### Fig 4: Natal Broadcasting Personnel: June 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POST</th>
<th>WHITE WOMEN</th>
<th>INDIAN WOMEN</th>
<th>BLACK WOMEN</th>
<th>WHITE MEN</th>
<th>INDIAN MEN</th>
<th>BLACK MEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP.C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.V.E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ED.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. PR.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A.PR.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A.PR.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN.PR.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.J.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.PR.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORN</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.JORN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**

- **SP.C.** Specialist Camera Person
- **S.C.** Senior Camera Person
- **V.E.** Video Editor
- **S.ED.** Senior Video Editor
- **ED.** Editor
- **D. ED.** Deputy Editor
- **S. P.** Senior Producer
- **P.A.PR.** Principal Announcer/Producer
- **S.A.PR** Senior Announcer/Producer
- **AN. PR.** Announcer Producer
- **S.J.** Senior Journalist
- **J.PR.** Junior Producer
- **JORN.** Journalist
- **J.JORN** Junior Journalist

59
From the statistics shown in Figure 4, women start to appear at the level of production. White men are represented at higher levels than other races. White men still dominate in terms of absolute numbers.

The most apparent factor concerning the interviewees is that they work for a station that represents the same racial group as their own. This factor can have both worrying and reassuring implications. On the one hand it represents a society divided according to racial lines and has no intention of changing that set up, (except for news bulletins that are going to be integrated) because the Indians and blacks being employed by the SABC get into Indian or black stations, that is, Radio Lotus and Radio Zulu respectively. Radio South Africa and RPN radio stations remains predominantly white staffed and oriented. In television broadcasting, there is more multiracialism, although Impressions, a television programme catering for the Indian community, features only Indian presenters and producers. On the other hand, this phenomenon could mean that the SABC is representing the audience’s best interests by employing people who understand the culture and language of the audience they are addressing. The racial divide is very much apparent. There is need for a unified labour market, like that advocated by socialist feminists, which should ride race and gender boundaries.

**Relationship with Management**

There was general consensus amongst the interviewees that there is too much unnecessary interference from immediate managers. The interviewees also felt that their abilities were under-appreciated. A producer and announcer with Radio Zulu and a programme compiler with Radio Lotus felt that management makes decisions which affect employees without consultation, for example changing assignments. Only one woman, a white senior announcer and
producer, maintained that she has not experienced any problems with management. This can be attributed to the fact that she more or less has autonomy, having worked on her own for a long time. Due to her experience, albeit gained outside the SABC, Management feel that her judgement can be trusted. The other women pointed out that they work harder than the men (a fact the men do not dispute), are willing to put in extra time, yet they are under-appreciated. A black announcer and producer with Radio Zulu was bitter that her work is hardly ever complimented, only the disaster areas or points of improvements are ever highlighted. The only way that she knows that she has done something right, is when there is silence from her immediate manager. If male employees are praised, then women should be praised when they have excelled. This view coincides with that advanced by liberal feminists, who argue that women should have the same privileges as men have. Benefits should go beyond legal rights and women should participate in all spheres of life on an equal footing and be treated equally. The interviewees was quick to point out that she was not after flattery but to have praise where praise is due. Managers tend to look over chosen individual’s shoulders regardless of race or gender.

Another area of contention between management and employees is the secrecy mentality adopted by management regarding salary packages. Women have recently complained about such secrecy but up to the present, no concrete steps have been taken by management. Employees are still advised not to discuss their salaries. According to a senior announcer and producer with Radio South Africa and a senior announcer and producer with Radio Lotus, the double standards used by management towards employees were recently exposed after a survey on working conditions was carried out amongst employees in 1993, despite a general satisfaction with working conditions. According to the survey, all women advocated for an open policy regarding salaries. This move intensified after a female senior journalist who has worked for the SABC for over twelve years discovered discrepancies.
between her salary and that of her male counterparts. These discrepancies could not be explained and the journalist in question had her salary upgraded. The reason for the discrepancy could be attributed to gender difference. What was most worrying was that even those with less experience than herself and younger males, had higher salaries than her own. After seeking clarification, she discovered that there was no basis (except that she is a woman) for her lower salary. This is a major problem that affirmative action has to try and address if one of its aims is to further gender equality.

Women interviewed who have been working for the SABC for over five years, believe that the situation has improved for women. There is a marked change even in the way that male colleagues regard them, although some still regard women as inferior. A senior announcer and producer for Radio Lotus who has been working for the SABC for thirteen years traces the difficulties she has faced as a woman and as an Indian:

_I have encountered a lot of problems in my department. My manager is male and his second in command is also male. It has been a hectic time, with managers constantly on my back and I cannot seem to do anything right. I have been here for thirteen years. From the outside (listeners), you get a lot of reaction on what you are doing on the radio station. If they feel that you are not doing the job well, the listeners will let you know, but from management you get so much criticism that you wonder, what am I doing here? Criticism is good, but it must be constructive, after all nobody knows everything._

Her voice which was seen as being shrill, had to be modelled and she was told time and time again to, _"speak from the chest and I had to deepen my voice to project a serious image, by sounding like a man."_ She had to live through the stereotype of an Indian woman viewed as shrill, used to shouting. The same woman has also had to see her male counterparts who came after her, being promoted. She maintained that the reason for this oversight on the part of management was because she is a woman and Indian. For her, affirmative action does not offer much hope for the future. As far as she is concerned, she will continue to be caught in the middle. This is because
during the apartheid era, she was not white enough to be a beneficiary. Now she fears that she will not be black enough to fully benefit from affirmative action.

On the issue of transfers, the interviewees, with the exception of one woman, maintain that they have not met with any problems. Management has, by and large, been understanding and those seeking transfers have not met with serious obstacles. However, a senior announcer and producer with Radio South Africa, offered a management position had to refuse because it entailed her leaving Durban. The management position involved liaising with different offices of Radio South Africa in major cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Durban. The position entailed great movement from one city to another that there was no justifiable reason for the incumbent to be based at the headquarters in Johannesburg. Due to this factor, the senior announcer and producer made a counter offer to Management to work from Durban because ‘others’ had done it before. The counter-offer was refused and because she loves her work and the Durban atmosphere, she refused the offer and decided to stay in Natal. The assiduous efforts of women to change stereotypical thinking meet with resistance but persistence to do what one believes in will surely bring change. There is another possible reason for the interviewee’s refusal to move to Johannesburg. Moving would have meant relinquishing her position of authority in Durban and being designated to a post where she had to take orders from someone else.

