than to fit into a general stereotype.

Unions express a fear of the loss of skills should they insist on training and promotions. They further express the lack of time to fulfil their union duties.

These issues are important and need addressing if companies are committed to growth and development.
Affirmative Action and Training
In this period of transition many companies have tried to focus on training of staff. This chapter explores the need for training and the experience of training within media organisations.

1. The Need for Training

a) General

Confronting racial issues in an organisation should be seen as part of a wider process. Individuals shape organisations but, in turn, their behaviour is also shaped by aspects of organisational life: structures, communication systems, organisational norms, policies and procedures, values and mission statements, strategic and operational plans, and so on (Meintjes 1993:76).

Human Resource departments should already have a theoretical understanding of management development, in particular of black management development (Yudelowits 1993; Innes 1993). People placed in such positions should be qualified or have adequate potential. Once establishment of this criterion occurs, preferential treatment to the disadvantaged group is necessary. Removal of any discriminatory cultural bias in determining the nature of the job and qualifications is necessary and training should be provided (Degenaar 1980).

Human Resource personnel should inform staff in the company of the laws in place and the company’s policy regarding affirmative action. Further, committees to address and work through any issues of informal discrimination or resistance is necessary. Addressing resistance is important especially when the targeted group enters management positions, especially junior management. Here lies the foundations for their future development, and their position needs to be firmly established. Implementation of adequate training for the target group, to ensure that they are not set up for failure is necessary (Innes 1993; Yudelowits 1993).

Affirmative action can only be successfully implemented if it occurs at all levels within the company and with the establishment of reachable action targets and the commitment of the company. This can only occur through training. Therefore, training is intrinsic to affirmative action. Further, affirmative action requires the support
of top management, a direct line of communication within the company (which would include accountability and report backs to the staff), training programmes for the targeted groups and other members of the company. The individual chosen must have some qualifications or potential to fulfil the duties required in the job. This would prevent any idea of tokenism, patronisation or affirmative action as window dressing (De Wet 1994; Innes 1993; Louw 1994; McGregor 1993; Sachs 1994). There is also a need for companies to be more flexible in terms of the method of conducting business, to take into account ideas that may be different from the status quo (Sachs 1994). Due to the historical educational discrepancies in South Africa, skills training within the company is necessary (Kraak 1993).

b) Problems Experienced by Managers in South African Media Companies

- White managers complained of a lack of qualified people to fulfil the affirmative action jobs. This is caused by the historical discrepancy in the general education of students.

A white female manager (20) spoke about the need for the industry and tertiary institutions to work together to meet the needs of the industry:

> We want to encourage blacks to work in the field, and we are looking for financial journalists and there are not many black financial journalists, although this is where the money is. I am not sure if there is just a lack of interest or a lack of knowledge of what this entails. To combat the situation we have approached Rhodes to make journalism a post-graduate course; also within the economics course the students should be exposed to journalism.

A white male manager (17) reported on the difficulties in trying to develop a person in a progressive way as they is such a high demand for people with abilities:

> ... the skills base is very small, which means you have a small pool of people who can fit the job so they become very expensive. After 18 months or so, they leave as they are offered better jobs and salaries. There’s a rapid acceleration process but you have to nurture people rather than fast track them, but its difficult because they will get jobs elsewhere.
They also express that there is a lack of passion for work, which is required for one to develop in a particular career.

A white female manager (25) remarked on this issue:

*There are generally few blacks and other races in the media. I have interviewed people to try to get them to join, but there seems to be a general lack of passion for the jobs. I look for passion rather than race. When people enter the company they must see it not as a start of a job, but as a start of a career. We must train people from school to have passion for their work.*

Thus, the issue of the education system needs addressing. The international trend suggests that women occupy most training posts, although this is not reflected subsequently in terms of the decision-making power (UNESCO 1987, Gallagher 1995). Companies and tertiary institutes must work together to establish ways to address the issue of education in the context of transformation.

