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8 South Africa: Newsrooms in Transition

Margaretha Geertsema-Sligh

Introduction

South Africa is a beautiful country with a diverse citizenry at the Southern-most tip of the African continent. But the nation also has a long history of racial struggle, which includes an era of racial segregation, called apartheid that ended formally in 1994 after nearly 50 years of political oppression and protest. The country today is a land of contrasts. It has a vibrant media scene and one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, guaranteeing equality for all and freedom of the press. Women are breaking through newsroom boundaries, making up about half of the journalism workforce, the majority of those in senior-management positions, and moving up to positions at the top.

Still, some vestiges of the past remain and also enter into the gender dynamics of today's newsrooms and the society they serve. In this chapter, I will provide a brief description and history of South Africa, including its multiple languages and the status of women. This will be followed by a discussion of the features of the media system and the government's relationship to the media. Finally, this chapter will consider the results of the *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media (Global Report)* (Byerly 2011) within the broader context of history, politics, and women's status.

South African history, land and people

While a Western history of South Africa typically starts with the foundation of a Dutch colony in Cape Town in 1652, it might well begin 14,000 years ago with the hunter-gatherers who are today known as the San or Bushmen (Early 2007). South Africa was ruled first as a Dutch colony from 1652 (Company 2007) and then as a British colony, formally from 1814 onward (British 2007). After the devastating Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), South Africa remained a British colony until it gained independence from the British in 1961. The National

Party had come into power in 1948, during the colonial period, and set about implementing a political system based on racial segregation called apartheid. The system imposed strict racial categories, and black Africans were considered not to be citizens of South Africa but of 'tribal homelands'. Both non-violent and violent protest would characterize the years from 1940 to 1990, with South African political leaders finally ending the apartheid era in 1991 and negotiating a new dispensation that guarantees equality to all citizens. In particular, the 'Bill of Rights for a New South Africa', adopted in 1993, states that the 'state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth' (Bill of Rights 1996). Over the past 20 years, South Africa has been in transformation to eviscerate the inequalities caused by the system of apartheid and colonialism that spawned it.

South Africa is a multiracial country, earning it the description of a 'rain-bow nation'. About 80 per cent of the population is Africans, 9 per cent is 'Coloured' (the South African term for people of mixed descent), 9 per cent is White and 2.5 per cent is of Indian/Asian descent (Mid-year 2011). The diversity of South Africa's people can also be seen in the variety of languages spoken. The country has 11 official languages, including IsiZulu (23.8 per cent), IsiXhosa (17.6 per cent) and Afrikaans (13.4 per cent), but English is also widely spoken (Languages 2012). The South African Constitution grants equal rights to women, as noted, and the government is formally committed to gender equality in policies and administrative mechanisms, e.g., the Commission on Gender Equality is a state institution charged with the promotion of women's rights. South Africa signed the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1993 and ratified the treaty in 1995. The same year, a South African delegation participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. In 2008, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) adopted a Protocol on Gender and Development with 28 targets to achieve gender equality by 2015. Articles 29–31 of the protocol address issues related to Media, Information and Communication and call for the equal representation of women in ownership and decision making in the media by 2015 (SADC, p. 12). In addition, the protocol asks states to discourage their media from showing degrading stereotypes of women and to encourage an equal voice and access to information and communication technologies for women.

South African women have made great strides in terms of political representation through a quota system implemented by political parties. Accounting for 52 per cent of the population, women constitute 42.3 per cent of members of the National Assembly and 32.1 of the National Council of Provinces (Women 2012). This places South Africa seventh in the world in terms of the

representation of women in parliaments. Other statistics are not as encouraging. South Africa ranked 106 out of 156 countries measured on the Gender Development Index of 2007 (Seager 2009), but the nation was ranked much higher at 16 out of 135 nations in the World Economic Forum's 2012 (Global Gender Gap Report 2012, p. 316). Women's life expectancy is only about 59 years (Mid-year 2011). An estimated 10.5 per cent of the population was HIV positive in 2010 (Mid-year 2010) and South Africa earned the title of 'rape capital of the world' because of its high rape statistics (see SA Rape 2005). The literacy rate for women is 86 per cent, which is high in comparison with much of the African continent (CIA 2012).