There is a general perception that exists among Management and staff that junior personnel should do the most work and yet be paid less. In such instances junior female staff are favoured because women work harder, beat the deadline and complain less than the men. In most cases, women’s work is meticulous. Women therefore tend to get frustrated at the lack of appreciation from immediate managers although two of the women interviewed have not experienced such problems.
Some of the women interviewed have found working with a female manager more problematic than a male manager. An announcer and producer with Radio Zulu and an announcer and producer with Radio Lotus have found managers to be unreasonably demanding, harsh and *slave drivers.* They attributed this to the fact that these women managers want to appear efficient and tough because they fear that if they are ‘soft’ and understanding they will not be respected. It is ironic that a woman manager will show less understanding about problems that face women than a male manager. The general feeling among the women was that this is a factor that undermines the development and success of women. The internal weaknesses, according to a junior journalist in the Radio Zulu news department, *are in some cases ridiculed by men and these squabbles amongst women are seen as ridiculous and typically feminine by male colleagues.* A senior announcer and producer with Radio Zulu and a Natal correspondent and reporter (for television) felt that as long as women are intolerant towards each other and back bite each other as is happening at present, the gender equality is only a dream. There is a lack of maturity amongst some of the women and these women did not feel guilty about stating the true state of affairs in some departments. They feel ridiculed by men who laugh openly at how women continue to undermine and attack each other, while men stick together, and defend each other, even where ideas and suggestions are ridiculous. In this case, a senior music compiler with Radio Lotus stated that the SABC’s affirmative action which (according to her) operates on a quota system rather than on merit needs to be looked at from another dimension. This policy can be blamed for bringing into the organisation people who do not really know what they are supposed to be doing. As a result they have time to gossip and rumour monger. Such a policy cannot be seen to be promoting equality or good race relations. As far as she was concerned, token appointments are damaging the corporation. This view is totally at odds with that of the SABC which maintains that appointments were made of the basis of ability. In fact
the policy of affirmative action is said not to have been officially endorsed as late as July 1994 (SABC Staffing Committee Report 1994:1).

Not all women agree that women are difficult to work with. A white junior news journalist prefers to work with women:

_In reporting, we break our work into reporting and compiling bulletins. I find it easier to work with my female colleagues because we tend to work faster. We have a majority of younger women, so maybe it's an age thing as well and we understand computers better. Women colleagues tend to be more considerate, we edit stories for each other and we will share the work load as well. When you work with a man, he won't tell you what he is doing and that might lead to a duplication of work._

This difference may be due to the fact that, although most of these women had no specific journalistic training, they had general experience and were therefore competent. There is perhaps a lack of professionalism amongst women at Radio Lotus and Radio Zulu, most of whom are new recruits, over thirty years old and some from a nursing or teaching background to present health and education programmes. According to a senior announcer/producer with Radio South Africa, which is primarily an Afrikaans and English channel, she has not experienced these problems encountered by Indian and black stations:

_I work for Radio South Africa and the circumstances under which I work are different from those, let's say of a large department where you get work assigned to you by a news editor. Just about everything I do is self-initiated and I actually choose my own work. I have been consulted by management in Johannesburg, even more than my male colleagues._

There is a lot of autonomy and individuality at Radio South Africa and people tend to make their decisions autonomously with very little interference or guidance from Management. Perhaps this is another reason why the same announcer/producer was reluctant to leave her position for Johannesburg.
These are racial differences that have a lot to do with apartheid, the feeling that blacks and Indians need more guidance and supervision than whites. Post-structuralist feminists who advocate for the recognition of differences according to race, gender and class may encourage division. Although differences should be recognised, they should not be acknowledged in a way that compromises gender and racial equality.

**Harassment**

On the surface there is no harassment of staff by other staff or by management at the SABC. However harassment exists in subtle forms. Harassment in whatever form is not incidental to women's inequality, but is a crucial expression of it. Harassment and discrimination embody a conception of sexuality, gender and power. Harassment can be defined as any unwanted attention towards another individual, the use of power derived from one social sphere to lever benefits or impose deprivations in another (MacKinnon 1979:1-2). Lack of reciprocal feeling on the woman's part may be expressed by rejection, silence or a show of disinclination. Verbal sexual suggestions or jokes, constant leering or ogling, brushing against a body 'accidentally,' a friendly pat, squeeze or pinch on an arm and more overtly, the indecent proposition backed by the threat of losing a job, can be defined as harassment (MacKinnon 1979:2). In a general discussion with some women at the SABC, there emerged a picture of subtle harassment and discrimination. Some Indian women complained that some black and Indian men do not regard them with respect. Black men were cited as being especially insolent to Indian women and seemed to think that the majority of them who happened to be single, were an easy target. Black and white women interviewed seemed not to have experienced such blatant attention, although men of all races treated them in a flirtatious manner. More subtle
forms of harassment have been experienced, mainly in the form of undue attention from colleagues and managers. A junior journalist had problems keeping at bay the unwanted attention of a male colleague causing her to complain to her manager:

_There is one male character who is quite offensive at times. I have in fact told him that I do not like his comments and his attention. He has received a written warning from my manager. He tends to harass the younger women and another girl who joined at the same time as myself, has also complained about the same man. Unfortunately, he has not really stopped._

This bred resentment towards her from the male colleague and has led to a tense relationship between the two. It appears that most male colleagues find it difficult, if not impossible to believe that their attentions are unwanted. However, women are not inclined to openly discuss in greater detail experiences they would rather forget or which might jeopardise their jobs.

There is a lot of mockery coming from the men towards women who assert themselves. Ironically this mockery does not come from the men only, but also from some women. One of the interviewees has been teased mercilessly in the newsroom for declaring that she is a feminist who believes that any woman can do any job as well as any man and even better.¹⁰

_I call myself a feminist. Most women are not ready to do that. They will say that they believe in equal rights, human rights and women's rights but they are not feminists. So what are they because those are the same rights I believe in! There is definitely an anti-feminist ideology and I think it is more a misunderstanding than a fear of feminism._

She is challenged daily and has to constantly defend her views and correct the negative image of feminism that men and some women have.