Given the problems managers encounter, and the structural discrimination of Apartheid, companies in their affirmative action policies should stipulate and make provisions for training in their attempt to redress past discrimination.

2. Experiences of Training

Staff were asked about the training they receive, and how it has benefited them. There appears to be two distinct attitudes towards the steps taken. Managers and other staff generally felt that there are opportunities for people to train but journalists felt that the training is just a farce.

a) Positive:

An Indian female manager (5) spoke about the in-house training in her company:

*There has been a lot of training in the building in the last few years from the highest rank to the lowest rank, every couple of months we get training and then we get certificates. There are opportunities, but it is limited, it is really up to you.*
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A white male manager (17) remarked that although in-house training was not possible, there was a lot of support available from within the organisation.

A coloured male technician and union representative (2) acknowledged the workshops where expression of experiences are possible:

_Workshops .. the company has opened up a channel where we can express our opinions about culture and gender policy. It’s been effective, people don’t change easily, our managers help people to change, they speak to people and the head speaks to managers if there is a problem._

b) Negative

Black female journalists appear to be the worst affected. They spoke about the bureaucracy of the training process.

A young black female journalist (3) expressed that in theory the possibility for training is there, although in practice it is not:

_They try but its very funny ... I’ve filled in forms many times and it seems the only thing you do is this whole bureaucratic thing of yes we are doing something about it but the practicality of it is just not happening. It’s just not happening. And I refuse to sit back and say, well I’ve been given this chance, so let me sit back and keep quiet about it. You can’t do that. You need to voice your opinion every day to make it known you are unhappy about this. They say they try but I don’t think they try hard enough._

They also discussed the inadequate steps taken by tertiary institutions in preparation for the prejudices, particularly related to gender, that will be encountered in the workplace.

A young black female journalist (16) spoke about training in both tertiary institutions and within the company:

_The company doesn’t provide real training and the technikons don’t provide real training as well. They have to train people to think positive about women as journalists. They and the company have to provide opportunities for people to talk to_
each other as only this will really change attitudes. They also have to meet with you to let you know your progress. They must also not forget the positive things you have done and your achievement and must not threaten you as that will kill you and then how can you come to work and perform. Also when they do come to tell you where you can improve they tell you in public, in front of everyone, that’s not ethical, that destroys a person. So you’re sitting in the newsroom, threatened about making a mistake. You make a mistake something will be said, shouted at you, with everyone hearing, so that’s not nice, its not healthy... It’s training with an attitude. The attitude is the problem.

There appears to be a commitment towards change and training but with no real active steps.

A black male senior journalist (12), provided an explanation for this:

There’s a commitment towards training but the company’s employment equity policy provides that previously disadvantaged people will be trained, but its not happening in an active sense because of restructuring. I do it actively though. They seek my advice and I encourage them to.

A coloured female administrator and union representative (4) stated:

The company has changed, but its very patronising, without any real change.

3. Evaluating Affirmative Action and Training

There are three types of training namely:

(a) On the job training for affirmative action appointees

Generally, managers and technical staff felt that the implementation of affirmative action and training are effective. This could be related to the international managerial belief that affirmative action is about individual empowerment (Alperson 1993a; Hall and Albrecht in Hugo 1986). Journalists and administrative staff however feel that it is not effective, as it is merely “words reduced to paper”. They believe that although affirmative action appointments have occurred, there is a lack of appropriate training and development.
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(b) General training courses offered to all company staff

When general training occurs, outsiders get the jobs and promotions. Hence, they feel trapped and frustrated at present. Thus, their complaints relate to the company not being committed to a collective empowerment, which is the concept promoted by international unions and academics (Alperson 1993; Hall and Albrecht in Hugo 1986). They also do not feel empowered as individuals which is what managers feel they are doing.

(c) Training in tertiary institutions

It is interesting that staff say that tertiary education should equip them with knowledge about the working environment and skill to deal with the problems they encounter. This draws attention to the need of staff and also to the view that the working environment is not seen to be supportive to provide this type of help. Perhaps both tertiary institutions and the company should consider and address this need.

