

Gender and Equality: Male Broadcasters' Perceptions
of Gender-Based Affirmative Action at the SABC
KwaZulu-Natal.

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the Masters of
Arts degree in the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media
Studies, University of Natal, Durban.

DECLARATION

I, Lucy Wambui Ngatia, declare that the work presented in this dissertation is my own and has not been submitted previously to any other university or technikon. Any work done by other persons has been duly acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Lucy W. Ngatia', with a stylized flourish at the end.

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June 2002.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the **Almighty God** who has been a pillar of my strength and unfailing love.

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, **Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli**. Thank you for your guidance, support and encouragement. Thank you for the knowledge on media development and democracy you imparted to me.

To the human resources manager of SABC, **Ms Khayalami Ngumbani**, I extend my gratitude for all your help. Without you, the collection of data for this research would have been very difficult. At the same time, I would like to thank all the SABC male broadcasters who granted me interviews, without whom this study would never have seen completion. I extend my gratitude to **Farhana Goga** for your insights and allowing me to use the transcripts of your study on affirmative action in media institutions in South Africa.

I extend my sincere appreciation to all my friends, near and far, and my colleagues at the University of Natal for your support and encouragement over the past few months. I especially thank **Innocent Kilenga, Catherine Nderi, Martha Bakwesegha, and Eunice Ivala** for your encouragement, support and unqualified love.

Last but not least, to **my family**, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your help and support. Thank you **mum** and **dad** for your financial and moral support, without which this study would have remained a dream. Thank you for helping me understand that a seemingly insurmountable task can be worked at with patience and ultimately transformed without undue fuss.

I dedicate this work to my late grandmother **Naomi Wangari Kaguongo**.

Thank you!

ABSTRACT

The end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 brought with it the task of redressing past discriminatory practices. The Employment Equity Act (No. 55 Of 1998) passed in 1998 stipulated that designated employers implement affirmative action in order to provide equal employment opportunities to all including the previously disadvantaged or designated groups who are primarily blacks, the disabled and women (Charlton and Niekerk, 1994: xxii). Affirmative action is not something to be done for political expediency and fear of legislation alone. Shifting markets and consumer needs require demographic representation at all levels in the organization. Addressing the incredible shortage of available skills, compounded by the tendency not to grant equal employment to designated groups who already have skills, suggests the need for demographic considerations in terms of long-term employment needs. Bringing human resources up to world-class standards will mean addressing the deficiencies that have emanated from the apartheid system. This study focuses on the relationship between gender, equality and the concept of affirmative action.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceptions of South African male broadcasters towards affirmative action especially where the policy is targeted towards women. Male broadcasters at SABC KwaZulu-Natal are used as case studies. South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) not only embraces affirmative action but also reports on it. Previous studies on affirmative action in media institutions tend to focus on women and thus this study uses men as case studies to make this area of research more complete.

South African men are not a homogenous category. There are class, racial, religious, language, urban/rural, cultural and age lines of division among them (Nzimande and Sikhosana, 1996: 82). This being the case, the study investigates the different perceptions held by South African male broadcasters of different races concerning gender-based affirmative action. Issues discussed in this study include:

- Understanding of the concept affirmative action
- Need for the implementation of affirmative action
- Perceptions of men towards work

- Men and power in organizations
- Perceptions towards management
- Perceptions towards female broadcasters
- Perceived factors that hinder women from upward mobility
- Possibilities for informal discrimination

Studies on affirmative action have more frequently than not been examined in the context of feminist theories, for example, Susan Manhando's study (1994), 'Towards affirmative action: Issues of race, gender and equality at the SABC: Case studies of Natal women broadcasters' and Farhana Goga's (2000) 'Towards affirmative action issues of race and gender in media organizations: A study on South African media organizations,' to cite but two examples. This study moves beyond this rubric to include both patriarchy and masculinity theories as part of the theoretical framework upon which data analysis is interpreted and discussed. I see the findings of this research as the basis for further investigation into perceptions of South Africans from different races towards affirmative action policy.

GLOSSARY

Abbreviations

AA	Affirmative Action
ANC	African National Congress
KZN	KwaZulu- Natal
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America

DEFINITION OF BASIC CONCEPTS USED IN THIS STUDY

Assumption	A thing that is thought to be true or certain to happen but is not proved.
Interview	A meeting at which somebody questions another or others in order to find out their views on a certain subject.
Interviewee	A person who is interviewed.
Method	A research technique used to collect data such as observation and interviewing.
Methodology	An operational framework within which the facts are placed so that their meaning may be seen more clearly.
Theory	A set of systematically interrelated concepts, definitions and propositions that are advanced to explain and predict phenomena (facts) (Cooper and Schindler, 2001).

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INTRODUCTION

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) is a public service broadcaster whose functions include educating, entertaining, and disseminating information to the public. The stated mission of SABC is to deliver distinctive and compelling programming through sound business practices, which promote integrity, exceptional performance, impartiality, equitability, and fairness (www.sabc.co.za). This study focuses on perceptions of male broadcasters towards affirmative action particularly where this policy is targeted towards women. Male broadcasters at the SABC KwaZulu-Natal region are used as case studies. Research has been carried out on racial and gender representation in the media. One of the major contributors in this field has been United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which has been involved in studies of the distribution of gender within media organisations worldwide, and the role that women play in the media industry (Gallagher, 1985). Other studies on the media and specifically in South Africa are by Farhana Goga (2000), Susan Manhando (1994), and Karen Jackman (1998).

Research shows that the issue of gender discrimination in media institutions is an international debate and issue of concern (Goga, 2000: 3). According to Jackman (1998), Manhando (1996), Goga (2000) and Gallagher, (1995), women still form an insignificant part of the media workforce. Research carried out by the Global Media Monitoring Project 2000 indicates that women in the media comprise 41 percent of news presenters, 56 percent of television presenters, 28 percent of radio presenters, and 26 percent of newspaper reporters (www.comminit.com/BaselineArchives/sld-1546.html). Whereas the number of women presenting news and on television is relatively high, figures indicate that men dominate in media institutions as a whole.

The release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990 contributed to significant changes in the law and the end of apartheid. South African organisations embraced the necessity to

redress imbalances within the organisational composition that had been brought about by previous socio-political designs. The passing of the Employment Equity Act (No. 55 Of 1998) made discrimination based on gender, race, or creed unconstitutional. Though there has been an increase in the number of women employed in organisations since 1994, gender discrimination still exists in the media institutions and men dominate the workplace (Goga, 2000). This study aims to investigate why this is still the case. As such, the concepts of patriarchy and masculinity, which shed light on male dominance in organisations and the society, will be discussed in this study alongside gender equality theories. This study is subdivided into four chapters.

Chapter one of this research focuses on the definition of concepts. These concepts are affirmative action, race, gender, and equality. This chapter also examines the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research that includes feminist and gender inequality theories. Under feminist positions, liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism theories are briefly discussed. Gender inequality theories are discussed under several themes which include: production and property relations; family structure and household; social roles especially organizational work roles; and sexuality.

Chapter two of this study is a literature review on men and work. The section surveys various theoretical perspectives of masculinity and patriarchy. These two theoretical positions shed light on power relations in organisations and the society as a whole. The chapter also focuses on the role that affirmative action plays in reducing men's power in organizations. The last part of this chapter looks at affirmative action at the SABC.

Chapter three focuses on the methodology adopted by this study. The section outlines the method used to collect data and its analysis. Research findings are discussed in this chapter. The chapter integrates data analysis with the theoretical and conceptual framework in order to shed light on the implications of the findings.

Chapter four of this study is a discussion of the research findings. The chapter mainly looks at the main findings and gives suggestions and recommendations wherever necessary. The last part of this section is the conclusion of the study, which includes a suggestion of areas in which further research can be done.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter explores the concept of affirmative action and how male broadcasters at SABC KwaZulu-Natal perceive it. SABC as a public broadcaster plays an important role in the transformation of the new South Africa. The public broadcaster has a unique role to play of presenting issues of all races and more so the blacks and women who are beneficiaries of affirmative action. SABC therefore has to mirror the issues and interests of the publics it serves. In order to do this effectively, SABC has implemented affirmative action policy as a requirement by the government thereby ensuring that the staff composition represents the publics it serves as a public service broadcaster. As such, equal job opportunities are given to all including the previously disadvantaged groups. The SABC now has people from all races, that is Whites, Indians, Blacks and Coloureds all working together in all capacities and levels in the organisation. Several concepts will be used throughout this study and it is therefore important to define them. These concepts are affirmative action, race, gender, and equality.

Definition of Concepts

The researcher feels that it is important to define a few concepts that have been used throughout the study. These are affirmative action, race, gender, and equality. The concept **affirmative action** is narrowed down in this study to focus on issues of gender and equality. Affirmative action is a controversial concept with negative and positive connotations to different people. There is an old saying that 'one person's meat is another's poison'. The same case applies to affirmative action, for many South Africans, affirmative action is a gateway to a better life and for others, particularly white males, it signifies a new form of discrimination and injustice, a threat to their livelihoods and job

security. To have a clear understanding of affirmative action, it is important to look at the purpose of affirmative action policies in other countries.

Affirmative action is an imported concept that has been used in other countries. The concept of affirmative action, which originated in the United States Of America (USA), refers to a range of programmes directed toward disadvantaged groups to address their inequality. It took two forms: “policies to alter the composition of the labour force, and/or policies to increase the representativeness of public committees, political parties, and educational institutions” (Bacchi, 1996: 15). Affirmative action was introduced in the USA to provide equal education and employment opportunities to the minority (Asmal, 1994). Affirmative action was directed towards people of colour in the USA who historically were victims of slavery and racism. In Namibia, affirmative action was designed to overcome racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity (Innes et al, 1993: 5). The Namibian constitution advocates equal rights for both men and women (Hassim, 1991-2: 11). In the Netherlands and Norway, affirmative action was introduced for the chief objective of women’s representation in political processes and in the public bureaucracy (Bacchi, 1996: 17). Affirmative action policies have been introduced in different countries for various reasons. For the purposes of this study, the concept affirmative action is limited to the South African situation and it focuses on male broadcasters’ perceptions towards it.

Decades of apartheid legislation and its application in South Africa, and the wide-ranging discussions about correcting historical inequalities, entered a new era when the Green Paper on Employment and Occupational Equity was published on 1 July 1996 (Department of Labour, General Notice No. 804). In this regard, Nel and Brits (1998: 153) remark:

the Green Paper suggests that measures for employment equity should contribute to alleviating inequalities as part of a broader strategy of reconstruction and development. The approach taken combines anti-discrimination measures to encourage institutional and cultural change by employers.

Affirmative action in South Africa is a purposeful, transitional process of struggle from apartheid to a future of truly equitable relations. According to Schreiner (in Nzimande and Sikhosana 1996:81) affirmative action is a:

transformation away from apartheid, poverty and exploitation, towards non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation in which the socio-economic conditions of the majority, that is, black working class women and men, are substantially transformed in a manner which is empowering.

One of the contentious issues surrounding affirmative action in South Africa is whether it is not a form of reverse discrimination against people who were not the actual perpetrators of past discrimination. Protagonists see affirmative action as a form of racism and sexism directed against white males (Young, 1986: 10). Effective implementation of affirmative action can be beneficial to all resulting in a win-win situation for individuals, organisations, and the country as a whole (Charlton and van Niekerk, 1994: iv).

Affirmative action is also criticised of lowering production standards. This happens when organisations tend to recruit people from previously disadvantaged groups into positions they are not qualified for, the sake of adhering to affirmative action policies. Whereas this may be true to a certain extent, the objective of affirmative action is to achieve equal employment opportunities without lowering standards and without unfairly hindering the career aspirations of existing organisation employees who are competent in their jobs (Charlton and van Niekerk, 1994: xix). Nelson Mandela supported this view in his address to the ANC conference on affirmative action in October 1991. He said that:

the primary aim of affirmative action must be to redress the imbalances created by apartheid. We are not asking for handouts for anyone ... nor is our aim to do away with qualifications. What we are against is not upholding of standards as such but the sustaining of barriers to the attainment of standards; the special measures that we envisage to overcome the legacy of past discrimination are not intended to ensure the advancement of unqualified persons, but to see to it that those who have been denied access to qualifications in the past become qualified now, and those who have been qualified all along but overlooked because of past discrimination are at last given their due ... (quoted in Chalton and van Niekerk, 1994: xix).

Affirmative action policies should be rooted in principles of justice and equity. Hicks (1997: 24) defines equity as treating people as opposed to treating them equally as if they all have the same needs and background. The process of affirmative action should be seen as a temporal intervention designed to achieve equal employment opportunities for all. According to Innes et al (1993: 2), the concept of gender is often given less attention as compared to race when it comes to affirmative action. Though this study concentrates on gender-based affirmative action, it is important to define the concept race.

The concept of **race** is a social construction used to categorise relations amongst people. According to Miles (1989: 71), the term race is used to differentiate people possessing certain phenotypical features and exhibiting a specific profile of biological and cultural attributes. Race is used to identify which people are more superior based on genealogical qualifications. In the South African situation, those classified as white were treated as more superior to those classified as black. This was the basis of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Affirmative action is aimed at correcting these misconceptions by ensuring that people from all races and gender have equal opportunities. This being the case, it is important to also look at the concept of gender.

The concept of **gender** emerged in the 1970s with Marxist feminists who conceptualised it as the social construction of masculinity and femininity (Horn, 1991: 53). Masculinity and feminine characteristics are not necessarily based on the sex of people. A man can possess feminine characteristics and a woman can be said to be masculine. According to Goga (2000: 11), sex identifies the biological (sexual) difference between men and women as they become increasingly divided over artificial boundaries of sex, class, nation and race/ethnicity. Meena (1992: 72) posits that sex is distinguished from gender by what one is born as, that is male or female. In contrast, gender is socially constructed and can thus be deconstructed depending on the circumstances. Gender relations then, are changeable historically and subject to transformation depending on everyday occurrences (Mbilinyi, 1992: 49). Gender can be defined as:

social relations between and among women and men, usually asymmetrical divisions and attributes, connoting relations of power

* ✓ domination and rule. Gender is a relation of domination although not all gender relations are dominating (Mannathako, 1992: 72).

The South African Communist Party defines gender as a society construction, which largely defines power relations between men and women in favour of men and thus leading to systematic and entrenched oppression of women. These power relations are expressed through deep gender inequalities in the home, culture (which includes the media), social relations, politics, and the economy (April, 2000 www.sacp.org.za/docs/sahrcsub.html).

* In South Africa, gender studies are heavily influenced by the British system. Having been colonised by the British, most South Africans during the colonial period looked at the system for demands on freedom, equality, taxation, liberty, justice, and adult suffrage (Gaidzanwa, 1992: 99). Gender is one of the areas against which the South African Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998) prohibits discrimination. } One of the concepts that are closely linked to gender-based affirmative action is equality. As such, an examination of this term is important.]

Equality can be defined as the state of being on the same level for example racially, socially, and economically. Pietilla and Vickers (1990: 46) define equality as:

both a goal and a means whereby individuals are accorded equal treatment under the law and equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and to develop the potential talents and skills.

In South Africa, the purpose of implementing affirmative action policies in organisations is to provide equal employment opportunities to qualified people from previously disadvantaged groups. The concept of equality means that each citizen regardless of sex, social position, creed, race or handicap has equal rights (Charlton and van Niekerk, 1994: xxiii).

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Until the 1980s, organisational studies and feminist theories were detached due to their distinctive interest areas (Mills and Tancred, 1992:15). However, with the rapid development of women's liberation movements, there has been an increased awareness by women of their subordination both in the public and private sphere. This has resulted in an increased consciousness of the role of gender in organisational structures (Mills and Tancred, 1992: 15). Feminist theory has been developed through a range of different perspectives including liberal, radical, Marxist and socialism feminism. Though these theoretical points of departure make different claims about the structure of organisations, they all agree that the workplace generally is male dominated. All feminist perspectives have a common goal of:

questioning and challenging the origins of oppressive gender relations and attempting to develop a variety of strategies that might change these relations for the better and also offers a critique of male dominated institutions, values and social practices that are oppressive and destructive (Mannathoko, 1992: 71).

One of the feminist theories that incorporate various aspects from all the other perspectives is socialist feminism. Before discussing the socialist feminist perspective, it is helpful to consider other feminist theoretical positions briefly. This study will utilise a gendered perspective in the analysis of data.

Feminist Theoretical Perspectives

Liberal feminist approach dates back to the 18th century when its advocates campaigned for equal opportunities rights, and access to opportunities in education and training (Mannathoko, 1992: 72). These early liberal theorists saw sex segregation as leading to discrimination against women. They demanded:

equal opportunities and equal participation in the management of societies. They sought women's liberation through the legal reforms and through the increase of their participation in the political organs. They fought for greater participation of women in education and training (Mannathoko, 1992: 72).

✓ Liberal feminists today focus on increasing opportunities and promoting equality (Mbilinyi, 1992: 44). However, though this theory is committed to fighting for equal rights and equality, it does not argue for a fundamental overhaul of the structural inequalities prevailing in societies (Manhando, 1994: 27). Liberal feminism theory does not look upon the differences between sexes as power relations. According to Mannathako (1992: 73), this reformist way of changing gender inequalities tend to perpetuate the status quo. Liberal feminism has its limitations because it mainly focuses on reducing inequity and little attention has been paid to issues of “social justice, empowerment and equal entitlement of women” (Mannathoko, 1992: 75). Another feminist theoretical perspective is Marxist feminism, which is an extension of Marxist positions.