These problems facing women at the SABC in Natal are not confined to them only but face most women employees in other media organisations and companies world-wide (Mcghie 1993:5).¹¹ These problems require solutions
if women are to be integrated into society as equals. It cannot be denied that women of all races face problems because they are women but since their problems are different in some aspects, they require different solutions.

NOTES

1. The interviewees stressed that this is a problem not confined to the SABC but to most organisations. The problem is even mild at SABC compared to other companies that have employed women and blacks for political reasons and due to pressures exerted by the new dispensation and reconciliation.

2. Although this dissertation has tried, it has not successfully avoided this romantic tendency. The views of women that I have quoted most, tended to be those of women who have been at the SABC for more years.

3. These categories have been borrowed from Silverman (1993) because they best describe what this research had tried to achieve by using qualitative methods (Silverman 1993:6-9).

4. There is no single standard approach to qualitative research because each research depends on how the researcher approaches his/her field of study. However, there are characteristics of qualitative research which most researchers take note of. These include:

   1. recording events as they occur  
   2. emphasising the time and process  
   3. taking the subject’s perspective  
   4. concern with meaning and social action and  
   5. favouring an open, semi-structured research design (Silverman 1993:24-9).

5. The interviews were done between June and August 1994.

Although I shaped and directed the flow of the conversation, there were instances when the interviewees asked me questions. At one point, one of the interviewees asked me about my perception of affirmative action. This surprised me because I had not anticipated being questioned. However, my response actually sparked off a debate which proved to be more informative than the responses this particular interviewee had made to questions I had asked her.

6. Although the SABC uses the category 'black' to refer to Africans, Indians and 'coloured' people, I have used the term to refer to Africans only and I have kept 'Indian' and 'coloured' as separate categories. This decision was taken because the
SABC statistics differentiate between these groups. As a result, my analysis will not suffer from this categorisation.

7. It was clear that the white women interviewed, were not as free and comfortable as the Indian and black women in discussing their views on affirmative action.

8. The SABC Staffing Committee of July 1994 clearly states that affirmative action will be targeted at blacks, women and other marginalised (disabled) groups but will not mean the exclusion of all other employees. Despite the fact that "blacks" means Africans, 'Coloureds' and Asians, some individuals still feel the they will be sidelined while preference is given to Africans. Thus race is given priority (SABC Staffing Committee Report 1994:-2).

9. Mackinnon provides a comprehensive study on Sexual Harassment of working women. She defines sexual harassment as the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power.

10. Most men (and some women) do not believe that beautiful young women can be feminists. The general belief is that feminists are loud, over-assertive, hate men and compete with them, are fat, ugly and degrade mothering.

11. The latest British report on sexual harassment indicates that the problem is worsening. Sexual harassment affects more than half the female workforce in Britain. One third of the women complained of sexual comments about clothing, anatomy or looks. One of the effects of harassment was its cost to organisations in efficiency and time. One case could cost around 5 000 pounds. The report's authors recommend that the best way to stop harassment is for organisations to make it a disciplinary offence, provide training and monitoring and give managers the job of enforcement.
CHAPTER 4: PROBLEM SOLVING ANALYSIS: THE WAY FORWARD

I used to think the biggest step in my career would be moving from secretarial ranks into production, into jobs normally held by men. Now I realise that was the first step. You have to fight the whole way, because you do not get promoted the way men do. Senior editors will say of the man "wow, this guy has got potential; he is going to go far." Of the women, they will say, "wow, she did a terrific job, we never thought she could do that." They see it as the top of my ability and the bottom of his. (Television Producer).

Main Findings and Implications: The advantages and disadvantages of Affirmative Action

Considering the overwhelming pressure for change, the SABC feels it has to effect changes as soon as possible. Although the programme of affirmative action has to be accelerated, the SABC has to instill confidence in the general public that it is not only doing the just thing by appointing the formerly disempowered members of society, but that these new recruits and appointees are efficient, competent and an asset to the organisation. Due to the former system of apartheid, there is a perception that there are no black personnel to replace the white personnel. The interviewed women believe that change will come for women and some have made, and will make it to the top. After a few representative women have made it to the top, it is hoped that they will facilitate the empowerment of other women. A few women believe that "revolutionary" change will come when there is female leadership, a view that is also held by liberal feminists. The appointing of ill-equipped and inexperienced personnel would result in the deterioration of the standards of the SABC and also financial loses to the corporation. A senior announcer with Radio Lotus outlined some of these fears:
I am speaking for the Indian community now. For political reasons we are seen as black but when it comes to jobs, it is something else. Now, even if you have the ability, they will employ a black person. Where do we fit in?

An announcer and producer with Radio Zulu felt that the policy was being implemented without proper planning:

*I think that affirmative action was started prematurely, not the timing, but due to the fact that no adequate planning has been done. They (management) should have conducted workshops where they try and change racial groups’ attitudes towards one another. Female attitudes towards one another have to change if they are to work together because different races have negative attitudes towards each other, attitudes which amazingly do not seem to exist between men and women of different races.*

These are some of the fears of affirmative action that most organisations have to deal with as well as ensuring job security for the existing employees. The plans to increase the number of blacks and women, (which presently stands at 36% of the total number of employees) in the SABC should not destabilise the existing staff (Coop 1995) and this would ensure that skilled personnel do not leave the SABC as happened at the ZBC in Zimbabwe where a crisis of trained personnel prevailed with the exodus of white skilled personnel (Zaffiro 1992:6). ¹

The women interviewees aired their views on the advantages and disadvantages of affirmative action. A reporter with television news cited some of the advantages:

*You meet a lot of people from diverse backgrounds and you get to know how your colleagues live. It is a cultural enrichment process. Besides that, in journalism you meet a lot of interesting people and you build up a lot of knowledge.*

One of the major benefits for her to have a friendly atmosphere to work under and to be able to regard each other as equals. The great comfort comes from the fact that she can demand equal treatment regardless of race or gender.
However the reporter was not as naive as to assume that the battle has been won, subtle discrimination according to both gender and race still exists.