South Africa is struggling with high levels of unemployment in general, but women are more likely to be unemployed than men. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (2012), women were unemployed at a rate of 27.7 per cent in the first quarter of 2012, compared with men at 23.3 per cent. The nation has taken some measures to address its chronic unemployment, e.g., the Employment Equity Act of 1998 addresses inequalities at the workplace, while the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 prohibits discrimination. As part of the Employment Equity Act, South African institutions with 50 or more employees must submit an Employment Equity Plan (EEP) to the Department of Labor to show how it will ensure diversity among its employees.

South African media

South Africa has a well-developed media system with several newspapers, a semi-public broadcasting system, satellite and pay-TV services, but limited access to the Internet. The country's 23 daily and 25 weekly newspapers are primarily published in English with some published in Afrikaans and African languages (Press 2012). Newspaper readership is increasing in South Africa with the growth of several tabloid newspapers (Wasserman 2008). For example, *The Daily Sun*, a tabloid aimed at the black working class, is the largest newspaper in South Africa with more than 5 million readers. Media conglomeration has been a problem in South Africa, like other nations, and press ownership is concentrated mainly in the hands of six groups: the Independent Newspaper Group, Avusa, Naspers, CTP/Caxton, Primedia and Kagiso Media (Trends 2009). According to Sparks (2009), mostly white English and Africans press owners agreed in the transition after apartheid to transfer some 'inessential elements of their business' to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) groups while retaining their core businesses (p. 203). However, newspapers are still accused of being 'white' and 'racist' in their criticisms of the powerful leading political party, the African National Congress (ANC), and other black organizations (Sparks 2009, p. 211).

Broadcasting in South Africa is dominated by the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which is funded by a combination of publicly collected license fees and advertising. The SABC offers multilingual broadcasts on three domestic channels, SABC1, SABC2 and SABC3 (Television 2012). In the apartheid era, the SABC closely aligned itself with the mostly white Afrikaans National Party government, so its role was intensely debated in the transition to a democracy (Sparks 2009). The SABC was re-established as a public service broadcaster, with its first task the broadcast of the 1994 election. The first new SABC board was chaired by an African woman, Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, and had a majority of women members. Matsepe-Casaburri then served as minister of communications in the South African parliament from 1999 to 2009. Sparks (2009) argues that instead of an independent broadcaster, the SABC has become much more 'a voice of the government' over the past few years (p. 209).

Beyond the SABC, South Africa has MNet, a subscription channel; DSTV, MNet's digital satellite service; and e.tv, the only free-to-air TV channel. Radio plays an important role in South Africa with 14 public broadcast stations (run by the SABC) and 22 private, commercial radio stations. Community radio – the collection of stations that are non-profit and owned completely by the community – has exploded since 1994, with more than 165 stations currently on air (Radio Stations 2012). South Africa has become an important distributor of content on the continent through MultiChoice Africa, MNet, SABC Africa and Channel Africa, a transnational radio station in South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli *et al.* 2007). Access to the Internet remains limited in South Africa with only 10.8 per cent of the South African population using the Internet by 2009 (Internet 2012).

The Press Council of South Africa, the Press Ombudsman and the Press Appeals Panel are responsible for voluntary self-regulation within the print media industry. The Press Council, created in 2007, consists of representatives from both the media and the public and 'aims to promote and preserve the right of freedom of expression including freedom of the press' (Constitution 2012). The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) regulates communication, broadcasting and the postal services of South Africa. According to Sparks (2009), instead of transforming the South African media system, the ICASA appears more to sustain the already existing system (Communications 2012). The Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999 requires that broadcasters contribute to 'democracy, development of society, gender equality, nation building, provision of education and strengthening the spiritual and moral fibre of society' (Broadcasting 1999). The Media and Diversity Development Agency (MDDA), set up by the government, media and other donors, aims to increase diversity in the industry but is underfunded. As in other government departments, South Africa has a gender focal point, i.e., a unit in the Ministry of Communications to ensure that gender is considered

in all aspects of the department's work (Morna and Nyakujarah 2011). Gender units implement the country's national gender policy and review the gender implications of all policies, projects and programs.