Summary

There is a discrepancy in education.

Management feels that there is a lack of qualified people available to fulfil jobs, especially in special areas.

Further, managers report that staff do not feel passionate about their careers.

Journalists expressed that specific problems faced by women should be addressed in educational institutions.

Journalists and administrative staff do not feel that training is effective. They feel that while affirmative action appointments did occur, there is a lack of training and development. They also felt that even when general training did occur within the company, in-house promotions are very seldom. The company would justify it by saying that the staff lacked experience.
The Way Forward
The 1987 UNESCO research concluded that equal opportunities were possible only when equality was the basis of an employment policy. This did not mean that the considerations of males and females should be the same, but should rather address the specific needs of the respective genders. The agenda should include issues of health, family, child-care, harassment and rape (UNESCO 1987). Joshi (1987), conducting research in India, advocated training programmes for women and men to dispel the stereotypes in organisations. This would increase the social awareness of both sexes, including recognition of the many different ways of reaching the same conclusion. Structural changes were necessary in the organisation. An orientation to develop healthy attitudes, a consideration for maternity and paternity leave and an awareness of dual roles had to exist. She found that men actually believed that women held a high proportion of senior positions. She therefore expressed the need to make figures available to organisations to dispel these false impressions.

The analysis of women at work and in the media proves that although society has progressed, there is room for improvement and further advancement, especially within the media. This is an ideal time for South Africa to address the gender-related issues raised by other countries and studies. The investigations of the present state of the media in South Africa will not only benefit this country, but will contribute to the world-wide investigation of the state of media and the workplace.

The study by Manhando (1994) concluded that both males and females have to consider and respect their different needs. (There was also a need to investigate if these needs were in fact different). Equality is only possible with the consideration of the specific needs of the individual. Further, women have to be more assertive and men have to change their attitude that their own needs and considerations are the norm. Other recommendations are:

- Implement affirmative action policies more effectively;
- Allow staff to buy shares into the company;
- Training and educating staff;
- Implementation of legislation and establishing a quota system; and
- A clear sexual harassment policy;

Both Manhando (1994) and Jackman (1998) found that when women were in senior positions, they often felt pressured to mimic traditional male management methods. The interviewees in both studies expressed a need for women to become more assertive.
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- Employ more women and disadvantaged people in general and specifically in top positions, while being cautious on the way it is done. Women must create opportunities and companies must support these, to enable women to explore how they wish to conduct themselves as managers.

An Indian female journalist (15) reported that she would like to see more women of colour progress in the organisation:

> I’d like to see women of colour actually advance in the company and be given the opportunity to advance because its pointless you trying to prove yourself if you are not recognised, ya, just given opportunities will help. You are supposed to create your own opportunity but the reality is that someone in management has to actually have a hand in it.

A white male editor/manager (1) wondered why women leave early and that there was a need to build the organisation rather than just employing people:

> I would like to know why women leave so quickly and how to make them stay. Also with affirmative action, we started at the top and I don’t think that’s the right way we need to build people up. We also have to establish more training.

A white male editor/manager (17) reported that he would like to see a greater representation across race and gender in the organisation:

> I would like to see people progress through the organisation and that we can get a greater representation across race and a 50/50 ratio with regard to gender.

A coloured female journalist (7) expressed that more women and people of colour should be employed in high positions:

> At the moment the top structures, the key positions for the decision making, are clearly white. I mean its male and its white. At the lowest level, you have blacks. They (managers) think they are doing well in terms of affirmative action and they aren’t. I think we should get more females and black people on higher levels in the company.
A black female journalist (16) said that more women should be employed and the salary discrimination should be addressed. Further, that concession should be made for the different cultural upbringings and people should not be penalised for these differences:

I would like to see more women employed, and for the salaries to be the same. More women must be in senior positions and in positions of power. Because that will change, what I have been educated all my life: that a woman is inferior and the man, superior. I would like to see women from rural areas, but whose interests are in journalism to be given a chance to go to school and get a job. And not for them to be judged as not being confident because her upbringing has caused her to be like that.