Another advantage cited was that affirmative action has and will continue to open up more employment and advancement opportunities. All occupations will be open to all who are competent, as one interviewee put it, "the sky is the limit." The training and retraining programmes being offered by the SABC will go a long way to facilitate the advancement of employees who were once disadvantaged by apartheid, but a change in attitudes is also essential.

An ever improving relationship with management has promoted a healthy working relationship. Some of the interviewed women found it easier to work with women colleagues, who they consider to be hard working, honest and responsible, although some interviewees considered female managers less considerate and more bossy. A senior announcer and producer with Radio Lotus attributed the great satisfaction that she derives from her work to the fact that she has no commitments. She is not married and said that because she has no family commitments, she can devote her time to her work. She believes that is why she does it so well, more efficiently than those other women with families to look after.

Of all the women interviewed, only one, a senior announcer and producer with Radio Zulu mentioned that the pay was good but she has not found the working atmosphere were friendly:

I like my job, I get paid well, but there is no homely, friendly feeling. I hope as I stay longer, I will feel more comfortable.

A producer and announcer with Radio Lotus, expressed similar sentiments:

I have discovered that there is a lot of jealousy and back-biting. There is no such thing as sisterhood where women at work are concerned because the competition is stiff. I like my job and whenever I go on air, I forget the tensions around me.
The rest tended to think that it could be better, since the cost of living is going up daily. One interviewee, a producer and announcer with Radio South Africa, felt that a policy that recognises individual initiative, should be put in place:

*I have been a journalist for twenty years and I came into the SABC from running my own business. There are no rewards concerning the amount of work you do and I know that I work harder than my male colleagues. The SABC has been talking about awards on individual initiative for a while now, but there is no sign of it.*

The two married women interviewed, felt that the method of taxation should be reviewed because married women pay more tax.² This issue of equal pay for work of equal worth is a contentious one and there was general agreement among interviewees that no discrepancies should exist on the basis of race and/or gender. According to the new policy being advocated by the SABC, salary scales and benefits shall not be discriminatory. Where differentiation does exist, this should only pertain to the level, status and responsibility of the post and the level of performance by the incumbent. However, assessment of an employee’s performance is largely a subjective process. This would be guaranteed by doing away with a secrecy mentality where salaries are concerned.

Some of the interviewees attributed the difference according to gender, on the basis that women are not viewed as the breadwinners. As a result men should earn more. This is a preconception that has to be corrected and the reality of the situation be acknowledged. With changes in the ways of life, there is an increasing number of women who are single mothers who then become the bread winners. Even those who are married have responsibilities, as one reporter with television news observed:

*In the past, men were paid more because they were seen as the bread winners. Nowadays, women do exactly the same, I pay for the household goods and my husband does the same. The problem is, you don’t know what the people in your category are earning.*³
Between 1970 and 1980 the proportion of women in the workforce increased from 30% to 43% and 45% of black families and 14% of white families are headed by women (Leresche 1993:196). Most women no longer work purely by choice, but out of economic necessity. Yet, on average, white female graduates in the public and private sector earn less than 50% of what their male counterparts earn for the same work (ibid). Remuneration should therefore be awarded according to ability rather than according to race or gender. As long as the fundamental assumption is that the man is the breadwinner, a female professional will not be perceived as being on the same footing in terms of needs and justifiable rewards as her male counterparts (Gallagher 1987:14).

Arguably, it can be said that black and Indian women face a more difficult challenge than white women. White South African women have received the education required at managerial level. Black and Indian women had been concentrating on achieving recognition as equal human beings while white women had embarked on the struggle for equality with men. Black and Indian women have to start fighting the stereotypical role of women that white women have been fighting against for over two decades. The task for black and Indian women, where the woman is seen as inferior and subordinate by society, is doubly hard. They have to prove themselves at work and at home as competent and equally capable to perform as well as or better than men. It is a misconception that there are no qualified blacks and Indians. For example, of all the women interviewed, the one who has worked the longest at the SABC is an Indian. What can be said is that there are few black and Indians who have been able to acquire the necessary managerial skills due to the old system of apartheid. Their task is also more difficult than that of their male counterparts, who only have to prove themselves at work and not in the home, as being capable to balance their career and home life. A failure to reconcile the two could lead to an escalation of divorce cases as what happened in America and Europe in the 1970s with the conscientisation of women as they
asserted their rights as equals in all aspects of life. Many African men already have the view that the employing of more women will lead to a deterioration of morality and the break up of homes. In this statement is the assumption that women have to be protected against themselves, the evils that abound outside their homes and be kept away from temptation in the form of other men or women. This masculine fear has a basis in the fact that some women might realise that there is a better life for them outside an oppressive home or atmosphere.

There is a lack of sensitivity to the physical and emotional burden on women who must reconcile professional and domestic responsibilities. For affirmative action to achieve its goal, it must take into consideration the roles that women play in society as mothers and their needs as mothers must be met, for example provisions for maternity leave and child care, possibly close to the work place. A reporter with television news observed:

They (management) have done well with maternity leave because a woman is entitled to six months leave, but I say they could do more on after-care and day-care for children. Provisions for day care should be made in all regions. I know in Johannesburg there are facilities. Definitely here there is nothing and I was trying to do something about it and in fact there is place we can utilise here.

The SABC needs to provide day care facilities for its employees, just as gymnasiums were primarily established to serve the needs of male employees. In the long run, day care facilities would eradicate many problems, for example the need to leave work early to fetch children from the creches situated far from the work place. This need has been pointed out by the women recently elected to parliament in South Africa as one of paramount importance. Women in decision-making positions have to find a solution for their household responsibilities. The traditional role of the woman has been altered and new solutions, to problems that will arise as a result of these changes have to be found. It is no longer feasible to regard women only in
the context of home-maker, wife and mother but as breadwinners and policymakers, a stance taken by all feminist perspectives.