Media-government relationship

The press has a complicated relationship with government and press freedom has recently come under attack, as will be shown below. Freedom of expression is protected in the Constitution, but the ANC government believes the press is more interested in profit and does not serve the majority of citizens. Section 16 of the Bill of Rights states that 'everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media' (Bill of Rights 1996). International monitoring organizations differ on the extent of the country's media freedom. In 2011, Reporters Without Borders ranked South Africa 42nd in the world out of 178 nations (Press Freedom 2011/2012), while Freedom House ranked South Africa 72nd, with only a 'partly free' press (Global 2011). Press freedom, of course, does not only entail freedom from government intervention, but also an independence from the market. Lovaas (2007) points out that while formal censorship of the press came to an end in the new democratic system in the 1990s, a 'series of new filters' today present ideas for the benefit of the elites (p. 52). Lovaas believes that, 'The result is a manufactured, one-dimensional world view, which is not only restrictive, but also contrary to the very notions of journalism, freedom and democracy' (p. 56).

Over the last few years, citizens and experts alike have voiced concern about threats to media freedom in South Africa. In an incident indicative of the adversarial government-press relationship, the now-expelled ANC Youth League Leader Julius Malema created an international controversy in April 2010 when he called a BBC correspondent a 'bastard' and 'bloody agent' (Authorities 2010). The correspondent left the news conference after these allegations. A few months later, the ANC proposed a statutory Media Appeals Tribunal as a replacement for the existing system of self-regulation through the Press Council to keep the media accountable in a 'structured and checked manner' (Van Leeuwen 2012, p. 73). Some of the ANC's arguments included that the media cannot be trusted to regulate themselves, the council and courts do not protect citizens sufficiently against the violation of their rights to dignity and privacy, the council is a powerless and self-serving institution and the print media are biased against the ANC (Duncan 2011). However, journalists are concerned that this tribunal will prevent them from reporting news about crime or corruption by politicians. In fact, Duncan (2011) states that the proposed tribunal 'is a real and present danger to freedom of expression' (p. 100).

Another action that raised concern was the passing of the Protection of State Information Bill in the National Assembly on 22 November 2011. This bill

would limit the publication of sensitive government documents, and opponents were black on 'Black Tuesday' to show their disapproval. According to Reporters Without Borders, the law would make it possible for government officials to classify documents as state secrets, and journalists who reveal such information could face 25 years in prison (Will Secrecy 2011). The bill still had to be debated in the National Council of Provinces at the time of this writing in late 2012.

Journalism practice in South Africa

Tensions abound in the practice of journalism in South Africa, as the foregoing discussion conveys. As shown, some of these are bound up with the government's structural relationship to the profession and its industries. Other reasons also exist, such as the racial composition of newsrooms and what some see to be a lack of professional journalism standards. Newsrooms still have not transformed to become more representative of the racial composition of the country. In 2004, a study by the South African National Editor's Forum (SANEF), found that most people in newsrooms were still white, especially in copy-editing rooms (Steyn and De Beer 2004).

Even though black reporters were often paid more than white reporters, they still tend to leave journalism for better positions in public relations or in government (Steyn and De Beer 2004). Apparently, many of the new black editors and journalists are still trying to find their way (Hunter-Gault 2006). Nombuso Dlamini, a reporter for the program 'Soul Beat Africa', told Byerly and Ross (2006) that it was especially difficult being black when working with Afrikaans people, as they tended 'to run things by the "old rules" that propped up apartheid' (p. 179). Crystal Oderson, a broadcast journalist in South Africa, said black women had to fight much harder than white women to advance at the SABC (Byerly and Ross 2006, p. 170). Oderson believes that the kind of female journalist that is now in demand is one with 'a white consciousness who will not bring with her an opinionated black women's voice' (Byerly and Ross 2006, p. 170).

Two studies found that professional skills are lacking in South African newsrooms. The SANEF study showed that reporters were not well prepared to meet the highest industry standards in a changing society (Steyn and De Beer 2004). In fact, basic writing skills were found to be lacking, reporters struggled to use the time-honored '5Ws and the H' (i.e., who, what, when, where, why and how), and basic news values were not incorporated into stories. Reporting skills were also found to be inadequate, with inexperience, a lack of commitment and resources, and the pressures of deadlines accounting for some of the obstacles in this area. Accuracy was threatened by undeveloped interview skills and the 'dire lack of general knowledge' among reporters (Steyn

and De Beer 2004, p. 394). The Gender and Media Progress Study, conducted by the research and media activist group Gender Links, found that reporters relied mostly on a single source for stories, thereby losing the depth of stories with multiple sources (Morna, Mpofu and Glenwright 2010). Study findings showed that 62 per cent of stories sampled (N = 33,431) used only a single source, with only 38 per cent of stories including multiple sources (Morna, Mpofu and Glenwright 2010). More encouraging was the finding that 78 per cent of news stories were based on a primary source, i.e., an interview, and 22 per cent of stories were based on a secondary source, i.e., a report.