Marxist feminism perspective builds on the concepts of class, race, and economic issues that were advanced by Marxists. Marxist feminists challenge the attempt to isolate gender from social class. Mannathoko (1992: 83) posits that Marxist feminism considers capitalism, imperialism and sexism as inseparable and thus the liberation of women is thus linked to liberation of oppressive social class relations. Traditional feminists located women’s inequality in their inability to participate in the public sphere (Mannathoko, 1992: 82). According to them:

the liberation of women from the domestic sphere to the public sphere would have contributed to their liberation. In both socialist and capitalist states, participation of women in the public sphere did not automatically lead to their liberation because they occupied low paid jobs (Mannathoko, 1992: 82).

Mbilinyi (1992: 45) points out that according to Marxist feminists, women’s oppression is viewed in terms of by whom the means of production are owned and inequality in recognition of labour and payment. This theory ignores gender as a source of male power independent of social class and fails to recognise that women are oppressed regardless of the class to which they belong (Mannathoko, 1992: 84). It is only the type and extent of oppression that differs between women in different classes. A feminist theoretical perspective that developed from Marxist feminism is radical feminism.

Radical feminism theory emerged from a breakaway from Marxist feminists who were dissatisfied with their inability to apply social classes to analyse gender relations (Mannathoko, 1992: 75). Radical feminists located women's oppression in the social institution of gender and launched a wholesale onslaught against male-dominated society, and men were considered as enemies (Mannathoko, 1992: 75). Radical feminists identify sexuality, reproduction, and patriarchy as the areas in which women ought to change in order to have equal opportunities with men.

Patriarchy as a concept was introduced to differentiate the forces maintaining gender oppression and discrimination from other social forces such as capitalism (Mannathoko, 1992: 76). Patriarchy is a specific form of male domination metaphorically based on the powerful role of the father figure. From a radical feminist point of view, male supremacy rather than patriarchy is the most appropriate description of the social systems where there is rigid division of labour. The concept 'patriarchy' has been discussed further in chapter two of this study. Radical feminism theorists are of the opinion that a power struggle exists between men and women because "men have constructed female sexuality to serve not women's but men's needs, wants and interests" (Tong, 1989: 72). Radical feminists can be criticised for attempting to share male dominance and power rather than changing it. They do not view the participation of men as essential for the emancipation of women (Manhando, 1994: 27). The theories discussed above have been effective in identifying areas of inequality as well as possible solutions. However, none of the theoretical positions discussed above have taken into consideration all the various types of oppression. A theoretical position that in many ways includes all these perspectives is socialist feminism.

✓ **Socialist feminist** theoretical perspective was developed in the early 1970s as a result of the New Leftist movements all over the world (Eisenstein, 1979: 1). This feminist approach was developed from liberal, Marxist and radical perspectives. As such, its major concerns are racism, sexism, and capitalism (Tong, 1989: 89). They include gender and race differences into their analysis thus reconceptualising Marxist, socialist and

feminist positions. Despite their agreement on exploitation and domination by men, socialist feminists criticise other approaches for omitting historical and cultural conditions, and for claiming some minor changes without altering the existing capitalist social relations (www.members.tripod.com/~warlight/ONAR.html).

✓ Socialist feminism relies on the notion that male dominance is a consequence of social practices rather than biological differences. The public realm in which organisations are located is not separated from the private sphere where domestic relations take place. This is because relations with organisations and within families are assumed mutually dependent. Entering the labour market does not mean that women automatically achieve equality. A possible solution to this situation is breaking the dichotomy between family and work, male and female and all work done should be regarded as valuable to others and to society at large (Tong, 1989: 67).

Socialist feminists advocate a unified labour market characterised by wage equality rather than a dual labour system in which women are paid less. They seek for ways to break the hierarchy of wages and positions by establishing that women's occupations require as much knowledge and skills as male positions do (Tong, 1989: 190). In South Africa, women who are the majority are paid less and discriminated against in the labour market. Formerly discriminated against groups should be beneficiaries of a unified labour market. Previous studies by Manhando (1994) and Goga (2000) show that gender inequality exists in media institutions in South Africa. This being the case, it is important to look at theoretical approaches to gender inequality.

✓ Gender equality theoretical approaches are used in chapter three and four in the analysis and interpretation of data. They shed light on factors that contribute to male domination in the workplace, which is the case at the SABC KwaZulu- Natal branch as the data collected from the human resources manager indicates. They also elaborate and marry the radical, Marxist, liberal and socialist feminism theoretical approaches with the concepts of patriarchy and masculinity which are also used to interpret this study's data.

Gender Equality Theoretical Positions

What would it take to make men and women to be truly equal? Is it sharing of jobs and family responsibilities equally amongst all genders? Whereas women's work in bearing and caring for children is indispensable in societies, their status varies depending on the extent to which social reproduction is valued and allows women to participate in economic production. In general, women who contribute more to the economic production have a higher social status. According to Judith Lorber and Susan Farrell (1991: 309), one of the aspects of production that affect the status of women is whether they have control over the distribution of surplus they produce. With these principles in mind, the question of gender equality and its attainment differs enormously from society to society, with economic production being a major structural variable in determining the status of women.

Another variable that constructs gender inequality is men and women's differential involvement in procreation. Rothman Katz (1989) contends that control over sexuality, fertility and childcare in human societies is not dictated by biology but rather by cultural values and political power. Nancy Chodorow (1974: 47) adds that where women have a central position in a society, they are valued as mothers and when their daughters identify with them they develop strong personalities. In patriarchal societies, men dominate and sons grow up developing independent and assertive egos (Chodorow, 1974: 47). Since men are perceived as breadwinners, organizations give them jobs and pay for the services rendered. Women's work in childcare, emotional sustenance and housework is not paid and thus does not give them equal economic status to men.

Ideally, to achieve gender equality, Saltzman Chafetz (1990), suggests the need for social structural changes in psychological development, sexual dominance, economic and cultural production, and parenting. That would require what Nancy Hartsock (1983: 231) calls a "feminist historical materialism," envisioning changes in parenting, in sexual scripting, and in the division of labour in the marketplace and the family. However, before such a revolution can even be imagined, gender as a social construct needs to be

dismantled if not in practice at least in theory (Hartsock, 1983: 231). This being the case, this section will focus on theoretical positions of gender equality according to several themes: production and property relations; family structure and household; and social roles, especially organizational work roles.

Production and Property Relations

Theoretical approaches under this category are mainly economic and they originated within the socialist thought which, according to Judith Agassi (1991: 313), blames the existing material inequality in society for most of its ills. Socialists assume that the smaller the difference in standards of living in a society, the smaller the difference in status between men and women (Agassi 1991: 314). In this respect, they assume that the elimination of material inequality will eliminate all social inequalities including status hierarchies. These theoretical positions, however, do not tell us how these material inequalities can be done away with and the researcher believes this is not possible especially at this age and time of capitalism and globalisation.

Marxists locate the origin of all inequality in the private ownership of means of production and hold that inequality can only be done away with if private ownership is done away with and by the subsequent administration by society for the benefit of all (Agassi, 1991: 314). Frederick Engels (reprinted 1972) contends that the cause of women's inferior position is class society and the nature of family organization it produces, and thus once class society is abolished, and the state dies, patriarchy will also disappear. Engels blamed capitalism for the separation of the procreation work from organization work, which has made women's participation in paid labour difficult and limited. For full equality to be achieved Engels posited that women had to be involved in social production. He assumed that the elimination of the capitalists as a class would automatically overcome all the obstacles to women's equality.

Other positions that stress the importance of women's participation in production are articulated by Lesser Blumberg (1984) and Reeves Sanday (1973). The perspective held

by Blumberg (1984) applies to developing as well as industrialized societies. He claimed that it is only the production of surplus resources, access to, and control over these resources that translates into power for both genders (Blumberg, 1984). Samples from Murdock's 'Ethnographic Atlas' (1967) were used by Sanday to test the theory that women's high participation in subsistence production results in high status. She refuted this theoretical position by pointing to existence of societies where women produce more than half of the subsistence production and they still have a low status in society (Sanday, 1973). As such, Sanday concluded by reformulating her approach to state that women's participation in subsistence production is a necessary but not sufficient condition for their attainment of higher status (1973).

Family Structure and Household

Back in the 19th century, private family household condemned women to household chores and child upbringing thus leading to inequality (Engels, 1972). Women could become equal if private family household had been dissolved by the socialization of domestic services and child raising. In the contemporary setting of the nuclear family, the patriarchal institution prevents all but a minority of women, who employ other women to perform services at relatively low pay, from having a career. Gillian Hunt and Larry Hunt (1982: 181-91) argue that to expect men to undertake household and childcare work is unrealistic. Thus, the only solution is for the household to have more than two adults and for children to participate in domestic work (Hunt and Hunt, 1982: 189). This therefore means that before the children can start participating in domestic work, parents should engage the services of a third party to carry out domestic work in the house.

Socialist feminism theoretical approach has continued to criticise the conventional family household for burdening women with all or most of the unpaid domestic and child rearing work thus causing them to be economically dependant on men (Agassi, 1991: 316). This means that there is a need for extensive changes in both the marriage contract and the household division of labour as a prerequisite for gender equality. There are several theoretical positions that are based on the assumption of the feasibility of gender-

egalitarian family households and long-term heterosexual partnerships in the future. This, it is predicted, will be brought about as a result of one or more of the following factors:

the decline of women's economic dependence on men, the increase in women's control over reproduction, the improvement and greater availability of non-domestic child care services, the reduction and greater flexibility of occupational working time, and men's gradual realization that a gender egalitarian dual role of occupational and of family work is in their long-term interest (Agassi, 1989: 251 – 7. Mason and Lu, 1988: 39 – 57 and Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971)

Social Roles, Especially Occupational Roles

Modern liberal feminists base their gender equality theories on the assumption that abolition of stereotyped social roles for men and women is a pre-condition for women to achieve equal status (Agassi, 1991: 316). Women's responsibility for domestic and child care work limits them from getting occupational roles. Despite the implementation of affirmative action, men use women's actual or presumed domestic handicaps to perpetuate de facto discrimination by forcing women into a small number of occupational roles that are segregated according to labour market types and working time schedules and that have lower pay and prestige as compared to men's occupations (Agassi, 1991: 317). Thus, employed women's lower pay is used as a justification for the perpetuation of their unequal burden of domestic and child care work and their inferior power within the family. Women's segregated and inferior occupational roles also hinder their acquisition of economic and political power and thus it is in the short-term interest of men of all strata to use unpaid domestic services of women to prevent women from competing with them for better jobs (Reskin and Hartman, 1986: 58).

Liberal feminism approach also claims that the abolition of gender segregation of occupational roles is necessary for the achievement of women's equality (Agassi, 1991: 317). This, therefore, means that for gender equality to be attained all domestic and child care work should be freed of gender stereotyping and must be divided equally between partners. These theoretical approaches are thus linked to those of family structure and household.

Alice Schlegel (1977) suggests a different modern anthropological theoretical position of gender roles, which claims that it is of no importance whether work activities are gender segregated as long as the society's myths and ritual system evaluate and celebrate women's activities as highly as men's. Thus according to Schlegel (1977) neither the segregation of work or participation in economic production determines the status of any gender but rather only the spiritual evaluation of their activities. Sanday's later work (1981) downplays her earlier emphasis on production and presents an approach of women's status that is similar to Schelegel's. Sanday (1981: 6-7) claims that for gender equality to be attained what is required is a mythical and cultural evaluation of birth, as well as women's participation in sacred roles. Unlike Schlegel, Sanday does not dismiss the importance of gendered role segregation for women's status. She claims that "[symbolic] sex role plans determine the sexual division of labour" and "whether or not men and women mingle or are largely separated in everyday affairs plays a crucial role in the rise of male dominance" (1981: 7).

Not all gender stratification theoretical approaches agree that gender equality is good and feasible. Lionel Tigers (1969) developed a theoretical position that argues that gender roles are biologically given and thus unchangeable. According to this approach:

during millennia of the infancy of the human species, males and females had radically different experiences; these have implanted in each individual a biogrammar that makes male humans better disposed to pursue action and adventure within male groups, much like their presumed activities during the hunting stage of humanity, whereas it makes female humans better disposed to pursue the domestic and material activities (in Agassi, 1991: 318).

This therefore means that any attempts to equalize gender roles are in vain because they will be opposed to biogrammar differences. Bearing in mind that this study focuses on perceptions of men in broadcasting towards affirmative action, a policy that aims at achieving gender and racial equality at work places, it is important to briefly look at the theory of masculinity.

CHAPTER TWO

MEN AND WORK

Although a good deal of scholarly work on women and the mass media has been published, little has been written on men. Many feminists, of course, would challenge this statement, arguing that everything not written on women has been, in effect, about men.

Yet, feminist theoretical positions have brought us to a far better understanding of the social construction of gender and - scholars in various fields have begun to study - as Michael Kimmel has put it “men as men” (1987: 11).

Men’s studies seek to examine various issues through the application of feminist and other social theories. The studies, for example, seek to answer questions such as: ‘what is it that makes men the way they are? What social forces in men’s lives define masculinity? How can men resist the debilitating effects of a patriarchal system that places them in roles of domination?’ Several theoretical positions have been developed to explain why men are the way they are and do what they do. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical position that underpins this study. Bearing in mind that this study is on male broadcasters’ perceptions towards affirmative action, the researcher will explore some of the theoretical perspectives that inform the role that gender plays in the labour market. The chapter will centre on theoretical approaches of masculinity and patriarchy. These perspectives will explain why as Beverly Burriss (1996) posits that men dominate in organisations and occupy a majority of the top positions in the labour market. Ultimately, the researcher will focus on the role of affirmative action in the media industry and specifically at the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Gender and Power in Organisations

Though there is a vast amount of literature on organisations, Gareth Morgan in his book 'Images of Organisations' (1997) points out that it is only relatively recently that writers on organisations have begun to consider their gendered nature and recognise the limitations of a gender blind approach. Morgan (1997: 172) contends that there are three main sources of power in organisations. The first and most obvious source of power in an organisation is **legitimate authority**. This kind of power is a combination of one or more characteristics of the rule of law, tradition or charisma and it confers respect and acknowledgment on those who embody it (Morgan, 1997: 172).

Traditional authority, which is the second source of power in an organization, is based on a "respect for custom and practice as vested in individuals who symbolise and embody those traditions" (Morgan, 1997: 172). This authority does not specify the role of gender. However, research reveals that women and men in organisations are segregated with the former being to lower hierarchical levels (Gallagher, 1981). Women as managers therefore present a challenge to custom and practice rather than being able to draw on this foundation for formal authority.

The third source of **formal authority**, 'the rule of law' might be expected to prove less problematic in gender terms particularly in a society, which has passed legislation in relation to equal opportunities (Morgan, 1997: 172). The liberal feminist approach to seeking equality of opportunity would anticipate that authority based on the rule of law, as represented in the formal hierarchy of organisations, would be equally available to women and men. However, the researcher feels that authority legitimated by the observance of rules rather than by tradition or by charisma is a key feature of bureaucracy. Ideally appointments should be conducted and formal authority be invested in the successful candidate irrespective of their gender or personal characteristics. However, Morgan (1997: 173) points out that bureaucracies are frequently presented as epitomising rationality. As a number of writers (for example Ferguson, 1984, Kanter,

1977 and Witz and Savage, 1992) have pointed out, this ordered rationality is illusory and gender is a key factor in structuring organisations.

One of the ways by which organisational gender has been acknowledged is through substantial research on women and representation at the workplace. Though this work has made a significant contribution to literature on gender in organisations, it has the potential to divert attention from other important foci (Burriss, 1996: 61). One of the risks is the tendency to ignore the important ways in which male dominance and patriarchal norms of conduct have influenced organisations (Burriss, 1996: 62). In order to reach a fuller understanding of gender relations in organisations, it is important to look at some of the theories that shed light on the role of gender in the workplace.

Masculinity Theoretical Perspective

Though scholars have been wrestling with the definition of 'masculinity', it is clear that it is not a description of what maleness is. It is not a question of being but rather of gender "thresholds" and a "dynamic self-recognition" (Sedgwick 1995), "accomplishments" and (dis) avowals (Butler, 1995), and a "prefixing of the rules of gender and sexuality; an appendix or addition, that willy-nilly, supplements and suspends a lack - in-being" (Bhabba, 1995). Scholars in media studies, according to Teresa de Lauretis (1987: 5) have come to understand masculinity as "both a product and process of representation". Some scholars have adopted a feminist poststructuralist orientation to 'masculinity as signs', by focusing on a constructionist approach to representation and meaning, thus regarding masculinity as one of the subjectivities that make up our social identities (Saco, 1992). Within the growing body of literature on gender representation in the media, particular attention has been paid to the representation of the male body, giving rise to debates over its cultural significance and political valences. Today, as Stuart Hall (1996: 11) observes, "the body serves to function as the signifier of the condensation of subjectivities in the individual".] (v)

✓ Masculinity is defined by Robert Connell (1987: 81) as “a configuration of practice around the position of men in the structure of gender relations”. In this sense ‘a configuration of practice’ means placing emphasis on what people actually do, not what is expected or imagined, ‘practice’ means that action has a rationale and historical meaning and by ‘position of men’ he is referring to masculinity as having to do with social relations (Connell, 1987: 81). There is a conventional story about how masculinities are made and reinforced. It says that boys are pressured to act and feel this way, and to distance themselves from girls, women and femininity, understood as the opposite (Connell, 1987: 82). The pressure for conformity comes from the society as a whole and thus most boys internalise this social norm, and adopt masculine manners and interests often at the expense of repressing their feelings. Although this conventional story is not wholly wrong, it can be critiqued for taking one form of masculinity to define masculinity in general. Connell (1987: 82) contends that this story mistakes gender hegemony for gender totalitarianism though there is evidence that hegemonic masculinities are produced alongside, and in relation to other masculinities.

Historians and anthropologists have shown that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere (Connell, 1987: 80). Different cultures and periods of history construct masculinity differently. It is important to note that more than one kind of masculinity can be found within a given cultural setting. Within any structure in a society there is likely to be different understandings of masculinity. In an urban, middle class society for example, there is a version of masculinity organised around dominance that could emphasise leadership in management and another version organised around expertise that emphasise professionalism.