A starting point is the recognition by society, both men and women, that the status of women has changed and in the move towards equality, both men and women share the responsibilities that come with the changes. Equality is a matter of treating like cases alike and unlike cases differently in proportion to their likeness or difference. It has been held in England that to dismiss someone because she is pregnant is not to dismiss her because she is a woman (Hersch 1993:172). The reasoning behind this is that pregnancy is a "real" difference and it is therefore legitimate to treat pregnant women differently and this will not be regarded as irrational or discriminatory. Such assumptions have to change if women are to be regarded equally. This can be done by recognising the fact that equal treatment is not by definition sameness of treatment, but an equality which allow people to be different and equal, an observation also made by socialist feminists (Hersch 1993:181). The different roles that different people play, men and women included, should be treated as of equal importance. Equal terms for women are not necessarily identical to those for men.

A married woman interviewee observed that there is very little room to concentrate on social aspects when one works in the media (Tomaselli 1989:181). The hours are at best erratic and as a result the family suffers. It was at this point that the women were asked to comment on whether their work encroaches on their social life. Women should not be forced to choose between a career and a family. Those not married found greater satisfaction from their work because they have no family commitments to see to, like sick children. Married women who were interviewed mentioned that there is no excessive red tape in releasing them from work to attend to crises at home and they do not experience problems getting sick leave, maternity leave or time off to attend to personal problems. A junior journalist (translator) has found management very understanding:
I had a serious problem when my daughter was seriously burnt and everyone was so helpful. After that, my mother died and later I had to go into hospital. All this happened within months of each other, but management and all my colleagues were very supportive.

Economists, Jacob Mincer and Stanley Polachek (1974) have argued that when women leave the labour force to rear children, their job skills become stale and they suffer a wage penalty when they re-enter the market (Lafky 1989:168). As a result employers may invest less in women employees because they believe they may not enjoy the same returns on their investments as they would do with men. Under this model, known as the Human Factor Model, discrimination is a cost to the employer because it leads to a smaller pool of highly paid male workers (Lafkey 1989:168). A larger size of the work force would allow employers to pay workers, less money. Although this conception has lost weight, this idea might explain the discrepancies that still exist between men and women’s salaries who do the same work. To prove their reliability, some women are now delaying having families or are not having any children. One can only hypothesise on the high percentage of unmarried women at the SABC in Natal; maybe it is due to the demands of the job or the need to fit in without family ties that always make more demands upon the wife and mother and less on the father and husband.

To move towards equality in gender relations at home and at work, it is imperative that male attitudes change towards women. Male employees should be encouraged to do duties traditionally seen as women’s jobs, for example picking up children during office hours. A change in family structure, with men sharing household chores would improve gender equality. Women would therefore have more time to devote to their careers although achieving a balance between family responsibilities and work is an ideal situation, which is almost impossible to achieve. One interviewee, a junior
journalist with Radio Zulu (translator) is of the view that role are not interchangeable and affirmative action is for the office:

*I disagree with affirmative action in the home. We must play our roles as women at home. Culturally affirmative action does not work because at home we must give men their rights. Men cannot be expected to do better at feeding children or at cleaning the house. By the same token, men are better at chopping wood and mending holes in the ceiling.*

Another area of discrimination is that of assignment allocation. The women interviewed believe that women can perform any duties as well as man and there are no jobs that they view as unsuitable for women. However, so interviewees did indicate that there are positions that require more physical strength than women have. They believe that technology has in a way favoured men and excluded women, but with new developments where cameras and video equipment are more compact and light, women are no longer physically handicapped. Women still experience problems with convincing an editor to send a woman to a war zone because of the belief that women need to be protected from such dangerous areas. News directors do not want to assign women to such areas and one of the reasons given is that a woman reporter will have less access to male sources as soldiers are more likely to reveal gruesome stories to a male reporter. The other reason is the belief that it is more traumatic for young children to lose a mother than a father. Women tend to be assigned to stories that appeal to the human emotion, for example child abuse and rape cases.

Although there is a lot of basis in such reasons, these beliefs have been reinforced by a male-dominated society and a discourse that is viewed as culturally acceptable by such a society. In South Africa, in the run up to the elections, very few women went into war zone areas because the bullet proof equipment was too heavy for women reporters to wear for a long time. In a male dominated world, there is an inherent assumption that only male reporters will go into war zones areas, hence the manufacturing of war gear
suitable for men, for example heavy bullet proof vests. Women had to make
do with this equipment if they wanted to go into such areas. These are
worldwide trends that need to be corrected to accommodate both gender
groups. Making bullet proof jackets for women would just reinforce the
gender gap between male and female but universally acceptable technological
equipment which knows no gender divide would be ideal. Lighter equipment
is being made which is ideal for any gender.

Issues of discrimination arise when values clash in a particular
situation. Women who take time off frequently are usually seen as unreliable.
In America, Canada and other countries where the participation of women in
the media has increased, there have been fears that this will lead to lower
wages for everyone. In fact, lower wages have been prevalent where there is
a concentration of women employees. This is because there has been a
tendency to restructure the working force towards a low-paid younger and
female personnel (Lafkey in Creedon 1989:169). In South Africa this could
happen as the new women employees are younger and less experienced. For
example, a junior journalist in the newsroom commented that women are
assigned more work because they are efficient and always meet deadlines.
This could be used to justify lower salaries to minimise the cost of affirmative
action, since there is a need to employ more people, not necessarily needed
but to redress the imbalances created by past discrimination.

Measures Taken can be Taken to Address Problems

Some scholars have questioned the whole concept of affirmative action and
its application to the South African situation. According to Asmal (1994) the
phrase ‘affirmative action is neither helpful nor appropriate in the South
African context. Asmal advocates ‘remedial action’ which is better expressed
by the Afrikaans phrase Regstel lendeaksie which translates into corrective

79
action. Corrective action implies that some wrong has been done which must be put right as part of a process through which imbalances of various kinds are removed within a specified time frame. Corrective action would be a way of dealing with South Africa’s past where a man made and immoral policy created vast distortions in the society. Eliminating these distortions is part of the reconciliation and reconstruction process.

Corrective action can be undertaken in a number of ways. Firstly, employers and public authorities can create an infrastructure of opportunities, where resources are allocated to address the continuing effects of a history of oppression through a range of programmes. These programmes would include land reform, welfare, job creation, housing and education to address the needs of the people.