Activist groups in South Africa are actively engaged in bringing about change in journalism and society. For example, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) has monitored news content related to gender, children, elections, HIV/AIDS, xenophobia and race. Especially noteworthy is the Johannesburg-based group Gender Links (GL), which provided data for the *Global Report* study. Founded in March 2001 by working journalists and activists concerned about gender equality in the media, GL conducts research and training in the field, provides an opinion and commentary service, hosts a Gender and Diversity Media Center, and organizes a Gender and Media Summit in alternate years. GL works on broader issues of gender justice and governance, in addition to media issues. However, the organization faces many obstacles in its work. As a non-governmental organization, GL is continuously looking for grants to fund its many projects, and these grants are hard to come by. Networking with partner organizations seems troubled competition is intense for limited funding, and partners often protect their areas of expertise in what could be called 'turf wars' (Geertsema 2010, p. 78). News media resist interference from outside pressure groups such as GL, claiming that they interfere with freedom of the press. The news media also argue that diverse news coverage may interfere with its main business, which is profit. Finally, a strong patriarchal culture contributes to a backlash against gender activism (Geertsema 2010). GL follows a professional-technical approach, which has been criticized for its focus on equal rights instead of structural reasons for inequality (Duncan 2006).

Women's status in journalism

The path to a career in journalism often begins at a college or university. In South Africa, women top out on more than one level. Made's (2010) study of six journalism and media studies programs found women to be overrepresented among both students (61 per cent female, 39 per cent male) and faculty (55.5 per cent female, 44.5 per cent male). Made's Gender in Journalism and Media Education and Training in Southern Africa study also found all six institutions had sexual harassment policies in place and four also had policies to achieve gender equality. While women were at an advantage in both number

and in policy considerations, they were less so in the curriculum. Only two institutions made gender issues in the curriculum a priority, relying on the instructors' knowledge and intent to include such material. In addition, none of the schools studied had a committee or individual responsible for incorporating gender into all aspects of their work, including the content of courses and hiring of women as lecturers (Made 2010).

Global Report findings for South Africa

The number of female students in journalism and media fields is also reflected in the workforce. The *Global Report*, which included eight newspapers, one radio station and two TV stations, found that of 12,300 employees accounted for in the study, 51.9 per cent were women and 48.1 per cent men (Byerly 2011). As such, women slightly exceed parity with men in terms of overall professional representation in the South African news media surveyed. Greater detail about women's representation is gained by visiting the *Glass Ceilings* report (which yielded the data used for the *Global Report*), which indicates that 'six of the 11 media houses in the sample have more than 50 per cent women. The other five have between 42 per cent and 49 per cent' (Morna and Rama 2008, p. 3). These figures contrast with those a few years earlier in a study conducted by Steyn and De Beer (2004), which found that men outnumbered women in most newsrooms surveyed. Steyn and De Beer's (2004) study noted some variation, as in commercial radio stations and online media where staff members were almost all female, 'often younger than 30 and appointed in management positions' (p. 391).

While women still do not have parity with men in the governance and top-management levels of the South African companies surveyed, they make a significant breakthrough on the level of senior management. According to the *Global Report*, women comprise only slightly more than a third (38.5 per cent) of those in governance and only a fourth (25 per cent) of those in top-level management. These figures suggest women are marginalized in policy and other major decision-making within these companies where they dominate, overall, in number. However, the *Global Report* shows women comprise over two-thirds (79.5 per cent) of those in these positions, e.g., presidents and directors of news, managing editors, bureau chiefs and similar titles. This statistic, which suggests an inflated figure, reflects a methodological problem associated with trying to match the job descriptions used by GL for its *Glass Ceilings* study with those used for the *Global Report*. The *Global Report* statistic was obtained by collapsing data from several similar job descriptions which most closely matched the work elements of the senior-management category. This resulted in omitting data from the middle-management category altogether (Table 8.1).¹