Masculinity does not belong to any one category of men. According to Morrell (2001: 7), masculinities are fluid, “they are socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival understanding of what being a man should involve”. Masculinity is neither inherited nor acquired. It is constructed in the context of class, race, and other factors that are interpreted through the prism of age (Morell, 2001: 8).

Whereas it is true that masculinity is not inherited, it is also a fact that men's tastes and bodies are influenced by the discourses of gender that they encounter in their culture from birth (Morrell, 2001: 8). One type of masculinity that falls under masculinity and relates to this study is hegemonic masculinity.

The term hegemony is derived from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations and it refers to the "cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life" (Connell, 1995: 77). Hegemonic masculinity should not be understood as the "male role" but as a particular variety of masculinity to which women and some men are subordinated (Carrigan et al, 1987 and Connell, 1995). It is thus not a fixed character type or something that men empirically are. Hegemonic masculinity is a question of "how particular men inhabit positions of power and wealth and how they legitimate and reproduce social relationships that generate dominance" (Carrigan et al, 1987: 17). Hegemonic masculinity can thus be defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1995: 77). This kind of masculinity secures the dominance of some men within the gender system.

Different masculinities do not exist side-by-side like dishes in a smorgasbord there are definite relations between them (Connell, 1987: 81). Some masculinities are more honoured than others (for example sporting heroes) and others are socially marginalized (such as the masculinities of disadvantaged ethnic groups in a society). However, hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity that is culturally dominant in any given setting. Hegemonic masculinities signify a position of cultural authority and leadership, not total dominance, since other forms of masculinities persist alongside (Connell, 1987: 84). This, therefore, means that hegemonic masculinities need not be the most common form of masculinity. In a school for example, a small group of intelligent hardworking boys could be the envy of many other boys who cannot reproduce their performance. The argument above is emphasized by Robert Hanke's (1990: 12) definition of hegemonic

masculinity. He defines hegemonic masculinity as the “social ascendancy of a particular version or model of masculinity, that operating on the terrain of common sense and conventional morality defines ‘what it means to be a man’”. This definition not only secures the domination of some men but also the subordination of women by men.

Few men meet the normative standards of hegemonic masculinity. The number of men vigorously practising the hegemonic pattern in its entirety is quite small. However, a majority of men enjoy hegemony because of the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 1995: 79). Being a man, argues Connell (1995: 79), confers power. However, not all men share this power equally and not all are exploitative. Constance Penley and Sharon Willis (1988: 4) observe that although masculine dominance is almost universal, not all masculinities have the same relation to discourses and institutions of power.

Power plays a role in determining which version of masculinity is hegemonic. Men stand in different relations to power. David Collinson and Jeff Hearn (1996: 10) refer to this as “hierarchic heterosexuality” which acknowledges that some men are more powerful than others. Men who possess hegemonic masculinity are in positions where they can impose their particular definitions of masculinity on others thereby legitimising and reproducing the social relations that generate their dominance. Thus, though men in general are advantaged through the subordination of women, different men are advantaged in different ways. However, we cannot deny the existence of anomalies consistent with the global subordination of women. There are cases where women hold power over men or at least they are equals. The intersection of gender with class, sexuality, and race relations produces sites where dominant-subordinate relations are more complex, for example, where significantly influential upper-class women are employers of working class men or are politically dominant over men. Nevertheless, men as a group gain real and large advantages from the current system of gender relations; the scale of this “patriarchal dividend” is indicated by the fact that men’s earned incomes, worldwide, are about 180% of women’s (Connell, 1987: 88).

Work remains central to men's public identity in post-industrial societies (Harris, 1989: 12). Research on the human resources practices in some media institutions in South Africa carried out by Goga (2000) indicates that white men dominate in managerial positions. This is a clear indication of unequal male power in the media institutions based on race and gender. Whereas men dominate in the top positions in media institutions, they do not all hold the same power on the organization hierarchy. Collinson and Hearn (1996: 10) illustrate this with the example of a white male-dominated shop floor manager who may simultaneously have hegemonic masculinity in terms of gender and race but is subordinated with regard to class and hierarchy on the organisation ladder.

In order to get a clear understanding of the magnitude of male dominance in media institutions, it is important to begin by examining the scale of women's occupation of the media labour market in different parts of the world. Women all over the world form an insignificant part of the media workforce (Gallagher, 1995). In terms of data from 1995, in Latin America, women make up 25 percent of media workforce and in Western Europe and USA there are 35 percent (Gallagher, 1995). In Japan, women make up only 15 percent of media employees, in Argentina and Mozambique 10 percent respectively and in South Africa women form 27 percent of the media workforce (Gallagher, 1995). This clearly shows that male employees dominate media institutions worldwide.

Reflecting and reinforcing this numerical dominance is a masculine or masculinist imagery that pervades the labour market and how it is perceived. In the pre-industrial era, both men and women always did work. However, Ferguson (1984: 4) posits that in the early industrial era women were ousted due to the pressure for centralisation and specialisation of labour that marked the transition to corporate capitalism. According to Hall (1992), this not only redefined women and men's relations to work and domestic life but also facilitated the construction of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' as categories of psychological differences between sexes. This resulted to man being identified with work and payment, which not only legitimated their authority over women but also led to unequal economic relations between the sexes. Joan Acker (1992: 257) posits that the

abstract worker transformed into a concrete worker turns out to be a man whose work is his life and his wife takes care of everything else. As such:

the concept of a job is gendered, in spite of its presentation as gender neutral, because only a male worker can meet its implicit demands. Hidden within the concept of a job are assumptions about separations between the public and private spheres and the gendered organisation of reproduction and production (Acker, 1992: 257).

At a psychological level, Wendy Hollway (1996: 28) contends that the implicitly gendered nature of labour enables work to be valued by being compared to an inferiorised woman's realm of domestic work, which is marginalised.

In South Africa, unequal economic relations between men and women arose in part from the demands of colonialism and apartheid. African men were regarded merely as cheap labour and African women as necessary for the reproduction of that labour (ANC Today, April, 2001). African men were required to travel to work in urban areas but were not allowed to permanently reside in 'white' areas and a majority of African women remained in the rural areas bringing up children (ANC Today, April, 2001). However, it is important to point that not all women did not have access to paid labour, some young black women lived and worked in towns as domestic servants in white homes. White men not only dominated black men but also women. This is a feature of hegemonic masculinity in which some men not only dominate women but other men too (Connell, 1995: 32).

* ✓ Research shows that men dominate positions of power and often reproduce their power, cultural values and sense of identity (Milkman and Townsley, 1994). This means that masculine values permeate the cultures of most organisations. Classical administrative theory portrays organisations as logical, functional, bland, impersonal, passionless entities that operate according to neutral rules of efficiency and economy (Hollway, 1996: 45). However, organisations are social constructions characterised by ownership, membership, control, and language. Social power is manifested through the exertion and ability of members and other stakeholders as they generate and maintain their position

and relationships (Hollway, 1996: 45). Though managers should recruit, select, and promote personnel through the conduct of routine evaluations that are gender free, Judith Lorber (1994: 12) contends that occupational sex-typing characterises all labour markets around the globe.

Recruitment, selection and promotion processes in most organisations are “dominated by men and they embody masculinity, and reproduce varying masculinities” (Martin, 1996: 188). This means that men’s domination in work is brought about by male managers who use the power in their discretion to give opportunities to fellow men to develop thus asserting their rights to the best jobs, positions and opportunities thereby framing women as less worthy of powerful statuses. Men in positions of authority in organisations possess power, which they use to defend and rehearse masculinity (Hollway, 1996: 27). Hegemonic masculinity gives men power to control over other’s labour. This is also a defining feature of patriarchy (Hearn, 1992: 81). The construction of masculinity plays a major role in ensuring that a male culture dominates in organisations. According to Rosabeth Kanter (1977: 48), senior managers frequently appoint in their own image. “Men are selected for managerial positions because they are perceived, especially by male selectors, to be more reliable, committed and predictable, free from conflicting loyalties between home and work” (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 13). As far as divided commitment to work and family is concerned Kanter (1977: 48) argues that the extensive pressures on managers to conform to organisational demands can result to not only an exclusion of women but also of men.

↙ Masculinity does not apply to men only. There are women who hold power over men and other women. This power puts them under the hegemonic masculinity category. Though men acknowledge women in powerful positions, they ridicule the masculinist manner in which they behave. Such women may like their work but dislike the male style of interacting that they are expected to display. In reference to women engineers, Judith McIlwee and Gregg Robinson (1992: 138) observe that:

whereas engineers as a group are powerful, the culture takes on a form strongly identified with the male gender role, emphasising aggressive displays of technical self-confidence as the criteria for success.

This devalues the gender role attributes of women, thus defining professional competence in strictly masculine terms.

Women who hold power in organisations and are assertive receive various compliments from men. For example, the researcher has heard men describe assertive women in senior positions by saying that 'she kicks ass with the best of them'. Whereas this compliment acknowledges a woman's ability to 'act like a man' it also signifies her violation of norms associated with emphasised femininity and her status as a woman. In this case, men view women's enactment of masculinity as illegitimate and unattractive (Connell, 1987: 80). The 'community of work' to which men orient their behaviour and concerns is a world of, by and for men, women may 'fit' uneasily in this community except in subordinate, supportive positions and roles (Cockburn, 1991, Weiss, 1990). This being the case, it is important to look at the concept patriarchy and the role it plays in ensuring male dominance at the workplace since according to Goga (2000: xv), a male corporate culture exists in media institutions in South Africa. South Africa is a patriarchal society.

✓ **Patriarchy Theoretical Perspective**

There have been discussions in the feminist movement whether it is correct to call the system of male dominance under which women suffer today in most societies a patriarchal system (Ehrenreich and English, 1979: 11). Patriarchy literally refers to the rule of fathers. However, today's dominance goes beyond the 'rule of fathers' to include the rule of husbands, of male bosses, of ruling men in most societal institutions, in politics and economics, in short, what Maria Mies (1986: 37) calls "the men's league" or "men's house".

The concept 'patriarchy' was re-discovered by the new feminist movement as a struggle concept, because the movement needed a term to express the systematic character of the totality of oppressive and exploitative relations that affect women (Mies, 1986: 37). Moreover, the term 'patriarchy' denotes the historical and societal dimension of women's exploitation and oppression, and is thus less open to biologicistic interpretations, in contrast, for example to the concept of 'masculinity'. According to Mies (1986: 38), historically, patriarchal systems were developed at a particular time, by particular people and in particular geographical regions (Mies, 1986: 38). They are not universal, timeless systems, which have always existed. This therefore means that if patriarchy had a specific beginning in history, it can also have an end.

Patriarchy is founded on "men's appropriation of reproductive labour powers ... of others, particularly women and children, but also other men" (Hearn, 1992: 81).

Patriarchy is reproduced through:

the ability of fathers to bequeath to their sons the power to command resources, direct the labour of wives and children, monopolise material control of 'public sphere' beyond the family and also enforce ideologies which legitimate all this as a natural, godly and inevitable state of affairs (MacInnes, 1998: 227).

Sexual division of labour runs deeper than we imagine the identities of men and women to be fundamentally different thereby possessing gender identities that are either masculine or feminine. This is what is referred to as patriarchy and it defines social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women (Walby, 1990: 20).

Patriarchy is defined in Weber's dictionary as the rule of the father. Men exercise power by virtue of their kin relations, that is, by being fathers to their children and husbands to their wives. This definition gives legitimacy to men's power over women and their domination of the labour market. Heidi Hartman (1981: 14) has defined patriarchy as a "set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity that enable men to

dominate women”. The material basis of patriarchy is men’s control over women’s power and men control this power by excluding women from production and restricting their sexuality. As such patriarchy gives men power to control women’s labour.

Patriarchy is the common denominator of all South Africa’s eleven ethnic groups. Albie Sachs, a South African constitutional judge, contends that it is a sad fact that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy. He adds that:

amongst the multiple chauvinisms, which abound in our country, the male version rears itself with special equal vigour in communities. Thus to challenge patriarchy to dispute the idea that men should be dominant figures in the family and society, is to be seen not as fighting against the male privilege but as attempting to destroy African tradition, or subvert Afrikaner ideals, or undermine civilised and decent British values (www.cge.org.za/docs/ann-report2.html).

Patriarchy accords both men and women different roles. For instance, a women’s role is conceived as being a nurturer and caregiver, while men are entrusted with decision-making roles. Whereas the nature of patriarchal relations varies from society to society, it takes various forms depending on race, class, religion, marital status, and age (MacInnes, 1998: 5). The colonial system in South Africa exacerbated black women’s oppression. Not only were black women denied social and economic rights but also they were barred from living in cities, owning land, family planning, or inheriting property (www.cosatu.org.za/congress/cong2000/genderpol.htm). Apartheid was notable on its effect on ‘the family’ in black working class society. Men who worked away from home often had many offspring from different women as a consequence of living away from their wives (if they had one) who they either did or did not support.

The ushering in of a new democratic government in 1994 and adoption of a progressive constitution have brought about changes for the majority of the formerly oppressed in South Africa. The adoption of Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998) contributes towards overcoming discrimination and inequality in the workplace. In South Africa today, sexual division of labour is becoming less marked despite patriarchy. Implementation of affirmative action by organisations ensures that equal opportunities

are provided to both men and women irrespective of race. This means that those differences between men and women that were previously dismissed as natural and thus inevitable are steadily coming to be seen as social and therefore open to challenge and change.

South Africa is a capitalist nation. This system, which was introduced by the colonisers, prompted South Africans to seek employment so that they can put food on their tables at the end of the day. Men sought waged labour whereas women remained at home nurturing children. They could only get jobs as domestic workers and they were underpaid. Employment during the colonial era was along sexual lines, which were determined by the patriarchal system, which already existed before the introduction of capitalism (www.cosatu.org.za/congress/cong2000/genderpol.htm). Capitalism has had a positive and negative impact on patriarchy, which ensures male dominance in positions of power.

Patriarchy existed in Africa before capitalism, which was first developed in Europe. According to April Gordon (1996: 28) as a result of the expansion of capitalism to Africa during the colonial era, heterogeneous modes of production and patriarchies were brought together. In the pre-colonial Africa, societies and economies varied widely. John Caldwell (1982: 17) posits that work in pre-colonial Africa was centred on the familial mode of production. Africans produced food for their own consumption rather than for exchange and both genders played vital roles in this endeavour. However, elder males tended to have more political authority and control over productive assets than females. When colonial capitalism was introduced, Africa's role in the capitalist system was to be a supplier of cheap raw materials and labour (Gordon, 1996: 29). Men migrated to cities to seek wage work while women typically remained in the rural areas producing food and taking care of children. Whereas men received wages for their labour, in most cases women were not paid for their work as family caretakers. Patriarchy not capitalism brought about the sexual division of labour and exploitation of women (Gordon, 1996: 61).

Dominance by males in kinship systems, households and property ownership was echoed by the introduction of waged labour. Jane Parpart (1988) contends that pervasive patriarchal system reinforced discrimination against women in employment and this has up to date served to maintain unequal and exploitative gender relations. According to Phillip Langley (1983: 91) ideology and state policy too aids men in their effort to maintain control over women and preserve male dominance. Though some women resist their subordination, appeals to African custom are frequently used to justify patriarchy and limit women's rights and opportunities or justify their status within the family production system. Jane Guyer (1986: 399) contends that there is nothing natural about marginalisation of women into low-status poor return occupations. However, "it is a question of resource control, itself a legal and policy issue which in the past has been rendered unapproachable by the association of local practices with the idea of custom" (Guyer, 1986: 399).

Democracy in independent countries poses a threat to patriarchy. Women in those countries now have access to education, economic activities, political participation, and urbanisation and this is gradually eroding the familial mode of production and its patriarchal base. According to Gordon (1996: 67), a major source of erosion of patriarchy comes from the liberal individualistic character of capitalism. As the society becomes more commercialised and labour becomes a commodity, women as well as men develop a new awareness of the value of their productive activities and seek more autonomy (Gordon, 1996: 67).

On the other hand, patriarchy gives men advantages such as access to property, education, training, and this allows them to dominate the capitalist system and limit women's access (Gordon, 1996: 41). This has a negative effect on capitalism in that it limits efficient allocation of productive resources and rational decision-making, which is crucial for capitalist free markets. Patriarchy limits capitalism's access to the labour of women and forces capitalism to hire men who may be less productive. One of the reasons why the negative impact of patriarchy on capitalism has not been better recognised is that

capitalism all over the world from the beginning has developed and co-existed with patriarchal cultures and ideologies (Gordon, 1996: 41). Its resulting masculinist character has been taken for granted as natural. Therefore, according to Patricia Stamp (1989: 26), gender discrimination has been ignored in capitalist economic theory and practice rather than being factored in and its true costs measured. Stamp (1989: 26) posits that gender inequality and the sexual division of labour are natural rather than socially constructed.

Government intervention is important for the promotion of gender equality. States can intervene by breaking down institutionalised patriarchy and by facilitating or creating new institutions based on equal rights and gender equity (Gordon, 1996: 121). In South Africa, the government passed the Employment Equity Act (No. 55) in 1998 in a bid to eliminate not only gender inequality but also all other forms of discrimination in employment. The purpose of the Act is to achieve equity in the workplace by:

- a). Promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discriminating; and
- b). Implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce (www.polity.org.za/govdocs/legislation/1998/act98.055.html).

Designated employers¹ in South Africa enact this law by implementing affirmative action policies in their employment practices².

¹ A designated employer is a person who employs 50 or more employees and/or a person who employs fewer than 50 employees but has a total annual turnover that is equal to or above the applicable annual turnover of a small business in terms of Schedule 4 of the Act (www.polity.org.za/govdocs/legislation/1998/act98.055.html).