For the SABC, this could include promoting diversification within the Corporation. A senior TV news reporter remarked that a shortcoming of her position is the narrowness of its focus.

*The disadvantage is that you never become focused or specialised. You just know a little about everything and never know enough about one thing and you can never go into a specific field.*

Her position as a reporter excludes the processing of the material that she will have come up with. As far as she is concerned, this lack of knowledge is disempowering because an individual does not get an insight into the production process. As a result, one tends to stagnate in the same position and the only promotion that one is sure of is moving from a junior level to a senior one. Therefore, what is needed is a mechanism which allows employees to make inroads into various facets of broadcasting.

Secondly, where there is economic disempowerment, the state and private bodies can assist by extending equity ownership so that all the employees who can afford to buy shares can do so and have a say in the running of the corporation. Public contracts may be set up to assist previously excluded groups to establish themselves. However, one cannot ignore the fact
that money and power is concentrated in a few hands, in a specific sector, class and racial group.

A breakthrough in accountability is a major achievement for the SABC. The women interviewed remarked that although power and authority can never be shared equally, there is less intimidation of employees by management. With relatively objective Board members, an employee can count on a fairly neutral mediation should problems with management arise.

Thirdly, the need for training and retraining programmes has to be met in employment. Educational institutions have to establish policies and arrangements that capture the intellect, skills and acumen of all people. The SABC recognises that its employees come from diverse backgrounds. Development and training programmes should be targeted at meeting diverse needs. A basis for future employees can also be set up through awareness programmes aiming at students in schools, technikons and universities (SABC Implementation Strategy 1994:2). The SABC has still to develop training and retraining programmes geared towards the redressing of gender and racial imbalances that exist within the corporation, although such a project has been considered.

A fourth way of corrective action can be legislation and the introduction of the quota system. This alternative has been rejected by the SABC because it would lead to the lowering of the standards according to which the corporation operates (Staffing Committee Report for the SABC 1994:5). This would also remove the promotion of professionalism as people will be employed to even up numbers among the racial groups. As a result audiences would lose faith and interest in the SABC at a time when more operating licences are being issued to independent operators. Thus tokenism would not auger well for the corporation. All women interviewed expressed that view that affirmative action policies have to take into account educational qualifications and experience.
If high standards in the recruitment of personnel have to be maintained, affirmative action policies have to seek out qualified personnel and provide special training. This will mean that the processes of affirmative and corrective action will take longer because the previously disadvantaged groups of the South African society have to be educated and trained before being integrated into the working environment. In fact, a combination of all three processes would enable a holistic plan whether its called corrective action or affirmative action. Corrective action can have affirming results.

On the issue of harassment, both blatant and subtle, there is a need to have a clear policy. Management should have measures which deal with harassment without making the woman prove beyond reasonable doubt that she was harassed. This is the major weakness of the present legal systems world wide which seek the woman to prove her innocence and not the man to prove his innocence. The use of the word "unwanted" in the definition of harassment, draws attention to the subjective nature of harassment. The focus is always on the experience of the recipient of the conduct rather than on the intentions of the person who performs it (Hersch 1992:178). Organisations should be able to trust their female employees, enough to investigate and probably warn the accused.

Although the political and social climate has improved, becoming more liberal and open, not every woman feels safe in reporting cases of harassment. Most women would fear losing their jobs but most importantly they would be afraid that no one will believe them, including their families. Women interviewed mentioned that some victims would look for reasons to explain away the man’s behaviour, for example, that they might have provoked the action by being overly friendly. A junior journalist mentioned that a certain man targeted the young new recruits because he probably felt that being new, the woman would not report him to management for fear of being dismissed. The man might view such friendly gestures as encouraging or/and flirting with the man and this will raise doubts in everyone about the woman’s innocence.
It is this fear, of becoming the accused, that the women have to overcome. To do this, the attitude of management, men and society at large, has to change towards victims of harassment.

Such changes are taking place at the SABC, for example, a victim of harassment reported to her line manager and a letter of warning was sent to the offender. The whole society, therefore, need(s) educating on what is right and what is wrong for everyone, not just one gender group or one racial group.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: The Way Forward

Affirmative action can only be empowering to all women when one racial group stops regarding the other as inferior. The rise of feminism in South Africa has been publicly championed mainly by white women. In bringing the cause of women to the fore through the use of the media, they proclaimed themselves the spokes-people of all women. Regardless of race, South African women have been socialised into being submissive. It has been argued that South African girls are generally unassertive and relatively unambitious (Alperson 1993:207). Although this view is to a certain extent true, many young women are increasingly challenging the stereotypical role attributed to them by society. The junior journalist interviewed at the SABC is a good example. At the age of twenty-four, she does not feel intimidated by the sarcastic and mocking statements coming from both men and women concerning her strong feminist views.

It is only recently, after 1990, that women of all races have began to get together to debate issues concerning the equality of women with men and in academic debates to conscientise other women about their rights. However these women form a league of the educated elite who speak on behalf of the rural women. They purport to know the kind of oppression rural women are being subjected to, a WID approach that does not really empower the women
being represented. Women should be able to map out their own development goals and advance theories that serve their needs. This approach, advocated by socialist feminists and black feminists, enable women to look at their situation and recognise how they are oppressed. The identification of areas of oppression is the prerequisite to mapping out strategies to fight oppression. A constructive measure would be for women broadcasters to reach all women through the media and create their own medium that furthers the interests of women, not create a faction modelled on that of the oppressive male-dominated society. Women should therefore use affirmative action to create an equal system based on ideas that promote constructive power sharing instead of fighting for a share in an oppressive set up. Stereotypical attitudes, such as women are not aggressive enough and not committed to their careers because of family interests, have to be destroyed.

Despite the scepticism and mistrust that South African women have about Western feminism, useful concepts from feminism should not be ignored (Van Zyl; Shefer 1990:1-36). There is a great need for South Africans to develop a specific framework for analysing women’s oppression. In analysing the South African oppression of women, this dissertation has along the way implicitly assumed a materialist, socialist feminist perspective because the categories of gender, race and class are imperative to the understanding of social structures. Any analysis of the representation of women must address the power relations between women and men; economic and sexual relations and the language and discourse which sustain such unequal relations (Van Zyl; Shefer 1990:2). But looking at segregation as something that happens only to women provides a fragmented picture. Bringing men into the analysis of segregation has the potential to transform a society’s understanding of how gender operates in the working world.