Table 8.1 Occupational roles by gender in South Africa

Occupational level	# Men	% Men	# Women	% Women
Governance	40	61.5	25	38.5
Top-level management	21	75.0	7	25.0
Senior management	162	20.5	628	79.5
Middle management				
Senior-level professional	408	59.8	274	40.2
Junior-level professional	389	55.3	314	44.7
Production and design	3,170	48.6	3,348	51.4
Technical professional	1,019	44.9	1,251	55.1
Sales, finance & administration	385	76.5	118	23.5
Other	326	44.0	415	56.0
Total numbers and average %	5,920	48.1	6,380	51.9

Source: Byerly, C. M. (2011). *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* (International Women's Media Foundation), p. 126.

In the two levels where news workers are involved primarily with newsgathering, writing and editing (senior and junior professionals), the *Global Report* shows that men still outnumber women, with women making up 40.2 per cent of those at the senior level and 44.7 per cent of those at the junior level. These figures contrast with those from the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) of 2010, which found a higher percentage of women as reporters and presenters, at 49 per cent (Morna, Mpofu and Glenwright 2010, p. 10). When broken down per news medium, the GMPS found that women were the best represented as TV reporters (55 per cent), then as TV presenters (54 per cent), print reporters (49 per cent) and radio reporters (33 per cent). Female reporters covered 69 per cent of stories on gender violence and 67 per cent of stories on gender equality but only 13 per cent of sports stories and 29 per cent of political stories (Morna, Mpofu and Glenwright 2010).

Another approach to studying men and women in the newsroom is to look at the number of stories produced by men and women (i.e., output versus numbers of journalists in newsrooms). The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP 2010) found only 34 per cent of stories in South Africa were reported and presented by women. When broken down by news medium, female reporters and presenters were only responsible for 29 per cent of stories in print and for 36 per cent of stories in TV news. All stories monitored on radio were by women, but the study only included six announcers and presenters (GMMP 2010). The GMMP report suggests that men continue to write most of the news, even though women's representation may be increasing in the profession.

The *Global Report* shows that more women (51.4 per cent) than men (48.6 per cent) work in production and design roles (e.g., graphic designers

and photographers) and as technical professionals (e.g., camera and lighting experts, 55.1 per cent, men 44.9 per cent). Three-quarters of those working in sales, finance and administration were found to be men (76.5 per cent), with women making up less than a quarter (23.5 per cent). The last category is considered to be support roles (e.g., clerical, sales, human resources) not directly involved in newsgathering or production – jobs traditionally filled by women. This indication of men's dominance in support roles contradicts the gender breakdown for support jobs reported in the *Glass Ceiling* study, which found women to fill a majority of these positions. The same methodological problem between the two studies noted earlier, with respect to the number of women in senior management, affected this category's statistics as well (i.e., slight misalignment of job descriptions).

With regard to terms of employment, the *Global Report* shows that most employees at the media companies surveyed hold regular full-time work, which is typically a secure position with benefits. The breakdown by gender is fairly comparable, for men (48.7 per cent) and women (51.3 per cent). By contrast, women (64.2 per cent) are more likely to hold regular part-time jobs than men (35.8 per cent). Women are also more likely to hold full- and part-time contract jobs (54.3 per cent and 59.1 per cent respectively) compared with men (45.7 per cent and 40.9 per cent) and comprise nearly two-thirds of freelance writers (65 per cent women, 35 per cent men) (Table 8.2).

However, the numbers of employees for both genders in the part-time contract and freelance categories were small. Men (55.4 per cent), however, are considerably more likely than women (44.6 per cent) to work in jobs categorized as 'other', a classification that accounts for nearly a fourth of those in the total workforce of these 11 newsrooms. This category includes those working on special projects, seasonal employment and other consultancies. These arrangements are less predictable and often paid less than the other terms of employment, and as such represent the least secure form of employment. In terms

Table 8.2 Terms of employment by gender in South African news companies

Terms of employment	# Men	% Men	# Women	% Women
Full-time, regular	3,519	48.7	3,712	51.3
Part-time, regular	29	35.8	52	64.2
Full-time, contract	310	45.7	368	54.3
Part-time, contract	18	40.9	26	59.1
Freelance	21	35.0	39	65.0
Other	2,024	55.4	1,632	44.6
Total numbers	5,921		5,829	

Source: Byerly, C. M. (2011). *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* (International Women's Media Foundation), p. 127.

of numbers in these varied terms of employment, women's employment is relatively more secure than men's in South African media companies.