² Employment practices include but are not limited to: recruitment procedures, advertising, selection criteria, job classification and grading, appointments and appointment procedures, training and development, performance and evaluation systems.

Men's Power in Organisations: Affirmative Action Intervenes

Men hold power not as individuals but by means of organisation and in organisation (Cockburn, 1990: 72). Power has many faces and those who hold it exercise it in many different sets of interactions. For example, in South Africa, men wield power as men and those who are white wield it in terms of race. The effect that is produced by power imbalance is called 'inequality', a term that does not sound too harsh to the liberal society and seems to imply that people are stacked above and beneath each other in layers (Cockburn, 1990: 72).

With the end of apartheid in 1994, many companies in South Africa declared themselves equal opportunity employers in order to correct past imbalances. They developed affirmative action measures in order to eliminate and prohibit unfair discrimination in their human resources practices. Affirmative action measures are "measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups have equal opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of a designated employer" (RSA 1998). Whereas most organisations are still struggling with the concept of affirmative action, there has been a significant change in the composition of staff in organisations especially in terms of race. Affirmative action in South Africa in the past has focused on redressing racial discrimination and ignoring gender discrimination. Gender has been overlooked and thus the difference in power between men and women in organisations. South Africa needs to give attention to gender discrimination at work as much as they do racial issues (Innes et al, 1993: 2). It is for this reason that this study focuses on gender-based affirmative action.

Affirmative action invokes a system of organisational power that is not only complex and with multiple sources but also has multiple effects (Cockburn, 1990: 73). Affirmative action also reveals organisational power as interacting with power systems lying outside the immediate structure of the organisation and whose outcomes result from the interaction between individuals, the structure and processes of the organisation (Cockburn, 1990: 73). It is important to understand that power is multifaceted, complex

and spans organisational boundaries (Mills and Tancred, 1992:34). According to Rosabeth Kanter (1977: 21) though the specific relationship of managers and the managed may lie within the organisation, it is clear that oppressions of race, sex, and class do not. The individual manager and the managed move in and out of the organisation with their power and powerlessness attached to them. This being the case, affirmative action needs to devote energy to encourage self-identification amongst the disadvantaged groups and to form alliances between them on a broad agenda for change (Young, 1986: 54).

Affirmative action policies serve the purpose of changing procedures and practices that alienated the disadvantaged groups in the society. Since gender and race oppression have their being both within and outside the organisation, and individual agency is effective on and in organisations, it is important that affirmative action policies address the problem of changing consciousness which essentially means winning defections from power systems (Cockburn, 1990: 88). In South Africa, affirmative action policies should help change the attitudes and ideas of both the previously disadvantaged and advantaged groups. By so doing individual differences in terms of gender and race are accepted both within and outside the organisation.

Affirmative Action at the SABC

The SABC defines affirmative action as a deliberate systematically organised process of correcting historical imbalances in staffing and normalising the staff composition of the corporation (Staffing Committee Report, August 1993, unpublished). The purpose of affirmative action is to overcome the structural consequences and discriminatory practices of organisational discrimination especially with respect to race, gender, and disability. The Board of SABC formally adopted a policy of affirmative action in July 1994, to correct imbalances in the composition of the corporation's staff complement. This was done in recognition that as a public service broadcaster, SABC can only fulfil its mandate if its staff composition is reflective of the society (Berger, 2000).

According to the SABC staffing committee report (Aug 1993, unpublished), affirmative action at the SABC is a deliberate and conscious process applied in a manner that prioritises blacks, women, and other marginalised groups³ in its promotion and employment policies. It does not mean the exclusion of white male employees nor obligatory retrenchment merely for being white (SABC Staffing Committee Report, August 1993, unpublished). The SABC affirmative action policy emphasises the importance of competence, performance, and merit when it comes to appointments and promotions. However, it gives preferential treatment to qualified incumbents from historically disadvantaged groups in lieu of experience denied of them (SABC Policy Statement on Affirmative Action, June 1994, unpublished). The SABC has been able to claim full-spectrum representativity of different racial groups at most levels of the corporation and increasingly at top management level (Berger, 2000). However, the SABC is still struggling to achieve gender equality at all levels of the corporation. One of the proposals made by the appointed committee to investigate the SABC staffing structure and training programmes in July 1994 was the need to address gender imbalances (SABC Policy Statement on Affirmative Action, June 1994, unpublished).

Management of the SABC redress past employment imbalances not only through promotion and recruitment but also revamping the training programmes in order to serve all members of staff. According to the staffing committee report (unpublished August, 1993), the training environment focuses on changing values of the South African democracy and assists line managers to adapt to these in order to implement adequately the corporation's commitment to affirmative action, productivity and high quality service. Both internal and external training programs are provided to all deserving employees irrespective of their race or gender in order to improve competencies and efficiencies in the key functional areas of the SABC. The SABC allocates more resources for training to the development of the disadvantaged groups (SABC Policy Statement on Affirmative Action, June 1994, unpublished).

³ Marginalized groups include the disabled irrespective of gender or race.

Salary scales and benefits at the SABC are not discriminatory (Staffing Committee Report 1993: 5). This means that the SABC adheres to the principle of 'equal pay for work of equal value'. Where differentiation exists in pay scales, it only pertains to the level, status and responsibility and/or level of performance by the incumbent (Staffing Committee Report, 1993: 5). Management is supposed to enact the affirmative action policy in a manner that favours the previously disadvantaged and at the same time not compromise high standards of professionalism.

The SABC has implemented affirmative action in order to ensure that previously disadvantaged groups get equal opportunities in human resource functions such as recruitment, promotion, training, and compensation. This being the case the researcher sought to find out male broadcasters perceptions towards affirmative action and especially where this policy targets women. The next chapter gives an analysis of data collected for this research and its interpretation in view of the theoretical framework discussed in the first and second chapters of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY: CASE STUDIES OF NATAL SABC MALE BROADCASTERS

Men's studies are the offspring of not only feminist theory, but also the social awareness brought on by the women's movement (Craig, 1992: 2). Thus, most men's studies take a pro-feminist approach. These studies seek to expand and extend the insights into gender relationships offered by the feminists. This approach is further described by Michael Kimmel (1987: 10 – 11):

Men's studies responds to the shifting social and intellectual contexts in the study of gender and attempts to treat masculinity not as the normative referent against which standards are assessed but as a problematic gender construct. Inspired by the academic breakthroughs of women's studies, men studies address similar questions to the study of men and masculinity. As women's studies seek to use that revision as the basis for its exploration of men and masculinity, Men's studies seek neither to replace nor supplant women's studies; quite to the contrarily. Men's studies seek to buttress, to augment women's studies, to complete the radically redrawn portrait of gender that women's studies have begun.

The aim of this study is to investigate male broadcasters' perceptions towards affirmative action particularly where the policy is targeted towards women. This research centres on case studies of KwaZulu-Natal's SABC male broadcasters. The study builds on Manhando's (1994) work, which focuses on affirmative action and specifically looks at issues of gender, race, and equality at the SABC. Manhando examined the attitudes and perceptions of women towards affirmative action, studying women at KwaZulu-Natal SABC as her case studies. As such this study, will further what she began since it focuses on perceptions of male broadcasters towards affirmative action. Manhando's study (1994), together with the present one, will give a holistic approach to perceptions of affirmative

action held by both gender at the SABC. This study also builds on work done by Goga (2000) which takes a human resources perspective towards issues of gender and race in the context of affirmative action. Goga studied South African media organizations, that is, both print and electronic.

The following issues have been considered in the analysis of data for this study:

- * Kinds of positions held by men at the SABC
- * Overall percentage of men at the SABC
- * Ratio of men to women at the SABC

The findings of this research have been analysed in relation to gender and equality issues. The assumption of this study is that though men support gender equality as advocated by affirmative action they perceive women as less qualified, experienced, and competent in their jobs as compared to them. This assumption is examined in the course of the research. The findings of this study have been discussed further in chapter four.

Methodology

The empirical data was gathered in part, through in-depth interviews. The interviewees were mainly operational staff that is, male managers, editors, researchers, reporters, announcers, producers, and technicians. The researcher conducted face to face interviews using open-ended semi-structured questions (see Appendix 1). This type of interview is suitable for this study, which deals with people's perceptions. Semi structured and unstructured interviews are excellent where the aim of the study is to understand the perspective of the interviewee and the personal meanings they attach to different situations (White, 2000: 32). A semi-structured interview allows the respondent to express him/herself in his/her own terms with minimum control over the informant's responses being exercised by the researcher (Bernard, 1994: 209). The research utilizes qualitative methodology since the intention is to obtain an authentic understanding of interviewees' individual perceptions, which does not necessarily provide a representative picture of all male broadcasters at the SABC.

Qualitative research is a mixture of the rational, explorative, and intuitive, where the skills of the researcher play an important role in the analysis of data (...) The skills needed to do qualitative research are thinking abstractly, stepping back and critically analysing situations, recognising and avoiding biases, obtaining valid and reliable information, having theoretical and social sensitivity, and the ability to keep analytical distance while at the same time utilizing past experience, and a shrewd sense of observation and interaction (Ghauri, Gronhang and Kristianslund, 1995: 84).

Though qualitative research is more difficult, more stressful and time consuming than other research methods, it is more open and responsive to its subject and focuses on exploring as much detail as possible (Blaxter, 1996: 60).

This study aims at being historically, culturally, politically, and contextually sensitive⁴. According to Daniel Silverman (1993: 6), historical sensitivity aims at establishing the importance of the study by indicating how society is organized and governed. As far as this study is concerned, it is historically sensitive in that it focuses on affirmative action policies which have been prompted by the need to correct mistakes made during the apartheid era during which white males who are minorities were favoured at the expense of the black majority as far as employment opportunities, were concerned. Cultural sensitivity refers to how different experiences have shaped individuals. South Africa has a population with diverse cultural backgrounds. As such, differences exist not only in terms of race but also gender. The researcher is aware that significant differences exist amongst male broadcasters from different races, their various cultural backgrounds shape their perceptions towards affirmative action and specifically towards female broadcasters, and thus their background shapes the responses of the interviewees in this study.

Political sensitivity takes account of how social problems arise in order to seek the definition of a topic (Silverman, 1993: 8). The issue of affirmative action, which falls under the Employment Equity Act (No.55 of 1998), in South Africa is one of great

⁴ These categories are borrowed from Silverman (1993, 6 - 9) because they describe what this research intends to achieve by using qualitative methods.

political and social interest. Not only is it embodied in the Act but it is also government driven in that the Department of Labour demands that organizations that employ 50 and more employees implement it (Sikhosana, 1993). This study is also contextually sensitive in that it is of use to the participants in the research and society as a whole. This study will help SABC improve the implementation of affirmative action policies.

Qualitative research in this project employs four methods. These are observation, analysing texts and documents, interviews and recording. These methods are often combined. For example, in the course of this study the researcher has used a mix of text and document analysis and interviews, which were recorded using a tape recorder. The interviewees were chosen based on their experience. They have all worked at the SABC KwaZulu-Natal branch for more than five years, defining them as experienced interviewees. In qualitative research, this method is referred to as 'interactionism': its primary aim is to generate information, which gives authentic insight into people's experiences through unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Silverman, 1993: 91). Nevertheless, this approach has a weakness in that open-ended interviewing is a form of social control, which shapes what people say. Some interviewees talked at length to expand on their views and sometimes the researcher felt compelled to move on to the next question.

Before analysing the interviews conducted at the SABC, it is important to point out that the views of the men interviewed (although may coincide with views of other men) should not be taken as representative of views of men of a particular race or class at the SABC. The interviewees can only give their perceptions concerning the issues asked by the interviewer⁵. The issues that were discussed focused on the following:

* Understanding of the concept affirmative action

⁵ The interviews were conducted between November 2001 and March 2002. The data collection process took a long time because the interviewees are on a hectic work schedule and thus they kept postponing the interviews. The human resources manager who was scheduling the interviews also went on a one-month leave in January 2002 and thus the interviews had to stop until when she came back.

- * Need for the implementation of affirmative action
- * Perceptions of men towards work
- * Men and power in organizations
- * Perceptions towards management
- * Perceptions towards female broadcasters
- * Perceived factors that hinder women from upward mobility
- * Possibilities for informal discrimination

Data from this study was analysed using the grounded theory by Glasser and Strauss (in Cooper and Schnidler, 2001). The process involves coding of the interview transcripts in terms of key themes that the researcher established in the process of data collection. The researcher looked for significant statements from the interviewees to back up the established themes and compared statements from different interviews from Manhando's study (1994), Goga's study (2000), and the current study. After analysing, the data was interpreted, that is, the researcher put her meaning on the analysed data and compared that meaning with those advanced by the theoretical framework.

Criteria for Selecting Interviewees

The researcher telephoned and wrote to the human resources manager of SABC requesting permission to conduct interviews. The researcher faxed a copy of the questions and booked an appointment to discuss with her the logistics of the research. The human resources manager took up the issue in the management and permission was granted to conduct interviews. The human resources manager agreed to schedule the interviews for the researcher. She felt that it was going to be very difficult for the researcher to contact the interviewees personally since broadcasters are extremely busy and always on the move. In this respect, the researcher decided to use purposeful sampling for the selection of interviewees. The interviewees were selected based on their experience at the SABC, availability, and willingness to be interviewed.

Appointments were made with the interviewees and the researcher interviewed them individually. Twelve face-to-face interviews were conducted in a conference room at the SABC. Conducting the interviews in neutral premises would have been ideal but this was not possible due to the time constraint of the staff. Men of four racial groups were selected, that is:

- * White
- * Black
- * Indian
- * Coloured

The qualitative approach based on interviews that was used in this research was aimed at gaining a comprehensive understanding of the interviewee's perceptions. This technique of collecting data is important and this would be unlikely if other techniques such as questionnaires were used.

The interviewer began the interviews with a view to making the interviewee comfortable and at ease so that they can relax. The researcher began by thanking the interviewee for agreeing to be interviewed. She explained to the interviewee what the study involves, its background, and relevance. The researcher also explained the nature and format of the interview and sought permission from the interviewee to record the interview. By tape recording the researcher was able to concentrate fully on the process of the interview and ask follow up questions wherever necessary. The disadvantage of using tape recording is that it takes a long time to transcribe and analyse. The researcher confirmed with the individual interviewees that their responses would be confidential and their names would not appear on the final report.

Towards Employment Equity at KwaZulu-Natal's SABC

SABC has implemented an affirmative action policy. Affirmative action, as a policy, is usually said to be in place when a company or institution takes reasonable action to remedy any discriminating behaviour that has occurred in the past. In this case, SABC

aims at redressing past discriminatory practices through which blacks⁶, women, and the disabled who did not have access to formal employment are no longer discriminated against. This being the case, SABC aims at providing equal employment opportunities to all who are qualified for a position in a bid to close the racial and gender gap that existed during the apartheid era.

The statistics on the structure of employees used in this research have been compiled from information obtained at the SABC. One of the major aims of this study is to find out whether affirmative action policies are being implemented effectively. The SABC has intensified its efforts to have a racial balance of its staff. As of the end of March 2000, the racial balance of the SABC staff complement of 3245 reflected a black: white ratio of 56:44 (Human resources manager of SABC KZN, May 3, 2002). This shows that at that date more blacks than whites worked at the SABC. As far as gender is concerned, the ratio of male to female is 62:37 (Human resources manager of SABC KZN, May 3, 2002). Regarding management, the ratio of male to female is 62:38. This clearly shows that men still dominate in management positions at the SABC. Looking at SABC KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) region there are 185 employees 124 of who are men and 61 are women. This means that the ratio of men to women at SABC KZN is 67:33. Most of the interviewees felt that SABC has bridged the racial gap but still has a long way to achieving gender equality.

Distribution of SABC KZN's Personnel According to Race and Gender

Fig 1.

GENDER	WHITE	INDIAN	COLOURED	BLACK
FEMALE	16	17	2	28
MALE	35	27	1	59

Source: Human resources manager of SABC KZN on May 3, 2002.

⁶ Blacks here include Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

The table above shows that there are more men working for SABC KZN than women. As such, SABC should focus on gender equality so that the number of women and men can be almost equal since it is difficult to have same numbers of both genders. The number of blacks has gone up and this can be attributed to affirmative action policy. There is still a need for recruitment of more coloureds for racial equality to be achieved. They too are beneficiaries of employment equity but data on the table above shows that they have not benefited much at the SABC KZN region.

KwaZulu-Natal Broadcasting Personnel According to Position

Fig 2

POSITION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
TOP SENIOR MANAGEMENT	3	-	3
MIDDLE MANAGEMENT	4	-	4
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT	19	5	24
SKILLED LABOUR	86	58	144
SEMI/UNSKILLED LABOUR	10	-	10

Source: Human resources manager of SABC KZN on May3, 2002.

The table above indicates that women are missing in top and middle management positions at the SABC KwaZulu-Natal. A majority of women are found in skilled employment, which means that they are in support positions. We can conclude that improved levels of education, combined with women’s greater involvement in the workforce have resulted in their presence in skilled employment. There is a need for women to move up the organisation ladder to top and middle management positions. Men are found on all levels of the organisation ladder at the SABC.

KwaZulu-Natal Broadcasting Personnel's Salaries (in average per month) by Gender and Race (in rands).

Fig 3.

GENDER	TSM	MM	JM	SKILLED	SEMI/UNSKILLED
MALE	21,584	20,104	16,578	9,083	5,199
FEMALE	-	-	14,365	10,273	-

Source: Human resources manager of SABC KZN on May 3, 2002.

KEY

- TSM: Top Senior Management
MM: Middle Management
JM: Junior Management
SKILLED: Skilled Labour. Such as photographers and announcers
SEMI/UNSKILLED: Semi/Unskilled Labour. For example, cleaners.