Although the concept "feminism" is problematic, certain concepts elucidated within the framework are useful. For South Africa, women are oppressed in terms of race, class and gender. From birth, one’s identity as a

84
woman is constructed within patriarchal ideology. Through a process of exposing contradictions in social constructions (as marxist and socialist feminism does), the basis for resistance to further incorporation into dominant ideologies and further perpetuation of exploitative social structures is formed. Despite claims by the SABC that affirmative action has not been officially endorsed, there is clear evidence that the corporation has been moving towards this policy since 1990. The aim of the SABC is to create a representative staff, one in compliance with the composition of the South African population.

Affirmative action, if applied correctly, may go a long way in reversing discrimination against all women. The obvious benefit of affirmative action has been the opening up of access to all sectors of life for all racial groups. It will take time for most of the formerly disadvantaged people to have access to all sectors since access is prohibited by the levels of education, experience and competence. The policy of affirmative action has opened channels for most women to participate in information distribution which had previously been the preserve of men and one racial group.

A major strength of affirmative action is that it does not focus solely on one gender group or one racial group. It is hoped that affirmative action will bridge the gap between social classes to avert the case of the very rich and the very poor that is prevalent in most countries in Africa. There is also the fear that affirmative action will create a small black elite and a class that will exclude the majority of disadvantaged South Africans. The success of affirmative action in South Africa would be a valuable lesson for the whole of Africa and even the whole world, because affirmative action policies by other countries have had limited success. However the great disparity that exists between urban, educated women and rural, illiterate women should not be ignored. Because the rural women are excluded from affirmative action in the workplace due to their lack of education, affirmative action’s major weakness is that it serves the elite blacks and Indians in urban areas who in fact are less disempowered, in comparison with rural uneducated women who
lost their land due to apartheid. For such women, the lack of land increases their disempowerment because they are more dependent on men for their livelihood.

In general, many jobs are still segregated according to gender, which means that women have less access to positions while men have access to all positions they have chosen to occupy. Although women make up 9.4% of middle management, the number of black women at this level has doubled over the past six months. Middle management consists 93.5% of whites, 2.57% blacks, 2.12% Asians and 1.82% "coloureds." (Betty 1994:6). Over the past two years, men account for 62% of all promotions and women 37%, with the majority of these taken by white women (Betty 1994:6). The presence of women in management is increasing, albeit at the lower levels of management and at a lower rate than that of men.

The constraints that prevent women from occupying certain positions are both blatant and subtle. Women are viewed and sometimes see themselves as being unsuited to certain occupations. The reasons are many, but lack of education, experience, physical strength and stereotyping are the most common impediments.

Despite the general belief that women ask for more time off to attend to family matters, statistics reveal that men are absent from work for longer periods than women (Crean 1989:101). The elimination of gender and occupation stereotyping and gendered language from all recruitment and orientation materials is a prerequisite for change. Social change does not take place simply as a recognition of the problem, but often requires extraordinary measures. It is easy to shape policies, but what is most difficult to modify are people's attitudes to affirmative action and to each other.

The area of gender, race and equality as it affects women is hugely under researched. Apart from analysing what affirmative action has meant for women broadcasters, this research has also identified areas that need further investigation. Women are, to a large extent, still important in a symbolic sense
to create an equitable distribution of employees between men and women. Women feel that they should be identified separately, otherwise affirmative action would be directed at men. (This decision is in itself discriminatory).

Initially, my aim in this research was to fully integrate the issue of class in gender studies. Time constraints did not allow me to address this issue in detail. Due to this shortcoming, my research tends to fall into the same trap as other works on women and the media. Further research is essential in order to analyse this contentious issue since class clearly divides the interests of women. This further compounds the issue of equality because differences exist, not only according to gender and race, but also according to social classes. The issue then becomes: how will women from different backgrounds come together and unite in fighting male dominance in society, when even their levels and kinds of oppression are different?

As a result of its clear bias towards women, my study, lacks a holistic approach to the concept of affirmative action. Future studies should therefore deal, among other areas, with men's perspectives on affirmative action, particularly where this policy is targeted towards women. Men should give
to create an equitable distribution of employees between men and women. Women feel that they should be identified separately, otherwise affirmative action would be directed at men. (This decision is in itself discriminatory).

Initially, my aim in this research was to fully integrate the issue of class in gender studies. Time constraints did not allow me to address this issue in detail. Due to this shortcoming, my research tends to fall into the same trap as other works on women and the media. Further research is essential in order to analyse this contentious issue since class clearly divides the interests of women. This further compounds the issue of equality because differences exist, not only according to gender and race, but also according to social classes. The issue then becomes: how will women from different backgrounds come together and unite in fighting male dominance in society, when even their levels and kinds of oppression are different?

As a result of its clear bias towards women, my study, lacks a holistic approach to the concept of affirmative action. Future studies should therefore deal, among other areas, with men’s perspectives on affirmative action, particularly where this policy is targeted towards women. Men should give their views on how they regard the increased participation of women in the media.

Further explorations are also needed on whether white women are really as unconcerned as they appear, regarding the bias of affirmative action towards black women and black men.

Affirmative action has the potential of boosting the capacities and competitive abilities of the members of the targeted groups to compete for opportunities on an equal footing. The composition of leadership has to change and so must the distribution of skills among race and gender groups. Affirmative action can only be beneficial when women’s contribution and potential in shaping policies and societal attitudes, has been realised and acknowledged.
Notes

1. Top posts at the ZBC were given to loyal ZANU PF cadres from external broadcasting centres in Maputo and elsewhere. White qualified people, not aligned to the new government of Robert Mugabe, were pushed out. "Relations with those who remained were tense to the point that normal working relationships proved impossible." (Zaffiro 1992:6). As a result of this affirmative action approach, quality of services declined as new personnel, loyal to the new government were ushered in. Race was a driving force, but little effort was made to emphasise the inclusion of women in the new national broadcasting policy.