A black female journalist (3) expressed that at present there is a strong sense of frustration that has to be addressed:

I think that at present many people feel cheated. We find ourselves in a job and then become frustrated because we don’t see any changes happening. The attitude is be grateful that you have this job, this is how things are going to be and your opinion doesn’t count and that has to change.

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) stated that more money should be spent developing black people:

The company should spend more money developing black people compared to what they could possibly spend developing white people. The company needs to award black people more opportunities than they are currently doing ... need to sit them down and plot their career paths with them ... thus play more of an active role... they must look at the individual and the needs of that individual.

- Provide training that is more effective.

A white male manager (21) reported that attention must be paid to the research that is done:

Train them properly and be committed to the implementation of suggestions, which does not occur; research is done and swept under the carpet

An Indian female manager (5) expressed that the domestic responsibilities of women must be acknowledged to ensure that they
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too can progress up the ladder without these worries:

Women aren’t given equal opportunities to pursue positions because of domestic responsibilities and training and this has to be addressed.

- Women must become more assertive.

A coloured female journalist (7) said:

Women must become more assertive.

A coloured female administrator and union representative (4) reported that women and men must learn to adjust:

Women must learn to be more assertive and men must learn to change.

- There must be a change in the unions.

A coloured male administrator (6) said unions must be developed:

Unions have to be stronger and salaries have to be improved.

An Indian male journalist and union representative (11) argued that the company does not provide unions with a voice:

We have been saying as labour that we need to have a seat around the table where decisions are taken, the decisions where the welfare and the direction of the company is decided and at present labour doesn’t have a voice there.

- There should be a move towards focusing on skills and merit

An Indian female manager from a small company (15) expressed:

I’d like things to be approached on a merit basis ... because when I approach my job I don’t think of myself as a woman. I think of myself as a human being, doing my job. Then someone points out “you’re a woman”. That offends me ... It shouldn’t actually be that way. I am proud that I am a woman but when I am doing a job, you want to be recognised for your job, you know sort of genderless. But that will take a while.

A black male manager (13) discussed:

I would like to look for people with skill regardless of race and gender...
The Way Forward

Based on these and other issues, the following recommendations need addressing:

1. Increase representation of females and people of colour in management positions.

2. Equalise salaries. Further, redress issues of salary distribution in company policies.

3. Somehow, focus on addressing the disillusionment experienced by white staff at present, while simultaneously redressing the past discrimination.

4. Address the marginalisation experienced by Indians and coloureds.

5. Prevent the feeling of entitlement.

6. Provide opportunities for discussions among staff, teaching women to be more assertive and men to change their attitudes. Teach both genders ways to address contentious issues, the role of language and ways to address and reconcile social and domestic issues with careers. Included in this may be the establishment of crèche facilities, paternity leave and the scheduling of meetings to accommodate school lift clubs.

7. Provide union representatives with time to attend to union matters.

8. Unions can possibly stipulate that their members should continue to contribute to union work after promotion, should unions take up issues of training etc.

9. Provide more training to develop people and move them progressively up the ladder.

10. Provide adequate training for affirmative action appointees.

11. Provide training, such as in language, to broaden the areas into which white reporters can go. This
will ensure the development of cultural understanding and reporters will be able to explore a wider range of stories.

12. Ensure that when all journalists enter a dangerous area they have constant contact with the organisation and are properly debriefed on their return.

13. Develop ways in which editing of stories is done so that both journalists and editors understand each others' view. The message of the story must not be lost while writing skills are developed. This can be achieved via workshops and discussion groups.

14. Discussions between tertiary educators and professionals should occur to address the issues raised, the needs of the organisation and staff.