Research indicates that women generally earn less than men and this discrepancy increases as one climbs up the organisation ladder (www.jamombud.se/english/wage-differences.pdf). The table above shows that in junior management level, men earn more than women. In order to overcome these wage differentials between men and women at the managerial level, it is important that SABC incorporate the principle of 'equal pay for equal work and work of equal value' in their policies of affirmative action in order to promote equity in the world of work. Men at SABC could explain the wage differential by saying that they have been in the field longer than women and thus they have more experience and have acquired more skills over time. Wage differences that are due to the employee's ability and performance are of course, lawful. This means that wage differences between men and women cannot necessarily be used as a measure of gender discrimination. The principle does not preclude the setting of individual salaries. However, wage differences may not be directly or indirectly connected with gender. Socialist feminists advocate for equal pay for equal work done.

The table above shows that the average salary of women who offer skilled labour at the SABC is higher than for men in the same category. This contradicts previous research, which have shown that on average, women are paid lower than men (www.jamombud.se/english/wage-differences.pdf). This could be explained by the fact that women have better education now and they have achieved skills to meet the labour market demands (www.ilo.org/gender/latiname.htm) which makes them get higher pay in skilled employment.

Perceptions of KwaZulu-Natal Male Broadcasters Towards Affirmative Action.

Fig 4. Profile of Men Interviewed

POSITION	RACE	YEARS AT SABC	STATION
ANNOUNCER / ASSISTANT PRODUCER	Black	5	Ukhozi FM
TECHNICIAN	White	8	General
ASSIGNMENT EDITOR	Indian	10	Lotus Radio
DJ/ ANNOUNCER	Black	5	Ukhozi FM
NEWS REPORTER	Coloured	5	SAfm
SENIOR MANAGER	White	6	SAfm
MANAGER	Black	7	SAfm
PROMOTIONS MANAGER	Black	9	Ukhozi FM
EDITOR	White	5	SAfm
MANAGER	Black	12	Ukhozi FM
JOURNALIST	Indian	5	Lotus Radio
RESEARCHER	Indian	15	Lotus Radio

The case studies of the interviewed men aimed at analysing how these interviewees perceive the policy of affirmative action, its need, and how effective it has been at the SABC. Bearing in mind that men still dominate in numbers at the SABC, it is important to know what men perceive of this new policy and more so as it regards to women. There was a consensus among all the interviewees that affirmative action is a noble principle. The question “*What do you understand by affirmative action?*” was put to all interviewees. The general understanding was that affirmative action is about providing equal employment opportunities to the previously disadvantaged⁷. The following are some of the definitions of affirmative action by the men interviewed. A white senior manager with SAfm defined affirmative action in the following terms:

Affirmative action refers to the process of redressing past employment imbalances whereby blacks and women were disadvantaged in terms of access to employment. This policy advocates equal employment opportunities to all that qualify for a job irrespective of their gender or race.

A researcher working with Radio Lotus understands affirmative action as:

A policy that helps the previously disadvantaged qualified people overcome racism and sexism in the labour market. It offers opportunities to blacks, that include Africans, coloureds and Indians, women and the disabled to have their share of employment and gives them the opportunity to enter all the fields they are qualified for.

A coloured news reporter working with SAfm relates to the term ‘corrective action’ rather than affirmative action. According to him this is because:

The process is corrective as the term suggests, that is, putting right what wrong was done in the past. We are taking into account where we are coming from, that is situations of apartheid era where Africans, coloureds, and Indians were not given opportunities in the work environment. With our new dispensation, we have a responsibility to correct that. One of the ways of doing that is by embarking on programmes of action whereby all institutions embark on a corrective action process where they prioritise employment opportunities or even

⁷ Previously disadvantaged people in South Africa include Africans, Indians and coloreds (referred to as blacks), women and the disabled. These groups comprise the majority of the South African population.

tertiary education facilities etc in order to benefit those who were disadvantaged.

The above perspectives focus on the role of affirmative action redressing mistakes committed in the past as a result of which blacks, women and the disabled were not given equal employment opportunities. Goga (2000) also found that people in the media understand affirmative action to be about providing opportunities. One such person who had this view was a white male editor with SAfm who defined affirmative action as:

A mechanism, to address the wrongs of the past, in as much as they affect people who were not given the opportunity. My understanding is that people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds be given the same opportunity to reach higher status on the basis that should the candidate be of the same quality as a white candidate, that person will get the job. With a view to bring our company, through all the steps of seniority, a balance which somewhat reflects the society we live in (Goga, 2000: 26).

The above definitions also highlight the importance of qualifications. Interviewees were of the opinion that affirmative action should benefit those who are qualified and ‘window dressing’ should be avoided if organizations are to maintain their standards. What is clear from the definitions is that interviewees feel that injustices were done to blacks, women and the disabled in the past. An announcer with Ukhozi FM was of the opinion that these past mistakes were evil. He defined affirmative action as:

The concept is about doing something to try and close the gap that was created in the past because of reasons, which were evil, I must say. Its about closing that gap, trying to help people who were disadvantaged to give them more advantage now in order to improve their lives.

A manager in Ukhozi FM agreed with this position:

Affirmative action means putting right that which is wrong. It is a means of correcting previous mistakes that have been done to people who are disadvantaged, because of gender, colour or are disabled. Therefore, affirmative action in the organization aims at correcting those mistakes, which were done by people who were in authority, employers, and the past government in South Africa.

These definitions correspond to the stipulated purpose of affirmative action in the Employment Equity Act (No. 5 of 1998), which states that affirmative action should

promote equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination. All the above definitions advocate provision of equal opportunities to all irrespective of gender or race in order to correct past employment injustices. This brings out a contradiction of affirmative action in that the interviewees advocate doing away with gender and racial boundaries and at the same time benefiting and giving priority to those who are victims of discriminatory practices of the apartheid era.

The interviewees felt that there is a need for affirmative action and that to a certain extent it has been implemented effectively at the SABC. The interviewees were of the opinion that now the staff composition at the SABC is more representative of the South African population and thus able to serve the public better. Asked whether there was a need for the continued implementation of affirmative action at the SABC, a white senior manager responded:

Oh yes. There is a need for the implementation of affirmative action at the SABC. Before the 1994 elections, white males dominated the SABC. Now with the implementation of affirmative action, we have females, black people working at the SABC. The staff composition is now more representative of the society and that way we are able to serve our publics better since we can address their cultural needs based on the diversity of the staff.

A white technician who has worked for the SABC for eight years holds a similar view. He stated that:

There is a need for the implementation of affirmative action at the SABC. The SABC is a public service broadcaster that targets the people of all races in South Africa. As such, SABC should be able to address the needs of all its publics. This is not possible without the views of people from all races. Affirmative action therefore has ensured that equally qualified blacks and women get jobs at the SABC thus making it reflect the composition of the publics.

Given that men still outnumber women at the SABC, some interviewees felt that there is a need for continued implementation of affirmative action at the SABC in order to uplift the standards of women. They stated that affirmative action would help address

discrimination against women and in the end facilitate achievement of gender equality at the SABC. According to a researcher with Lotus Radio who has worked for SABC for fifteen years,

The SABC has been one of the leading organisations in the country when it comes to the implementation of affirmative action or corrective action. We were one of the first organisations in this country to formulate policy guidelines on affirmative action and we embarked on a programme of action whereby we prioritised the addressing of looking at numbers in terms of colour, male – female ratios, as well as people with disabilities. Within a period of four to five years, we were successful in balancing out numbers in terms of ratios of colour. Black people outnumbered their white counterparts. However, when it comes to male - female ratios, there is still need for more work to be done. SABC has been successful in the corrective program as far as racial ratios are concerned but there is still need for more work to be done to develop women.

Feminists argue that access and equity barriers have to be eliminated for all ethnic and social classes to benefit equally. Strategies should focus on the empowerment of the disadvantaged (Davies, 1991). This is the role that affirmative action plays at the SABC and South Africa in general. Bearing in mind that affirmative action policy has been implemented at the SABC and all interviewees feel that it is necessary, the next question was who the interviewees feel benefits most from the implementation of affirmative action. All interviewees agreed that blacks and women have benefited most from the implementation of affirmative action. An announcer with Ukhozi FM stated that:

I think because affirmative action is meant to benefit those who were previously disadvantaged in the past, we blacks were disadvantaged. For heaven's sake, it was next to impossible for a black person to get a job in the formal sector. During the apartheid era blacks were considered fit for manual labour only. Now with the implementation of affirmative action, we are benefiting.

A researcher with Lotus Radio was of the same opinion that blacks and women have benefited most. He stated that:

In accordance with our policies, Africans, Indians and coloureds have been prioritised and they would be the ones to benefit most. Females as well as people with disability have been prioritised and if I can recall the priority was: 1. Black female 2. White female. I am not very sure of the

list of priorities but black people benefit. We now have more blacks working with SABC than there were before the implementation of affirmative action at the SABC.

One issue that was raised by the coloured interviewee is that though they are regarded as black, they do not benefit much from affirmative action. He is the only coloured male that works for SABC KwaZulu-Natal region. The coloured news reporter with SAfm, said affirmative action sidelines coloureds at the SABC KwaZulu-Natal region. He said that:

Affirmative action ought to benefit blacks that include Africans, coloureds and Indians and women from all races. However, coloureds in this region, KwaZulu-Natal do not benefit much. I think it is because we do not fit in as either blacks or white. As a coloured, I feel that sometimes we are sidelined and I guess that is why we still have few coloureds working for SABC in this region.

All the white men that were interviewed felt that though affirmative action is benefiting blacks and women it does not benefit them in anyway. According to them, it leads to reverse discrimination against whites. A senior manager who has worked for the SABC for six years stated that affirmative action disadvantages white men. He is of the view that:

Well, I being a white male affirmative action does not benefit me. In fact affirmative action disadvantages me. For a white man to get a promotion here at the SABC it is difficult since black people and women are given priority. There are more black people and women working for the SABC now.

A white technician who has worked for the SABC for eight years also holds this view. He stated that:

The implementation of affirmative action has benefited both blacks and women. White males are not benefiting and this means that we are disadvantaged in that priority is always given to blacks and women and sometimes this overrides qualifications. I know that white men have for a long time dominated in the labour market, but I feel that it is only fair that qualifications are considered when hiring and promoting. At the end of the day what matters is the end product. To be honest with you, I doubt that white women are given priority. Black women are benefiting the most. My only fear is that black people are being given top positions,

which they are not qualified for. This is going to have a negative impact on SABC in the long run.

These perspectives show that affirmative action is also viewed as discrimination in reverse. The white males who were interviewed view affirmative action as a policy, which gives preferential treatment to certain ethnic groups and gender and is against them. This perception of reverse discrimination can cause tension in an organization between blacks and whites in that each race feels that the other is privileged. Goga's study (2000) supports this. One Indian female manager commented that:

Often in the company issues are reduced to racial discrimination where a black says 'why do whites get the jobs and privileges?' In addition, the whites say that blacks now have it too easy and they have privileges that whites do not have. It is difficult to deal with (Goga, 2000: 33).

It is important that organizations emphasize that affirmative action does not lead to reverse discrimination in that equality never existed in that first place (Sikhosana, 1993). Besides affirmative action leading to reverse discrimination, one interviewee felt that it has also led to organizations recruiting and promoting people who are not suitably qualified for a job simply because they have to meet the demands of the Department of Labour. A white editor stated that:

Affirmative action benefits those for whom it is intended. They are given preferential treatment during recruitment. This has to a certain extent led to people who are not adequately qualified for a position being given a job and probably a white man who is qualified is left out. This means that recruiting beneficiaries of affirmative action takes preference over the standards of production.

This is contrary to the aim of affirmative action, which is to achieve equity without lowering standards or unfairly hindering the career aspirations of existing employees who are competent in their work (Charlton and van Nierkerk, 1994: xix). This issue is explored further in the next chapter.

Attitudes of Male Broadcasters Towards Work

A consensus existed amongst the interviewees that men take their work seriously and dedicate a lot of time and energy to ensure that it is well done. At the SABC, men are found in all the fields. The interviewees were all of the opinion that men can do any job.

A white technician was of the opinion that:

Men can and should do all kinds of jobs. They are not special in anyway. It is not suitability that matters but rather qualifications. At the SABC, we have receptionists who are male, an area, which for a long time has been viewed as a female domain.

A researcher with Lotus Radio was of the opinion that men at the SABC have to work in teams, which are comprised of both genders, and thus no jobs can be categorised as unsuitable for men. He stated that:

Broadcasting is such a wide field that you deal with so many areas and its difficult to say that certain jobs are only for women or for men. In any situation at the SABC, it is not a man alone that is working. Teams of people surround him and those teams are made up of men, women, homosexuals, disabled. In fact, in the newsroom in Johannesburg, we have a blind female reporter who reports for television. There is also a blind man who works at the switchboard who has excellent voice recognition ability. It is difficult to say that a specific job would work only for men or women.

A majority of the interviewees stated that at the SABC, men dominate in management, technicians, and announcers' jobs. One of the interviewee's who was of this view is the promotions manager with Ukhozi FM. He stated that:

At the SABC, men are concentrated in announcers, technology, and technical jobs. SABC is male dominated now although there is some effort to correct the situation but you find that there are fields where women are scarce. For example in technology or network distribution. On a serious note, I have never dealt with a woman in my department. However, in sound and technology, there are very few but they are there but in other technical areas, you will be lucky to find a woman.

As far as job levels are concerned, he continued to say that:

Men are found at the top and lower positions. However, they are all over. Women fit in most middle positions. Because when I look at the top structure of SABC it is male dominated and again at the lower levels, the

people who sweep, clean cars are mainly men. There are three chief people at the SABC and they are all men.

We can conclude from the above statements that men are comfortable working in whatever field they are qualified for and that there are no jobs they consider as unsuitable for them. Socialist feminists advocate equality in organizations through eradication of stereotyping work along gender lines. Bearing this in mind and the fact that South Africa is comprised of many races, the researcher sought to find out whether men have problems working with others from different races. The questions, 'is there any difference between working with people from your own race and those from other races? If yes, what are the differences?' were put to all interviewees. All the interviewees were of the opinion that there is a difference between working with men from one's race and those from different races. The interviewees pointed out that differences result from the fact that they all have different cultural backgrounds. According to a white editor, the differences stem from the fact that people from different races do not learn about each other's cultures. He added that:

Yes, there are differences in working with people from different races. Taking into account our past, it is unfortunate that apartheid has restricted our thinking within our communities and cultures that we live in. Therefore, we do not have a greater understanding of other cultures that we work with. There have been attempts by the SABC to bridge these divides with very effective programmes. One of them I recall was called the "The corporate culture workshop". All of us as mixed groups went and spent the weekend away learning about each other's cultures in small groups, what we do not understand about each other's cultures, religions and this led to a better understanding about the way our cultures do things. That has had a positive impact on the way I relate with people from other cultures at the SABC.

The above shows that SABC is trying to bridge the cultural gap by training staff to learn to accept differences and thereby respect each other's cultures. By so doing, they are able to understand each other better and work harmoniously without any suspicions. The importance of accepting each other's cultures was voiced by a white editor who stated that there is a difference between working with one's race and different races and all this boils down to cultural differences. According to him, if SABC staff can learn

different cultures and learn to accept the differences, then they would be able to overcome racial differences. We can therefore assume that cultural tension still exists amongst different races. This is supported by an example that a manager with Ukhozi FM gave to show that different races at the SABC still undermine each other. He stated that:

We have worked with whites here at Ukhozi FM. To us blacks, it was not a problem; it was only their attitude that we did not like. However, we managed to get rid of all them from this department and now all of are black Africans. We usually meet with people from different races because the organization is big but we have no problems with them. We only have problems with those who are still practicing segregation, racists etc. Whenever there is a person like that in the building, the response is terrible. We don't persevere and they know that. We do not trust people from other races sometimes.

This manager went on to justify why black Africans do not trust other races by giving an example of something that had happened at the SABC. He said:

Recently during the Miss Ukhozi FM event, we had pasted posters at the reception for people to see. Our acting general manger came and pulled them off. He said that SABC is not a shack but a broadcasting house; such things cannot be put up. The receptionist phoned me, I informed our station manager, and he was furious. He phoned the gentleman and enquired about it. He said that he had done it because people cannot fix posters on windows it looks bad. He was informed that procedures had been followed before pasting the posters. I told him that I thought he had done it because he is white and we are blacks. I also told him that if someone from Radio Lotus had pulled them off, we would not have been as furious because we are all blacks. He apologized to the station manager and me. We do not shut our mouths when something is happening, we shout.

The statement above indicates the existence of suspicion based on colour amongst blacks and whites. Blacks feel that whites undermine them because of colour, and on the other hand, whites seem to think that blacks are not performing professionally. This was confirmed by a white senior manager who stated that there is a difference in working with people from different races because of the cultural differences and South African history. He added that:

Blacks still see whites as a threat and thus treat them as enemies. On the other hand, whites treat blacks as unqualified since they are beneficiaries of affirmative action. It is just a matter of time before we

are retrenched and blacks take over our jobs, you see, we are disadvantaged and this is not music to our ears. As much as affirmative action has been effective in ensuring that the previously disadvantaged get jobs at the SABC, there is still tension when it comes to the way we relate. I still long for the day different races in South Africa will treat each other with more respect, accept each other, and live as brothers and sisters.

It is therefore clear that the interviewees given choice would prefer to work with people from their own race since they share the same culture and thus understand each other well. The racial divide is very much apparent at KwaZulu-Natal' SABC branch. The fact that only black Africans work for Ukhozi FM is worrying since SABC as a public broadcaster should be on the forefront to bridge racial differences in South Africa yet its action is quite the contrary. Management at Ukhozi FM could probably explain this phenomenon by saying that their staff understand the culture and language of their audience better and thus they are in a better position to represent the audience's best interests. However, the management need to recognize the need for a unified labour market, like that advocated by socialist feminists, which overrides racial and gender boundaries. South Africa has many races and everyone should accept this and learnt to co-exist harmoniously with each other.