2. Married women carry the heavy burden of more tax than other women in South Africa. One woman had the following to say about the tax law:

   Most women run a home, and go out to work, because of economic necessity. It is completely wrong that we are punished for our gender and marital status. Must women carry a heavier burden? Change antiquated and unjust tax laws (Angry Wife 1994 "Unfair Tax Burden" in Sunday Times Magazine, 27 November, p.8.

3. In an interview with Fred Coop (1995) it was confirmed that the SABC policy does not permit the discussion of salaries by employees. According to Coop, this would:

   create personal unhappiness amongst the employees, because some discrepancies exist and explanations might not always be enough. Besides, salaries are a personal matter.

4. In an interview, Coop (1995) indicated that preliminary studies showed that it would cost the SABC over R2,8 million to initiate the day care centre project nationwide. He stated that in principle, they believed in the project, but at the moment their priority lies with the extension of services to rural parts of South Africa which cannot yet access radio signals.

5. When a woman has ‘achieved’ her feminine status through marriage, she is expected to practice her socially defined domestic role as mother and housewife. Most women fulfill these roles regardless of their participation in relations of production.

6. Kader Asmal was a Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape. He is a member of ANC’s National Executive Council and was recently made a Cabinet Minister of Water Affairs. His article on "Affirmative Action is not Reverse Discrimination" was published in The Daily News, Monday 4 April 1994, p. 5.

   The information on corrective action was taken from this article.
7. The article examines the oppression of women in South Africa and draws upon Western feminist theories to analyse the construction of gender and ideology which locate women as inferior and subordinates to men.

8. Crean made the same observation in her study of the CBC. The pattern has not changed a great deal over the years.
Glossary

Abbreviations

ANC  African National Congress
CBC  Canada Broadcasting Corporation
IFP  Inkatha Freedom Party
PAC  Pan-Africanist Congress
RPN  Radio Port Natal (East Coast Radio)
SABC  South African Broadcasting Corporation
TV  Television
UN  United Nations
USA  United States of America
WAD  Women and Development
WID  Women in Development
ZBC  Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

Definitions of Basic Concepts used in this dissertation

Hypothesis  A testable proposition produced during the early stages of research.

Interview  A social event based on mutual participant observation. As a result, the social context is important in understanding the data obtained.

Method  A specific research technique, for example observation, interviewing or audio recording.

Methodology  A general approach to studying research topics and establishes how one will go about studying any phenomenon. Methodologies cannot be true or false, but the can be more or less useful.

Theory  A set of explanatory concepts which offer ways of looking at the world and provide the impetus for research. (Source: Silverman 1993:1-2).
Appendices

Appendix 1

The following were recommendations contained in the Report on the Staffing Committee to the SABC Board by Fatima Meer in her capacity as the convenor of the Staffing Committee on 3 August 1993.

* In filling the eleven posts and middle management posts which were due to fall vacant in the next eighteen months from August 1993, priority should be given to persons who are non-white.

* Understudies other than white, should be placed in additional posts where feasible. Management should identify and indicate where these understudies can be put in operation almost immediately.

* The Board supports the SABC's new policy of employment equity and commits itself to eliminating the racial and gender imbalances in appointments currently prevailing at all levels of staffing.

* The Board calls on Management to review staffing in all its component sectors and to report how a racial and gender balances can be effected within an identified time frame.

* It also calls on Management to report on future structuring of the SABC to enable the Board to involve itself effectively in future planning.

91
* The Board calls on Management to report fully on its training and staff development projects as these have been applied in the last two years in particular by race and gender to enable it to assess the competence of the training programmes.

Appendix 2

The following are a list of questions that were asked to the nine interviewees and some of them were modified according to the responses made.

3 women were questioned from the following racial groups:

* White
* Black
* Asian (Indian)

Issues Discussed

* understanding of affirmative action
* kinds of positions held by women
* the average percentage of women at the SABC
* ratio of racial groups

* conditions of employment
* allocation of assignments
* treatment by management
* issue of harassment (by management, colleagues, people being addressed in the line of duty).
policy towards personal matters pertaining to the need to have time off (e.g. sick leave, attending to sick children, husband, maternity related issues).

* What have been the prevailing problems?

* What have been the corrective measures taken to address these problems, if any?

* What have been the results of these measures?

* Have there been challenges by women against any policies?

   If so, what have been the results?
   If not, what may be the reasons for this lack of action?

* What do you understand by affirmative action?

* In what may has and is affirmative action relevant and effective in promoting equality in gender and race relations?

* Are there problems experienced by women in reconciling domestic and social activities with their careers?

   If there are, what have been the consequences of these problems?

* Issues of transfers away from home, family, husband and children: How important is this factor at the SABC?

* What do women view as obstacles to appointing women at senior levels?

* Are there jobs viewed by women to be unsuitable for them?

   Why? (if there are any).

* Are there a significant number of women in technically-related jobs, for example, camera work, dubbing, mixing and film processing?
Perceptions of women employees on the participation of other women:

* Having women as managers compared to having men as managers: Is there a difference?
* Does the gender/race of that manager matter? (resentment - race relations).
* Is there a difference between working with colleagues of your own gender and working with men? Does it have any effect on your career performance?
* On what basis have promotions been made? (gender, race, seniority rather than merit?)
* What have been the advantages and disadvantages of your job?
* What changes would you like to see made in relation to gender, race and equality issues?
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

November (South Africa, Times Media Limited).

Asmal, K. (1994) "Affirmative Action is not just Reverse Discrimination" The
Daily News, Monday April 4, p 5.

Women (Cape, CTP Book Printers).


Friedman M. (1991) "Is a Feminist Development Appropriate and/or Possible in
South Africa?" Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa (UND,
Durban).

Innes, D. (1993b) "Affirmative Action is not Reverse Discrimination" Financial
Mail 17 September.

Interviews With Women from Natal’s SABC Offices in 1994 on the following
dates:
Monday 30 May
Friday 24 June
Monday 27 June
Thursday 30 June
Thursday 4 August

Interview with Fred Coop: Acting General Manager of Human Resources at the SABC, Tuesday 28 February 1995.


Secondary Sources