15. Allow women opportunities to explore how they want to conduct themselves as managers.

By providing equal opportunity, there can be an eventual move towards recruiting and promoting people based purely on skills.
Conclusion
THIS RESEARCH has attempted to answer some of the questions around race, gender and equality in the media industry. The specific focus being the demographic representation of groups in the industry and different job categories, training, benefits and salaries, allocation of assignments, treatment by management and issues of sexual harassment and discrimination. Differences in the demographic distribution and salaries exist. Further, racial and gender differences exist in the opinions of the effectiveness of the practice of affirmative action. Differences also exist in the attitudes towards training, job allocation and treatment by managers.

Since the studies by Manhando (1994) and Jackman (1998), very little has changed. The glass ceiling effect continues. Redressing of race discrimination receives more preference than that of gender discrimination, with affirmative action perceived mainly as applying to black males. The disregard for the multiple roles that women play at home and in the workplace and for the more active roles that some men wish to play in the home continues. Coloureds and Indians continue to feel marginalised. Salary discrimination based on race and gender continues. Companies are, as required by the Equity Act, still in the process of revising their affirmative action policies and utilisation of this research for this purpose, is possible.

In general, black press expressed little problems in affirmative action due to the nature of their employees. All companies in print and broadcasting have few women in senior positions and across fields within the company. New companies however appear to be more active in addressing the discrepancies.

Explanations for all the findings are not possible. Apartheid laws and its residue effects may explain racial discrepancies, while social practices, attitudes and beliefs may explain gender discrimination. Within companies, managers tend to think and evaluate affirmative action implementation more in terms of the institution and focus on policies and overall development. Staff, however, focus on their individual achievement, advancement and recognition within the institution and the content produced to evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of the policies.

Policies geared towards promotion and training should incorporate the needs expressed by staff, as noted in this report, while maintaining the company's goal. Thus, practical use of the information revealed in this paper is necessary within companies as well as in the industry in general. This should take the form of workshops and revision of policies to meet the needs expressed.
Technical Problems Encountered
The research team encountered some technical problems. These are listed below.

- Many companies expressed the preference for this study to have taken place in the second half of the year. In the first half of the year they were dealing with the financial year-end and were therefore pressed for time.

- The research team had to send the questionnaire to some companies more than once as they had misplaced it.

- We found that completion of the questionnaires took a very long time.

- Companies returned the questionnaire in varying forms and formats making the data very difficult to collate.

- Historical data was difficult to obtain as it was inaccessible either due to structural changes in specific companies, or the company had archived it and did not have enough staff or finances to look for it.

- We would have preferred it if more organisations had granted us interviews.
Albrecht & Hall

Alperson, M.

Alperson, M.

Beasley, M.

Businessmap Report

Cramer, J.A.

Creedon, P.J.

Degenaar, J.

De wet, R.

Du Toit, J.

Dyer, C.S.

Flax, J.
Towards Affirmative Action


Bibliography


Bibliography


Towards Affirmative Action

Thompson, C. 1993. “Legislating Affirmative action employment equity and lessons from developed and developing countries.” In C. Adams (Ed.) Affirmative action in a democratic South Africa. Cape Town: Juta and co.


Appendices
TOWARDS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: ISSUES OF RACE AND GENDER IN MEDIA ORGANISATIONS.

This research conducted by the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies (CCMS), University of Natal, is funded by UNESCO and has the support of SANEF. The information obtained from the research will be used to the benefit of the media industry, in both academic and practical/technical fields. We would greatly appreciate your help in the study, by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire.

The questionnaire consists of 9 pages and 12 questions, which are both open and close ended in nature. Please read the instruction for each question carefully and complete, where possible, those that are relevant to your organisation.