The researcher sought to find out whether men give priority to work or family responsibilities. The interviewees were asked whether family responsibilities affect their jobs and there was a consensus amongst most of them. All married men and single African men held this view since they have responsibilities to support their extended families. Men tend to treat work and family responsibilities as two different entities. One such person who held this view is a white senior manager who said that:

My family responsibilities do not affect my job in any way. I always treat my family and work as two different entities. When I am at work, I carry out my responsibilities and likewise when I get home I help with the household chores.

Some interviewees were of the opinion that it is the responsibility of women to take care of family responsibilities and men provide the finances. As such, they give priority to

their work because their wives take care of the family responsibilities. An Indian journalist who held this opinion stated that:

My family responsibilities do not affect my job, my wife takes care of all home responsibilities, and I only chip in when necessarily. My wife understands that I have to work in order to provide for the needs of my family. Nothing gives me more joy than to see my kids getting what they want and my wife too. Men derive a lot pleasure from being able to provide for the needs of their family. As such, I give priority to my work and my wife carries out the house chores and takes care of our children.

It is evident from the statements above that men give priority to their work because they feel obligated to support and provide for their families. As such, family chores are left to women. Men justify this by saying that taking care of the family chores has been the domain of women since time immemorial. However, the fact that some men help out with family duties such as bathing children shows that they are getting away from the mentality that women should do all household jobs. This issue is discussed further in the next chapter.

Some interviewees felt that they are able to balance their work and family responsibilities comfortably. This opinion was held by interviewees whose wives are also working and probably earning equal or more than them. These men are compelled to help with family responsibilities such as dropping children to and from school and even cooking occasionally. Men who voiced this view claim that their families are progressive. For example, a black manager with Ukhozi FM whose wife is a PhD holder and extremely occupied in her career stated that:

Family responsibilities are for my wife and I. My wife is a doctor (PhD holder). She does not do things because she is a woman and I do not do things because I am a man. We help each other quite a lot because we are both busy. She takes the children to school because she leaves earlier than me and I drop them back at home because she cannot get away from her job during the day. There is basically nothing that is done solely by her simply because she is a woman. I even cook for my family. My friends laugh at me when they find me cooking and say that my wife has married me. I am not bothered by such remarks because my family is not that kind that is living in the past.

The statement above shows us that in certain social situations it is almost an abomination for men to do certain duties such as cooking. This is evident from the fact the interviewee's friends laugh and ridicule him when they find him cooking. Men's place is seen to be in the office but not cooking, something that is considered as the domain of women. Transformation is taking place at all levels in South Africa. This includes the composition of the employees in the formal sector. Women too are getting into formal employment, which means that society's expectation of them to cook and take care of children ought to change too.

Since gender roles are socially constructed, they can be deconstructed to suit societal changes. Unfortunately, gender roles are usually given the status of being natural and normal as if they have always been and will always be. The interviewees' responses revealed the tendency by men to essentialise women blatantly along patriarchal lines. The interviewees almost unanimously saw women as either emotional, not action-oriented but good window dressers or tough 'bitches' trying to be men. This is a demonstration of hegemonic (albeit unconscious) attempt at 'naturalisation. From these gender roles, certain characteristics are expected of men that are a reflection of what it means to be masculine while other characteristics are attributed to women as a reflection of their femininity. For example, men are supposed to be natural leaders, decision-makers, and providers in society beginning with the family while women are caregivers, supporters, and followers of men. Men need to get away from the boundaries set by patriarchy in terms of roles in the home and participate in unpaid activities such as childcare. A researcher with Lotus Radio who supports this view stated that:

My wife is a professional. In fact she earns more than me, which is not a problem to me. We have two children and both of us are working and providing for the family. At the end of the day, it is only fair that I help out with family responsibilities because we both go back to the house tired. My wife is a human being too and I cannot just sit down simply because am I a man and watch her do all the cooking, bathing children, helping them with their homework, cleaning dishes etc. Ours is a more progressive family. Men need to realize that the woman's place is not in the kitchen in any more. Women are now found in offices as well and we need to support them.

It is evident from this study that most men still consider themselves as sole providers for their families, and thus give priority to their work over family responsibilities thereby dumping all household chores on their wives. However, some men manage to balance their work and family responsibilities, this is specially the case with men whose wives are also working and supporting their families financially. This being the case it is important for us to look at how powerful men consider their positions to be at the SABC.

Men and Power in Organisations

The interviewees were asked the question; 'In what ways do you consider your present position to be a powerful one?' All the interviewees agreed that their positions are powerful for various reasons, since they are decision makers. Managers mainly held this view. One of the interviewees who held this view is a manager at Ukhozi FM who said that:

I am currently a manager at Ukhozi FM. The title of my position by itself tells you that I hold a powerful position. Though I do not deal with the audiences directly like the Djs do, I am involved in the decision making process and this is important for the smooth running of the organization. This is a position that many would aspire to be in since it holds a lot of power.

A white senior manager who stated that he is one of the top people whose decisions determine how the institution is run, held a similar view. He added that many junior managers report to him and thus his position is indeed powerful. This shows that managers consider their positions as powerful not only because they are decision-makers but also because they exert their power on subordinates. This is an indication of hegemonic masculinity through which men not only want to dominate women but also to dominate other men. Collinson and Hearn (1996) posit that men hold hierarchic sexuality, that is, they stand in different relations to power. Some men and in the case of SABC, managers are in a position of imposing power and authority on subordinates. Thus though all men benefit from the patriarchy divide, not all hold the same power on the organization structure.

Although men accepted that their positions are powerful, not all of them agreed that job status and seniority is equally important to them. Some interviewees felt that what matters is not how senior their position is in the organizational structure, but rather the end product. A researcher with Lotus Radio takes pride in his work but not his status. This interviewee who has worked for SABC for fifteen years stated that the job title one holds is not as important as job satisfaction. According to a promotions' manager with Ukhozi FM, the title one holds does not mean much to him either. He said that:

My job status doesn't matter to me. Not at all. What matters to me is how I do my job and the outcomes. I will give you an example, I am referred to as a promotion's manager but my colleagues are called marketing managers but it doesn't matter to me. This is because whatever I do, I do better than them and my station is bigger than theirs, and the revenue I command is bigger than theirs. The title of my job does not matter to me.

As much as this interviewee claims not to mind his job title, he derives pleasure over the fact that he dominates his colleagues - his station is bigger and he commands more revenue than them. Another interviewee who feels that his job title or seniority does not matter to him is a white technician who said that what matters at the end of the day is not one's position but rather what he has achieved. This interviewee was of the opinion that as a result of affirmative action many people at the SABC hold senior positions for which they are not fully qualified, and thus do not make a positive difference to the organization.

A majority of the interviewees felt that their job status and seniority is important to them for various reasons. One interviewee, a white senior manager with SAfm stated that:

I have worked hard to get where I am. With the implementation of affirmative action, I have to work extra hard in order to be the best and that way I may be promoted. I have to prove that I am the best in terms of qualifications and experience because priority is given to the previously disadvantaged. Thus the fact that I hold a senior position means that I have worked hard to get where I am since I am not a beneficiary of affirmative action.

Other interviewees held the opinion that the higher the position on the organization ladder, the more power and authority one holds. This results in more respect from the

subordinates. It also means that one earns more money. One such interviewee holds this view is a black announcer with Ukhozi FM. He stated that:

Job status! I would say it matters to me because of my background. I believe that I have got to respect you for your position. I have to give you the respect that you deserve. When I talk to a king I must give him the respect he deserves and when I talk to pastor, I must do likewise. When I talk to a manager, I must give him the respect he deserves but when I talk to my friends the case is different. Thus, I am always aspiring for a higher position, because it comes with more respect from people. The higher you go, the more responsibilities you get and thus more respect and power in terms of earning more money.

A black manager held the same opinion. He felt that the higher the position one holds, the more responsibilities, and people respect you. He added that being respected by people raises his self-esteem and holding power over others is important to his male ego. Socialist feminists posit that if men's self-esteem is formed on the basis of their access to social power and privilege then these men are likely to experience a loss of self-esteem if the social power and privilege is lost (Mannathoko, 1992). This being the case, men use patriarchy to justify why they hold on to power. Scholars in masculinity posit that men associate their status with holding power and having dominant ideas and values (Kelly, 1991). The issue of earning more money when one is in a senior position was held as important by some married interviewees who felt that it would help them be in a better position to provide for the needs of their families. One such interviewee is a coloured news reporter who stated that:

My job status matters to me. The higher I move on the organization ladder, the more authority and power I get over others. I sincerely do not mind having a senior position because besides being respected by others, it also comes with an increase in my salary. That way I am able to meet all the needs of my family.

Scholars in masculinity posit that men are taught from a tender age that they must work in order to provide for their families. Society expects them to conform to this socially constructed norm. As such when a man is able to satisfy his family's needs he feels that he is meeting his responsibility as a man and society's expectation of him.

Relationships with Management

The interviewees held different perceptions towards male and female managers based on their individual experiences with them. Some interviewees felt that women are good managers since they are hardworking and dedicated. An Indian researcher said:

I have worked under both male and female producers. Our executive producers used to be females. They are more rational in their thinking, cool, calm headed, level-headed, handle crises very well and worked very hard. They empathise with your situation. Male managers tend to be obstinate at times, focused purely on production, or bottom line, they do not take into account any personal circumstances or empathize more with you in regards to personal circumstances as compared to female managers.

According to a coloured news reporter, women are more dedicated to their jobs as compared to male managers. He added that:

The editor in my department is a woman. I have no problems working under her because she knows her stuff very well. She brings in a human aspect to news. When working under a male editor, news tends to be just hard facts and the human aspect is ignored. Women understand and thus I can comfortably approach my editor when I have problems and be assured that she will understand. I think it is because they are used to listening to children. Male editors are very strict. However, at the end of the day what matters is not the gender of the leader but rather getting the work done.

These opinions were also found by Goga (2000) who found out that women are considered to be better managers because they are supportive and do not need to have their egos boosted. An Indian journalist said that:

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 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 ... it's very condescending sometimes. Therefore, from my experience females are better (Goga, 2000: 82).

Some of the men interviewed felt that female managers are not as effective as male managers because they are emotional, not action-oriented and they cannot distance their

personal lives from work. One such person who held this opinion was a white manager who stated:

My immediate manager is a woman. There are differences between working under a female manager and a male manager. Women are emotional and men are action-oriented. A man is able to distance himself from what is going on in his life when it comes to work but women have problems doing that. I have been a victim of emotional outbursts from my manager on several occasions only for her to apologize later with the excuse that she has too much on her back. Every mistake done by a man is taken by the woman to be undermining her power. Irrespective of how well a lady is qualified, I feel that they should learn to control their emotions and leave their private lives at the door when they enter the organization.

A promotions manager with Ukhozi FM stated:

Female managers tend to apply a motherly approach. Male managers have no time to parent subordinates. Female managers are more of social workers than leaders. They cannot differentiate between their work and their social lives so they will always think beyond what is happening now, for example, if someone is supposed to be fired, they will also think about what is going to happen to their family once they lose the job. Male managers do not usually go to that extent. They just take action.

A black manager who has never worked directly under a female manager counts himself lucky. He said that women are prone to mood swings and they tend to look down upon men hence making male subordinates lives very difficult within the organization by making unnecessary demands. This opinion was also found by Manhando (1994) to prevail amongst some women who prefer male to female managers because they do not make unreasonable demands. A female announcer and radio producer with Lotus Radio said that female managers are unreasonably demanding, harsh and slave drivers (Manhando, 1994: 64). This was attributed to the fact that female managers want to appear tough because they fear that if they are soft and understanding they will not be respected. This can be explained from a masculinity perspective through which men expect women in senior positions to engage in masculine activities in the masculine world. Turning to how female managers treat women subordinates, the irony is that a

female manager can show less understanding about problems that face women than a male manager. This kind of situation can deter the development and success of women within the organization because they lack support from women who are in management. This issue has been explored further in chapter four.

Some interviewees were of the opinion that female managers are not action-oriented. According to a manager with Ukhozi FM, female managers have good ideas but do not put them into action. He stated that:

My perception of female managers is not good. I know that not all of them are bad but the ones we have here at the SABC are not good people. They speak nicely but when it comes to doing things practically, they fail. They are too theoretical and even if they are supported, they do not get things done. The one we had here in this station was a failure. She is bright but when it comes to doing things practically she is a total failure. Action was missing. Women cannot be relied on, they do not persevere and no wonder we have a high labour turnover amongst women. That explains why women are only filling gaps here at the SABC and this is something I would like them to correct.

The statements above show that men hold different opinions towards managers of different gender. Whereas some prefer working under women because they are hardworking and understanding, others prefer men because they are perceived to be action-oriented, rational, focused, flexible, instrumental, and not emotional like women. It is also apparent that there are women who prefer working under male managers because they perceive them to be more reasonable. The fact that women have risen to management positions proves that masculinity does not apply to men only. Women in management positions have hegemonic masculinity because they are in positions of power. Whereas only men enjoy the benefits of patriarchy, women too (those in positions of power) can 'reap the fruits' of hegemonic masculinity.

Perceptions of Male Broadcasters Towards Female Broadcasters.

There was a consensus amongst the men interviewed apart from one who is gay that they prefer working in a mixed gender environment for various reasons. Some interviewees

were of the opinion that women are equally qualified and experienced and thus they should not be discriminated against because both genders can learn from each other. A black announcer stated that:

I prefer working in a mixed gender environment. For a long time, women were discriminated against and could not get jobs in the formal sector. Now that they have equal opportunities as men, I don't see why I should have a problem working with them. They are equally trained and skilled and thus I do not mind working with them.

A white senior manager is comfortable working in a mixed gender environment because according to him that is the way God intended it to be, for women and men to work together because they compliment each other. He feels that women are good listeners, men are good at problem solving, and hence things are done.

There was a perception amongst some of the men interviewed that in a mixed gender environment, people act more rationally. An Indian editor stated that:

A mixed gender working environment results in a good spectrum of thought and ideas put through, positions, specifically if you look at news coverage, approach and things like that, the area that I am involved in, we need to get everybody's perspective on a story. In a typical meeting you would get female perspectives coming in, feminine perspectives coming in to stories pushed by females, we've got male perspectives coming in pushed by males. It leads to a good decision-making process at the end of the day with both perspectives.

One of the reasons that some of the men gave for preferring to work in a mixed gender environment is that women are fun to work with because of their physical appearance. A coloured news reporter stated:

I prefer working in a mixed gender environment. Working with men only would be boring. Working with women adds spice to work. Besides sharing talks with them, you admire the way they dress, walk and carry themselves around. It is a lot of fun working with men.

A black manager stated that:

I prefer working in a mixed gender environment. Women are fun to work with. Not only do their physical appearance entertain men but also their unpredictable mood changes fascinates me. One minute a woman is happy and dressed up, the next day she is down and comes to work looking run down. Women are like flowers and men love having them around.

The fact that some men prefer working with women because of their physical appearance connotes a traditional sex-role stereotype. Socialist feminists note that traditional sex-role stereotypes place women in restricted roles of surrogate daughters, wives, lovers, or mothers (Mannathako, 1992). Women are often judged by traits such as attractiveness, social skills, and 'knowing their place' rather than ability, talent or potential. For gender equality to be achieved in institutions the researcher feels that there is a need for men to learn to value the abilities and contributions of women.

A white technician, who prefers working with men only, said that SABC gives him no option but to work with women too. In his view, working with men allowed him to get work done without wasting 'time to joke' around. He is happy when around men and he feels that this is probably because he is gay.

All the men interviewed claimed to have no problems communicating with women. There was a consensus that if a topic is work related then there is no limit to what can be said irrespective of the gender available. They also agreed that they are free to talk to women in their departments since are used to each other. Nevertheless, they pointed out that not all topics are discussed in the presence of women because like women, men too have their secrets. A black announcer stated that men do not share their secrets with women and thus if a woman walks in while men are talking 'their stuff', the topic changes immediately. A coloured news reporter stated that women are easily offended when men discuss them and thus he would not dare do it in the presence of one. Nevertheless, there was a general agreement amongst the interviewees that they get along well with their female counterparts.

Possibilities for informal discrimination

When the dynamics of a social movement threaten to overpower or restructure a particular set of social values and relations, David Gerber (1989: 21) argues that the result is cultural resistance, which includes isolation, discrediting, and undercutting. Issues on which the interviewees were questioned concerning the possibilities for informal discrimination include:

- * General obstacles that hinder women from upward mobility
- * The allocation of assignments
- * Sexual harassment

Obstacles for Women

The question, 'What are the factors that inhibit women from mobility within media institutions?' was put to all the interviewees. Some interviewees were of the opinion that family responsibilities hinder women from advancing in their careers. A black manager said:

Women, because of family responsibilities, do not have much time to advance in their careers. From work, most women head home to their kids whereas men go for evening classes. When it comes to training and development courses offered here, most women decline the offer and more so if it involves travelling outside town. As such, men take up their chances and advance higher up the organization ladder. It is unfortunate the burden of the home falls on the woman.

A coloured news reporter stated that:

I believe the society expects too much from a woman. The husband expects food on the table at the end of the day, children need to be fed, bathed, and put to sleep, and at work she is expected to produce. These responsibilities limit women from advancing in their careers. They barely have spare time to train and develop and thus men beat them to the game.