Thank you,

Farhana Goga (Research Manager)
(Tel: 031 - 260 2505/ 1518)
(Fax: 031-260 1519)
(Email: gogaf@mtb.und.ac.za)

GENERAL DETAILS:

1. Name of organisation: __________________________________________

2. Your name: ____________________________________________________

3. Your position in the organisation: _________________________________

4. Are you a national (n) or regional (r) organisation? ________________

5. If regional, state the region _____________________________________
SECTION ONE

1. Please provide the current national distribution of employees.

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and/or

2. Please provide the current regional distribution of employees. M: male F: female

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4. Please provide the 1994 regional distribution of employees. M: male F: female

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If other, specify region/s ________________________________

Page -3-
5. Please provide the distribution of employees based on race and gender in the entire company, in each category. A separate table is provided for each year from 1994 - 1998.

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M.M : Middle management – e.g. regional editors
J.M : Junior management – e.g. news editors
J : Journalists – including senior journalists
I/T : Intern/Trainees – including 6 month trainees and first entries
O.S.L : Other Skilled Labour – including technicians
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6. In what fields are women concentrated eg: administrative/technical etc?

7. What has been the reason for this concentration?

8. How has this changed since 1994?
SECTION THREE

9. Please provide the average salary distribution per annum (in the entire company) in Rands:
(The category of Black includes Indian and Coloured for this question)

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W: White
B: Black

T.S.M : Top and Senior Management – e.g. editor in chief; chief executive
M.M : Middle management – e.g. regional editors
J.M : Junior management – e.g. news editors
J : Journalists – including senior journalists
I/T : Intern/Trainees – including 6 month trainees and first entries
O.S.L : Other Skilled Labour – including technicians

10. Does this differ across regions? ______________

If yes how?

________________________________________________________________________________________

Page -8-
11. Please provide the average salary distribution (in the entire company) across gender for each category

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12. Does this differ across regions? ________________

If yes, how?

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Please could you supply us with a copy of your affirmative action policy.

Thank you for taking time out to complete this questionnaire.
Please fax this to: 031 - 260 1519 or
Post it, the envelope is enclosed.
Working on this book has been a real pleasure. I would like to thank all the organisations and in particular, the interviewees who were involved. Without you, this exploration of the demographic distribution of race and gender and experiences of staff within media organisations would not have been possible. I hope that this book will be used to generate debate and aid in the process of policy making and training in the South African media industry.

Farhana Goga

Most research into gender and affirmative action in the media usually emphasises Textual (image) representation. Very little systematic research is conducted into the personnel structures of media institutions, and the everyday experiences of their staffers. This Report, conducted in cooperation with 13 key South African media firms and the SA National Editors’ Forum, examines the distribution of staff within firms, stratified by gender, ethnicity, professional status and function. This numerical data is then dramatised through experiential accounts of what it is like for staffers to work in the general South African media profession. The aim of the research is to sensitise all who work in the media about these perceptions and to suggest institutional ways of resolving the problems identified.

Keyan G. Tomaselli
Professor, Cultural and Media Studies

In the ‘Post-apartheid’ parlance of South Africa, ‘Transformation’ has come to mean the adaptation and reformation of institutions, both in the public and private sectors, to accommodate the change in political culture and ethos following the first universal franchise election of 1994. With respect to the South African media, the socio-political imperatives of the ‘new South Africa’ have been compounded by on-going globalization of the international media environment. Newspapers, magazines, television and radio are both sites and the instrument of transformation. As sites of transformation, there has been a contested politic-economic tussle in the structural transformation of the media: the make-up of ownership and shareholdings, the control of management and editorial stance, the composition of the workforce employed in the media industries, and the number and diversity of competing, and associated media in both the print and electronic sector. As instruments of transformation, the media provide the essential platform for debate, information and education around issues shaping the kind of society we wish to become.

This study provides one of the first thorough-going attempts to plot the changing face of the people who are employed within the media industry. The study traces both the structural makeup of the changing media workforce, as well as the attitudes and perceptions of those who are employed. These are the people who provide South Africans with the content of the media we consume, through which we confirm, modify or negate our already-existing sense of identity, both at the personal and at the national level.

Ruth Teer-Tomaselli
Cultural and Media Studies

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.