The statements above point to lack of adequate training to upgrade their standard as a reason that hinders women from moving up. This is attributed to the fact that the woman has family responsibilities to take care of also as is expected of her by culture. As such,

the fact that women are mothers and wives inhibits them from advancing in their careers. One of the goals of feminist theories is to question and address the origins of female oppression that limits women from advancing in their careers (Mannathoko, 1992). Gender equality theorists list family responsibilities as one of the factors that inhibit women from either going for formal employment or progressing upward when they are employed. Patriarchy places the burden of housework and child rearing on the shoulders of women. This results in employed women experiencing significant role conflicts between workplace requirements and household responsibilities. The stress from multiple expectations of each role results in role overload and this creates additional job and family problems. This leaves employed women with little or no time for training and development. However, when women hit the glass ceiling an often-documented statement is that women are just not ready to make the same sacrifices for their careers as men (Kelly, 1991). Comments of this nature reshuffle the blame for career obstacles back to women rather than examine individual and organizational stereotypes. The researcher holds the view that a re-evaluation of organizational policies and practices following an examination of gender stereotyping could lead to constructive changes in formal and informal organisational policies and practices.

A black announcer stated that family responsibilities should not hinder women from advancing their careers and thereby moving up the organization ladder. He said that:

The truth of the matter is that we have very few years in our democracy. We were all oppressed but females were more oppressed. I think its not going to take a day to get to that stage where we can say that women are now on the same level as men. Family responsibilities do not play any role because women have people to assist them at home and thus it is not an excuse for them not advancing their careers.

Gender equality theorists feel that having more than two adults in the household can solve this problem and in this case, the third party carries out domestic work (Hunt and Hunt 1982: 189). This eases the burden of housework on wives and thus they can concentrate on building their careers. The researcher is of the opinion that this is not a problem and more so in Africa. Not only do we have many members of our extended families who are unemployed and are willing to help out with household work for pay but

also it is easy to get domestic workers since organizations cannot absorb everyone in the formal sector and also not everyone is qualified to get formal employment.

Culture was also seen as an obstacle that inhibits women from upward mobility in at the SABC. An Indian journalist stated that:

Due to our society being patriarchal, there is a belief that women do not make good leaders. Leadership is seen as a male domain and some women have internalised this and thus make no efforts to move higher up. They do not want to challenge patriarchy.

He added that:

The perception in this country, though progressive, there is still patriarchy in the minds, which makes people believe that women cannot be leaders. For this reason men still dominate and will continue to do so for the next few years to come. Women went to Beijing and many things were said. However, it became a joke. They laugh about it even in parliament. When women talk they are told, 'this is not Beijing we are talking business in this parliament'. Even women make it a joke and this is something I cannot understand. You cannot expect men to be free from this mentality of dominating while women are joking about serious matters. By so doing, they support the idea that men should lead.

One interviewee who held this view and blamed patriarchy for hindering women from advancing is a black manager who stated that women are victims of the rule of man. He added that if a man is promoted and transferred to Johannesburg then the wife is left with no option but to resign from her job if she cannot get a transfer too. However if it is the vice versa, then the woman has no option but to decline the promotion because the husband will most definitely refuse to move.

Several interviewees held the perception that women stop themselves from moving up the organisation. A black manager felt that women ought to aspire for higher positions, be self-driven and develop themselves so that they can be promoted to senior positions. A black announcer was of the opinion that women lack self-confidence that they can make it to the top. Though all interviewees were of the opinion that both men and women are

given the same opportunities to train and develop at the SABC, sometimes women decline these offer. A coloured news reporter said that:

We are given the same opportunities to train and develop ourselves. What usually happens is that if a course is being offered in Johannesburg, you find that more men than women go for it. Probably this is because women have family responsibilities and thus their movement is limited. I guess this is one of the reasons why women are not progressing fast enough in their careers. They have insufficient training. It is easy for a married man to take off to Jo'burg for a course yet when it comes to a woman she is reminded of her family responsibilities. If the man can go, I do not see why the woman cannot. At the end of the day it all depends on one's priorities in life and determination.

An Indian journalist was of the opinion that women who have made it to the top are failing in that they do not take others with them. He stated that female managers do not mentor women in junior positions so that they too can move up. A black manager was of the opinion that women do not advance up the organization because of their high turn over rate which prompts managers to recruit and promote men whom they know will stay in the organization longer. The black manager attributed the failure of affirmative action at the SABC to a lack of follow-up. He stated that:

We do have affirmative action policies in place but no one monitors. The human resources manager is a woman but she has never raised a finger that we have many male managers and thus should employ a woman. She does not say so and thus the station a manager and his managers get away easily with recruiting and promoting men. Someone is not doing his or her work right.

The previous statements point to family responsibilities, lack of sufficient training, lack of self-confidence among women, women in high positions not supporting other women, patriarchy and culture and lack of a system to monitor affirmative action policy implementation as factors that inhibit women from mobility within the organization. According to an international study for UNESCO, Gallagher found the following to be some of the factors that are obstacles for women:

- Values and priorities: Women are caught in the middle because when they focus on what they consider important, they are branded as 'soft'.

On the other hand, when they move into areas, which are dominated by men, they feel that they are neglecting what are important issues.

- Working conditions: reconciling work and family (1995).

Allocation of Assignments

There is a general consensus amongst the men interviewed that the allocation of assignments at the SABC is done equally irrespective of gender. Some interviewees pointed out that race rather than gender plays a role in the allocation of assignments. According to Manhando's study (1994), the allocation of assignments occurred based on gender. This has changed. A coloured news reporter stated that language and culture determines who gets what assignment. He added that:

The allocation of assignments does not depend on gender. If anything it depends on race more than gender. This is the case because you would not expect a white lady to go to Kwa Mashu to gather news. To begin with there would be a language barrier and her security would be at stake. This being the case, editors assign jobs to such areas to blacks. Besides the language factor assignments are assigned equally at the SABC.

Goga (2000) also found out that race rather than gender plays a role in the allocation of assignments. A black female journalist expressed the unfairness in terms of workload on black reporters due to the issue of language (Goga, 2000: 81). She said:

There is still a gap between journalists. They will send a black journalist to different stories, but a white journalist is sent 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 does not change because there is no need for them to learn the language, and no training is offered for them to learn the language.

This means that the black reporter ends up doing a double job. Not only is it exhausting but demoralizing when the black reporter has to escort the white one. This can create tension amongst the reporters because it could lead to the black reporter feeling inferior to the white one.

Though the interviewees unanimously agreed that gender does not play any role in the allocation of assignments, an Indian assignment editor contradicted this by saying that the South African society is still not yet ready for females to collect information in areas where crime is high. He added that more females than males are now joining journalism schools yet the labour market now is not ready to accommodate them. He explained his statement by saying that:

At this stage of our development as a democracy and because we haven't overcome some of the difficulties and hardships from the past, certain assignments are too risky to send women out to for example, crime scenes and heavy exercises, and these were exclusively the reserves of men in the past. We have not reached a stage in our development of our society whereby women can take their rightful place in terms of crime for assignments. This is a handicap we have to contend with.

The allocation of jobs based on language and culture is a problem particular to South Africa because of its history. Training journalists in languages can eliminate this form of informal discrimination, which is linked to perceptions.

Sexual Harassment

All the interviewees do not feel threatened working with women or live in fear that they could be sued for sexual harassment. The term harassment is defined by Catherine MacKinnon (1979: 1-2) as any unwanted attention towards another individual, the use of power derived from one social sphere to lever benefits or impose deprivations in another. According to MacKinnon (1989) sexual harassment 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. Sexual harassment disadvantages and degrades the victim.

Interviewees gave various reasons for not fearing to be sued for sexual harassment by women or fellow men. A white manager said that he plays safe with women by avoiding joking around with them unnecessarily. He said that he chooses his words very carefully when he wants to crack a joke to a woman. Some of the interviewed men said that they

give women the respect they deserve and by so doing, they cannot be accused of sexual harassment. An Indian journalist stated:

I respect the women I work with and do not overstep their boundaries when talking to them. I too have sisters and I would hate to imagine that a man is harassing at their places of work. I give women their personal space.

A coloured manager said that the last thing he will ever be accused of is sexual harassment. He said that he respects women and is very sensitive when communicating with them. As far as jokes are concerned, a black announcer felt that it is important to understand the culture of different races so that jokes are not taken as harassment. He stated that:

The way you joke differs also according to culture. With Zulus we have got words that use to joke with women and they understand them. However, I cannot use the same words with Coloureds, Indians, or Whites because they might take it as harassment. You must therefore know the different cultures and know how they joke in their cultures, so that you can stay away from trouble.

Whereas all the men interviewed stated that they do not sexually harass women, according to Manhando's (1994) study, some women stated that men harass them though sometimes it is subtle. This contradicts men's claim of respecting women and not harassing them. A junior journalist had problems discouraging a male colleague from giving her unwanted attention until she complained to her manager (Manhando, 1994: 67). She said:

There is one male character that 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. Another girl, who joined at the same time as myself, has also complained about the same man. Unfortunately he has not stopped.

This contradiction between men and women about harassment can only mean that men are uncertain about what constitutes sexual harassment. The fact that men claim not to harass women and women on the other hand say that men harass them makes men appear quite sceptical about what sexual harassment involves. As such there is need to educate

all staff on what constitutes sexual harassment and that way they can respect each other in all the right ways.

It can be argued that men use sexual harassment to show that they are powerful and women are their subordinates. Research on workplace interaction between men and women on sexual harassment uses phrases such as how men use violence to “keep women in their place” (Walby, 1988), seeing women as “victims” (Collinson and Collinson 1992, 1996) or “ ... power by men ...” (Collinson and Collinson, 1996: 50).

A black manager stated that women sometimes harass them but they talk and laugh about it. He also added that his Zulu culture does not allow women to report cases of sexual harassment and that is why there are very few cases of reported sexual harassment in KwaZulu-Natal’s SABC. This probably explains why Goga (2000) found that there is under-reporting on sexual harassment in media organizations. A coloured female administrator and union representative stated:

Since I have been working here I have dealt with two cases of harassment. I have reason to believe that this is just a drop in the ocean. There is a lot of harassment going on and people don’t talk about it. The reasons for this I am not sure (Goga, 2000: 79).

It can be assumed that culture probably plays a role in inhibiting women from reporting cases of sexual harassment.

One interviewee who confessed to being gay claimed that he is always harassed by both genders all the time but he does not bother to report because he doubts that anyone would take him seriously. He (a white technician) stated:

Many people here at the SABC still do not accept gays or lesbians. We are treated as outcasts. I do not openly tell people about my sexual orientation but it comes out in anyway by the way I relate to people. Those who know that I am gay look down upon me as some kind of dirt. There have been instances when I pass by a group of men whom I assume are straight and they burst out laughing. Sometimes my colleagues treat me as inferior and incapable and sometimes avoid assigning difficult tasks to me. They think that I am a weaker version of men. A few women have asked me to start wearing skirts. In fact my

supervisor once offered to take me for counselling. People here have no respect for gays whatsoever yet we too have rights.

The statement above shows how some forms of masculinity are looked down upon as inferior compared to others. In this case, heterosexual men look at the gay man as possessing less power as compared to them⁸.

The next chapter discusses some of the research findings by using the study's theoretical framework to interpret the results. The concept 'affirmative action' is discussed based on the interviewees' understanding of it. Other issues that have been explored further include male broadcasters' perceptions towards women in the media and men's perceptions towards their work.

⁸ In-depth research on sexual orientation and masculinity falls outside of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Affirmative action policies were implemented at the SABC to redress social injustices of the past. These policies have been effective as is shown in the analysis of this study where all the interviewees stated that the implementation of affirmative action has been effective at the SABC since there is an increase in the number of blacks and women in the organization. Women have also made it to senior management positions. It is therefore clear that affirmative action implementation at the SABC is redressing the social injustices of the past. According to the SABC policy statement on affirmative action (June 1994, unpublished), affirmative action at the SABC centers on the eradication of unfair discrimination of any kind in hiring, promoting, training, pay benefits and retrenchment, in line with the constitutional requirements.

The interviewed men believe that affirmative action is important because it facilitates racial integration and all members of the society can benefit from formal employment irrespective of their racial background. Some interviewees felt that affirmative action has achieved its role of bringing about race equality but still has a long way to go in bringing about gender equality. Now, the SABC staff reflects the South African population as far as race is concerned. This means that the SABC ought now to shift focus to achieving gender equality. There is a need to empower more women to enhance their capabilities too. While there should be no competition between race and gender issues, it can be argued that society tends to respond more to acts of racism than gender. This is perhaps because gender oppression is so entrenched yet hidden; it begins in the family and permeates throughout all aspects of society. It often appears to be normal and natural, and is thus more difficult to identify and mobilize against than racial discrimination.

There is no denying that white male South Africans⁹ feel threatened by affirmative action and probably regard it as a racist government intervention into the labour market. White male interviewees for this study were of the opinion that affirmative action leads to reverse discrimination. Though these interviewees stated that affirmative action brings about integration of different races, they felt that they are losers in economic terms. Self-interest is almost certainly a factor when a policy like affirmative action is perceived as a potential economic risk. Fear of economic loss may well be a driving force in the formation of white attitudes. Affirmative action might well increase the very evil it seeks to cure: prejudice. A new kind of racism is appearing, one that has been created by affirmative action: that is, by the legal preference given to blacks. This is racism that stems from understandable resentment felt by white males. It is a prejudice that springs not from ignorance but from experience.

One of the perceptions held by the interviewed white males is that affirmative action leads to organizations employing and promoting people who are not fully qualified for these positions so that the organization can meet their affirmative action targets. Properly interpreted, affirmative action does not mean taking jobs away from whites and giving them to blacks and nor does it mean putting people from disadvantaged groups into jobs they can't handle. It can be argued that affirmative action brings about racial divisions in that whereas blacks benefit from it whites feel disadvantaged. In this respect, affirmative action ferments racism in that not all races are beneficiaries. The white men who were interviewed supported the need for affirmative action since it brings about racial integration. However, they were not happy about the consequences of affirmative action for them personally since they are not beneficiaries. This is an interesting anomaly amongst the interviewed white South African males, that they can display supportive attitudes towards integration but be unsupportive towards affirmative action, a policy designed to counteract racism.

⁹ White males are not beneficiaries of affirmative action in South Africa. Though they are the minority, they have since the apartheid era dominated in the formal employment sector and more so in top positions.

Another implication of this data is that the definition of 'racist' needs to be one that incorporates nuances into the label. Can one label someone as a racist simply because they are opposed to affirmative action and despite the fact they are supportive of racial integration? Is it possible that the way in which affirmative action is implemented can produce serious political concerns of a policy nature amongst sections of the South African population? It is important to acknowledge the fact that there is a high level of awareness of the implementation of affirmative action at the SABC. This is made clear by the fact that all the interviewees were aware of it and they had a fair understanding of what it involves. However, the researcher feels that there is still a need to educate employees on the role of affirmative action and involve them in its implementation so that it does not appear to be perpetuating racism. It is important to point out that the fact that white South Africans support racial integration is a positive base from which to work towards racial reconciliation in South Africa.

Statistics show that men continue to dominate at the SABC. The ratio of men to women as mentioned in the previous chapter is 62% to 37%. The imbalance of men to women is a problem experienced internationally in media organizations (Gallagher 1981; Manhando 1994; Jackman 1998; Goga 2000). Women have made it to senior positions at the SABC. One of the reasons pointed out by the interviewees for women not advancing to top positions is the fact that management get away with recruiting and promoting other men since the monitoring of affirmative action implementation is not effective at the SABC. One interviewee stated that the human resources management is failing as far as the implementation of affirmative action that is geared towards gender equality is concerned. As far as to Nel and Brits (1998: 163) are concerned, for an affirmative action programme in an organization to be effective human resources management must be involved in all phases of its implementation. This means that management commitment to the development, implementation, and progress of the affirmative action process is non-negotiable.

Perceptions of male broadcasters towards women in the media.

It is clear from the data analysis of this study that men dominate in media institutions and this has resulted in unequal power distribution. Various studies conducted around the world indicate that sexism still exists in the media institutions. Very few women hold positions of decision-making and thus positions of power within the institutions (Gallagher 1981; UNESCO 1997; Dyer 1989). The stereotyping of the sexes has brought this about. The reason that interviewees in this study gave for this sexism is that men have always since time immemorial been better leaders than women whom they consider to be emotional thus incapable of making rational decisions.

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Women are marginalized by the male culture of efficiency, action-oriented, rationality, and instrumentality. In the context of the bureaucratic patriarchy managers, both men and the few female managers are expected to be unemotional, objective, impartial, efficient, and bound by the rules (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 67). Women were defined by the men who were interviewed for this study as antithetical to this culture: as emotional, make unnecessary demands, insecure, irrational, and focused on family rather than work. Affirmative action in South Africa has facilitated the entrance of women into management positions. The few women who have managed to penetrate these male dominated positions are expected to abide by the rules that have already been set by men. This is supported by Judy Marshall's (1984) study that noted that women are faced with a catch-22 position in which behaviour considered legitimate in a male manager is inconsistent with the gender identity of a woman. Inevitably, this presents an additional pressure for women in an already highly pressurized job. Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing (1997) posit that the woman who adopts a masculine style and behaviour is perceived as having been incorporated and criticized for assuming the status of an honorary man, while the woman who retains a caring or service orientation risks being criticized for failing to conform to the models expected of a manager. These sex stereotypes at the workplace can diminish if women forfeit the need for male approval and are confident in their capability and potential in their career.

Research on gender shows that women are perceived as perpetrators of negative images that men hold and hence held partly responsible for their subordinate position in society. According to Penina Mloma's study (1991), 'Women as perpetrators of Gender Inequalities: The case of performing arts' women perpetuate their subordinate status in performing arts by agreeing to play roles which depict their subordinate status. This study underscored the need for women to resist the subordinate positions that have been constructed for them in societies. Feminists emphasize the need for women to resist subordinate positions, which to a certain extent are driven by patriarchal ideologies. Women need to be confident in what they do and aim for higher positions. They should not allow patriarchy to limit how far they can go in terms of their careers. Oppressive patriarchal ideologies have to be fought against by both men and women in order to facilitate the attainment of gender equality in organizations.

Some of the interviewees were of the opinion that men still dominate top positions in media institutions because women who have made it to the top do not bring others with them. Female managers were accused by some of the men interviewed of doing little or nothing to motivate female colleagues to gain the skills they need to move ahead. These men stated that women who have made it to the top positions should help other women by supporting, mentoring and promoting capable colleagues. Emily Nwankwo, a general manager of the Nation Media Group in Kenya in a conference for International Women's Media Foundation, pointed out the correlation between mentoring and success for women. "Building confidence in professional women is a part of mentoring. Often when women are tapped for a position they ask if they can do it ... not because they lack the skills, but because thus far they have not received encouragement and there is no one pushing them forward" (www.iwnf.org/resources/Ir_7.htm). Women who have made it to management positions at the SABC should open doors and serve as role models and mentors to other women.

The domination of men in management can be explained by the concept of patriarchy. Many men still have the mentality that it is their right to lead. Unfortunately the

development of modernity, individual rights, capitalist relations of production and the decline of household production are undermining the patriarchal relationship. Not only do women have the ability to live independently, enjoy government protection but also affirmative action benefits them in that they can now get into formal employment. The classic ideology of men being sole breadwinners is now being challenged. The men who were interviewed stated that there is an increase in the number of women at the SABC since affirmative action was implemented. This means that women are now earning and supporting their families financially too. This poses a challenge to patriarchy that views men as the only breadwinners and women tend to be confined to a life dominated by the family and household chores.

It is evident in the analysis of this study that there is more to gender equity than the right to work and membership of the labour force nowhere means membership on equal terms. Employment does not automatically give women the power to renegotiate the domestic division of labour. Some of the men interviewed felt that family responsibilities are the domain of women. These men said that their job is to earn money whereas their wives' jobs are to look after the home and family. This is not only a classic statement of male breadwinner ideology, but captures one of the essentials of a patriarchal sexual division of labour that claims that men are naturally suited to public activity and women to private nurturance. The preconception that men are sole breadwinners should be corrected and the reality accepted. There are an increasing number of single mothers who have to work to support their children. Besides even married women are now entering the labour market and contribute financially to support their family. It is no longer feasible to regard women only in the context of raising children and household chores, but as breadwinners and policymakers, a stance taken by all feminists. 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, 1981).

Family responsibility was one of the factors put forward by some interviewees that hinder women from upward mobility at the SABC. Women have far too many responsibilities and thus they do not concentrate on career advancement. This means that women are disadvantaged not only because of gender stereotyping but also because they have to balance work and family responsibilities and this in turn systematically limits their ability to participate fully in the labour market and earn those resources. This probably explains why there is a high turnover rate amongst women at the SABC as pointed out by some of the men who were interviewed. Women give priority to family responsibilities and thus sacrifice their jobs for their families. This has an economic implication on women in that when they leave their jobs to take care of their families, they perform activities that are of “value but not exchange value” (Manana, 1992: 139). Household activities take time to carry out and are important but unfortunately, the activities that society ascribes solely on women do not have a market value. What this means is that more women than men are spending most of their time in production of goods and services that do not earn a direct income and this limits their economic power. Men on the other hand spend their available time on production of goods and services that earn an income. This creates economic inequality between men and women.

High labour turnover rate amongst women at the SABC has an important indirect cost for the institution since they have to keep finding and training new employees. Some of the men interviewed said that this high turnover rate occurs because women leave jobs in order to take care of young children. SABC is probably not only losing very good employees but can also reduce the recruitment costs by taking care of the needs of their employees who have small children. SABC can solve this problem by having a crèche at the workplace so that women with small children can bring them to work and leave them there as they work. That way they are able to concentrate on work and are happy that their children are not at home unattended.

The increase of women’s economic and public power is challenging discourse of male superiority. This has largely led to the development of the ‘new man’. These new men are

“involved in men’s groups, engaged in introspection and gender-consciousness raising, or they may have an equal division of housework with their partners, or they maybe heavily involved in childcare” (Morrell, 2001: 32). It is evident from the analysis where some interviewees whose spouses are in formal employment too, stated that they help out at home with chores such as assisting their children with homework, bathing them, dropping them to and from school. The rise of women into professional positions is to a certain extent making it difficult for traditional sexual division of labour in the home to be maintained, since men have become much more participatory in housework and supportive of their wives’ career goals. This implicitly challenges the hegemonic ideas of the woman’s place. Nevertheless, some interviewees felt that housework should be entirely done by women whether they are working or not since that is the way it has always been. We still have men who remain in the ‘old boys network’ which ensure that men retain power and sideline women to unpaid domestic labour.

Exposure to education and market through employment has led to the erosion of the patriarchy ideology. This is made clear by some of the interviewees who stated that their wives are more educated than them and hold better paying jobs and thus they help out with family responsibilities. These interviewees stated that they do not help at home not because they feel threatened by the fact that their wives earn more than them but because they are both breadwinners and come back home equally tired. It is clear that men’s ‘patriarchal dividend’ is mediated by factors such as economic class and social status (Walby, 1990). As such, we can argue that most men remain disempowered in relation to elites (composed of both men and women) that wield economic and political power in societies. It is this experience of disempowerment that potentially connects some men and women across the patriarchal divide, and offers the possibility of linking a gender politics that challenges patriarchy with a wider politics of social transformation. Besides benefiting from affirmative action women should be encouraged to further their education so that they can wield more economic power as a result of which their husbands will get more involved with housework.

As such, the implementation of affirmative action should go hand in hand with an effective training and development programme through which women are encouraged to study. Training and development at the SABC is offered equally irrespective of gender. However, as pointed out by some interviewees some women do not take up these opportunities and more so if the course is being offered out of town because of their family responsibilities. SABC should put in place a programme whereby women who cannot travel to attend a course are given in-house training¹⁰.

The men interviewed for this study stated that women continue to occupy jobs that are less strenuous. Manhando (1994) found that women prefer work that requires less physical strength not only because they believe that they are not strong enough to do such jobs but also because society sometimes considers technical jobs to be a male domain. According to a female senior announcer with Radio South Africa, women can do any jobs as well as, and even better than men but the society limits them to certain jobs (Manhando, 1994: 51). She added that:

It is society that dictates what women can and cannot do and it is up to us to change this view, otherwise we will continue to suffer. Of course, some of us even believe that there are jobs we should stay away from.

A majority of the men interviewed for this study felt that women should take up the challenge of training in technical fields. They felt that it is only by women entering fields that are dominated by men that gender equality at the SABC will be achieved.

Although all the interviewees unanimously agreed that gender does not play any role in the allocation of assignments, one interviewee, an assignment editor pointed out that the newsrooms in South Africa are still not ready to send women to report from crime scenes because of their security. This is confirmed by Manhando (1994: 78) who found that women still experience problems with convincing an editor to send them to a war zone because of the belief those women need to be protected from such dangerous areas. Although it makes sense to protect women, the belief that women are a weaker sex and

¹⁰ In-house training is training offered within the organization. If this were provided at the SABC then

incapable of taking care of themselves have been reinforced by a male-dominated society and a discourse that is viewed as culturally acceptable to the patriarchal society.

Not sending women for certain assignments for security reasons inhibits their advancement potential. Danger can affect anyone irrespective of their gender and thus the perception that women cannot report from crime scenes should be done away with. In journalism, getting good assignments goes hand in hand with career advancement. Covering hard news stories provides journalists with important career credentials, not to mention the exposure and recognition that come with having a by-line on the year's hottest story. So, if women are continually relegated to beats with less visibility, does that mean those women are being denied equal opportunity?

Men in the Workplace

The identity and image that most men have of them is centred on work, or more accurately employment. This is evident from the analysis of this research where most of the interviewees stated that they give priority to work over family responsibilities because they are breadwinners. According to a majority of the interviewees, work gives them status, rewards them financially and thus capability of being providers for their families.

Not only does work have an impact upon men but also men have an impact upon work. The identification of work with pay and therefore money, in a system where money generally equals power, has suited men and there has been a strong investment in maintaining this. Such a framework may not be to the benefit of all men but it ensures that the major beneficiaries will generally be male. It is in the area of paid work more than any other that the term patriarchy has meaning today. This is demonstrated by the tiny percentage of women in the higher echelons of management or sitting as directors in the boardroom in the realms of money, politics and corporate power that men still dominate. However, change is happening and this is reflected in the increase of women in

women with family responsibilities would benefit and at the same time attend to their families.

senior positions and in formal employment as a whole. It is no longer possible for many men to claim that they are sole breadwinners for their families because wives too are employed. Women are now in visible positions in all economic sectors. However, the fact that 62% of management at the SABC comprises of men means that men continue to occupy high-level positions while women work on the lower levels of the ladder of organizational hierarchy.

The analysis of this study indicates that all the men interviewed stated that the positions they hold currently are powerful. This contradicts Morgan (1997: 196) who notes that, “one of the surprising things one discovers in talking with members of an organization is that hardly anyone will admit to having any real power”. This is not the case with the interviewees in this study. However, according to a study by Foster Joy (1999) on female senior managers and conditional power, women are hesitant to consider their positions as powerful because they have to demonstrate competency in order to earn authority. Thus, we can argue from Foster’s study (1999) and the current one that for women authority is based on their demonstrated competence rather than accorded to them based on the position they occupy. The authority that seems to be automatically accorded to a man, and assumed by him to exist in the role, is denied to women who talk of the need to earn that authority. The fact that the interviewed men emphasized the inherent power in their positions can be seen as a patriarchal ideology, which maintains that men should hold power, and women are there to offer support. This being the case, women who are in management positions are a threat to the patriarchy system and hence feel the need to continually prove to men that they are capable to develop and maintain credibility within their positions.

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Although all men benefit from the patriarchal divide, not all have the same power or benefit equally. Some men hold power and have authority over other men and women. This study’s analysis shows that managers feel that their positions are powerful not only because they are decision-makers but also they have authority over their subordinates. Thus though masculine dominance is almost universal, not all masculinities have the

same relation to discourses and institutions of power. These managers can be said to possess hegemonic masculinity. According to Morrell (2001: 9) this kind of masculinity “exercises its power over other rival masculinities and regulates male power over women and distributes this power differentially amongst men”. Another variety of masculinity that can be pinpointed in this study is subordinated masculinity. The gay interviewee who claimed that both men and women sexually harass him all the time represents subordinated masculinity. Homosexuals are often treated by other masculinities as inferior and are usually victims of ridicule (Connell, 1995). This can probably be explained by the fact that many cultures have not yet come to accept and accommodate homosexuals.

In a transitional society such as South Africa, the question of hegemonic masculinity is a complex one. The pre-existing, formerly hegemonic white masculinity continue to exert influence in institutions. This creates tension amongst different racial hegemonic masculinities. This is evident from this study’s analysis where an interviewee stated that he prefers working with people from his race because they understand each other and hence conflicts are minimal. He gave an example that illustrates that tension still exists between whites and blacks at the SABC. The example the researcher is referring to here is the one where a white manager removed posters that had been put up at the SABC reception by management from Ukhozi FM to advertise the miss Ukhozi FM competition. Black managers from Ukhozi FM looked at this behaviour as a portrayal of power by the white manager. The fact that this conflict occurred amongst managers shows that race and class continue to play a role in hegemonic masculinities. There is a need for men to put aside their differences, which are based on apartheid practices and work together harmoniously thereby creating a work environment free of suspension and racial conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The researcher believes that this study contributes by linking masculinity to gender inequality dynamics that are found in the labour market. The approach breathes dynamics into otherwise static lists of barriers and biases that hinder women from advancing upward in organizations. In exploring hegemonic masculinity we gain insights into how power at work is important to men and we are thus able to understand why they 'erect' barriers for women. This being the case, the researcher acknowledges affirmative action's potential for transforming work organization. She feels that affirmative action promotes cooperation, democratic recruitment and promotion processes, responsibility, and development over competition. Affirmative action is not an excuse to hire the unqualified. Rather, affirmative action is an attempt to treat fairly individuals of talent and commitment, who might otherwise be denied opportunity because of their race/ethnicity, gender and disability and to strengthen the organization in the process. The benefits of affirmative action accrue not simply to the individual for whom opportunities are expanded, but to the entire organization, which derives much of its vitality from the perspective of diverse culture, races, and individual viewpoints.

Affirmative action calls for transformation through the promotion of democracy at the workplace. It offers a vision for organizations that emphasizes empowerment of the previously disadvantaged. Likewise, feminism plays an important role in organizations. Organizations that are guided by feminist practices eliminate gender as a basis for assessing members' potential, legitimacy, and performance. Interactional styles that elevate men over women are replaced by styles that downplay competition and masculinities thus accepting women as legitimate equals rather than as inferior others. While a totally gender-free workplace is impossible, the researcher can envisage one that avoids valorising men and masculinity practices that devalue women.

Men need to understand more clearly how they are shaped by the institutional practices (family, peer groups, workplace) that are regularly repeated everyday of their lives. They need to find ways of working with and on the psychological forces and emotional

investments that often make them willing to be trapped within existing structures. They need to become aware of the huge pressure of ideological and cultural messages that shout at them to keep up with their tough defences and guard their backs as men. If men are to move forward politically, there is a need for them to acknowledge the full power of feminist arguments for them to challenge some of the shaping forces. They can only do this if they stop being so defensive and guilt-ridden around feminist perspectives. Some of these perspectives can help them see how all men are not innately fixed as monolithic oppressors of women. Yes its true that men do oppress women and important to recognize the unequal relations between men and women within a patriarchal system. However, it is also extremely important to point out the contradictory, shifting relations of many men to patriarchal structures. For example, it is certainly true that gay men can be oppressive to women, but they are also routinely oppressed by dominant, heterosexual norms.

If we are to achieve true equality in the workplace, male and female stereotypes and biases must be addressed. Changes in career training and development, job placement and promotions require both men and women to move beyond traditional role concepts and stereotyping to realize true equality in the workplace. Over one half of the human race, women, are frequently excluded from the decision-making process and the halls of power due to biases, prejudices from patriarchal ideologies and out-dated gender role expectations. Human development will never achieve its potential as long as women are denied their right to share fully in the management of our social institutions and organizations. There are many factors that have come out clearly in this study that constrain female leadership, but I feel that three must be overcome if true synergy is to be achieved: (a) obsolete mindsets that restrict the role of women to wife and mother, (b) women's own inadequate self-images and lack of confidence which psychologically handicap them from greater self-fulfilment; and (c) male stereotyping of women's roles in organizations, which under-utilise female talents or misuses women's competencies. Each of these constraints requires massive re-education and attitude change. As long as beliefs, attitudes and traditions prevail in which distinctions are made about people's

intrinsic worth based on sex stereotypes true organizational synergy will be thwarted. Equal treatment that frees men and women to grow and develop fosters mutual trust, as persons of both genders are unrestricted in their roles.

Besides analysing perceptions of male broadcasters towards affirmative action particularly where this policy is targeted towards women, this research has also identified areas that need further investigation. One of the issues that came up in this study is that white males regard affirmative action as reverse discrimination and yet support its role of bringing about racial integration. There is a need for further exploration to find out whether white males are unfairly discriminated by affirmative action or they are just biased. The study should explore whether white males attitudes are overtly racist, genuine policy concerns or subtle racism disguised as policy concerns.

Further explorations are also needed on women in media institutions to find out their perceptions towards the role that patriarchy and masculinity play in shaping and advancing their careers. How do these concepts affect the implementation of affirmative action?

Affirmative action has the potential of boosting the skills and capabilities of members of the previously disadvantaged groups so that they can compete for opportunities on an equal footing. Gender equality will not be achieved as long as men continue holding onto power and demanding that women perform in a masculine manner. Women on the other hand need to have confidence in what they do and they do not have to prove to men that they are capable as long as they get their work done satisfactorily. It is easy to implement affirmative action but it can only help to a certain extent. For true synergy to be achieved there is a need to change people's attitudes and this is difficult.

APPENDIX 2

The following is a list of questions that was asked to the twelve interviewees at SABC KwaZulu-Natal branch. Some of the questions were modified according to the responses given.

Men from the following racial groups were interviewed:

- White
- Black
- Indian
- Coloured

Issues discussed included:

- Understanding of the concept affirmative action
- Need for the implementation of affirmative action
- Perceptions of men towards work
- Men and power in organizations
- Perceptions towards management
- Perceptions towards female broadcasters
- Perceived factors that hinder women from upward mobility
- Possibilities for informal discrimination

Interview Questions

1. What do you understand by the term “affirmative action”?
2. Do you think that there is a need for the implementation of affirmative action in your organization? Explain.
3. Has the implementation of affirmative action been effective in your organization?
4. Who benefits most from the implementation of the AA policy in your organization? Explain.

- ✓ 5. Have you ever worked under a female manager? If yes, what are the differences between working under a female manager and a male manager?
6. ✓ Would you prefer to work with other males only or in a mixed gender environment? Explain.
7. ✓ How do you feel about working with women? Do you feel threatened or fear that they will sue you for sexual harassment?
8. Do you feel that women limit the way you talk with your fellow male employees?
9. In what fields are men concentrated in your organization and why is this so?
10. ✓ Is there any difference between working with people from your own race and those from other races? If yes, what are the differences?
11. Does your job status and seniority matter to you and why?
12. Do your family responsibilities affect your job in any way? How?
13. ✓ In regards to gender, do you see any difference in the way assignments are allocated in your organization?
14. What are the factors that inhibit women from mobility within media institutions?
15. According to completed research, men still dominate in top positions in media institutions. Is this still the case? If yes, why do you think it is so?
16. In what ways is your present position a powerful one?
17. Are there any jobs in this company that you perceive as unsuitable for men? If any, which ones and why?
18. Are both men and women given the same opportunities for training and development in your organization?
19. What changes would you like to see in relation to gender and equality in the company?
20. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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