With regard to company policies on gender, the *Global Report* found that most South African news companies surveyed had policies favorable to women's advancement. More than two-thirds (78 per cent) have a policy on gender equality, all have a policy on sexual harassment and nearly all (91 per cent) have a maternity-leave policy. The vast majority (80 per cent) provide professional training for women, and more than half (60 per cent) have a policy on paternity leave. Child-care assistance is offered by only one company (9 per cent).

Contextualizing the data

Feminists who have advocated for greater gender equity in the media believe that more women in the newsroom will lead to better inclusion and representation of women in the news. More women at the top, in particular, is key to getting women into reporting ranks. As shown above, the *Global Report* found that in the categories for senior and junior professionals (which comprise most of the newsgathering and reporting jobs), men continue to dominate with a split of about 60/40. This proportion of male to female reporters may also be reflected in findings of the GMMP (2010), which studied the news from 12 media organizations in South Africa, finding that 27 per cent of news subjects were female, compared with 73 per cent of male subjects. This corresponds to the GMMP's global average of 24 per cent of female news subjects for the 12 news companies' stories examined. When broken down by medium in South Africa, women were least included as news subjects in TV news (15 per cent) and print media (22 per cent). However, more than half of news subjects in radio (60 per cent) were female (GMMP 2010 National Report South Africa). According to the GMMP study, only 4 per cent of stories challenged gender stereotypes, while 59 per cent enforced them and 37 per cent neither enforced nor challenged them. Women were the majority of news subjects in stories on science and health, followed by the economy.

Gender Links' recent GMPS (Morna, Mpofo and Glenwright 2010) was a follow-up to its original Gender and Media Baseline Study of 2003. The GMPS found that women accounted for 20 per cent of news sources in 2010, up from 19 per cent in 2003. Female news sources were mostly found in stereotypical categories. They made up 78 per cent of homemakers in the news, 67 per cent of beauty contestants and 64 per cent of sex workers. Only 5 per cent of sportspeople in the news were women (Morna, Mpofo and Glenwright 2010).

The representation of rape in South Africa's news has been the topic of two recent studies. The first analyzed coverage of the trial of President Jacob Zuma in 2005 and 2006, when he was accused of raping an HIV-positive woman at his home in Johannesburg. Zuma was acquitted. In her study, Worthington (2010) found that instead of gender-sensitive news coverage, the *Mail & Guardian Online* focused on the news values of drama, conflict and prominence. In addition, the newspaper pursued its own political and economic interests to attract sought-after readers in the liberal-minded middle class (Worthington 2010). In another study on the representation of rape in the news from 2008 to 2009, Worthington (2011) found that the *Sowetan Online* represented rape as ubiquitous, enforced male dominance in rape coverage and showed that justice is frequently denied for rape victims.

In spite of a mixed set of findings from all these studies as to women's relationship to media, South Africa's well-known media women should not escape notice. Probably the most visible female to break through the glass ceiling is Ferial Haffajee, currently editor-in-chief of the Sunday paper *City Press*. In April 2004, Haffajee became the first female editor of a major newspaper when she took over the *Mail & Guardian*. Haffajee is an outspoken opponent of racism, sexism, corruption, cronyism and hate speech in the media, and she has recently been involved in several media controversies. One of these concerned columnist David Bullard, who was fired from the *Sunday Times* in April 2008, when he wrote that Haffajee's writing looked 'suspiciously like the ranting of a frustrated woman past her best-before date' (Adams 2011, p. 32). A second occurred in August 2011, when columnist Eric Miyeni of the *Sowetan* was fired for calling Haffajee a 'black snake in the grass' who is 'serving white masters'. In his column, he described her as a 'self-hating black person' who hates ANC politicians; someone who would have been killed in the 1980s for collaborating with the apartheid government (Eric Miyeni 2011). A third incident occurred in 2012 when *City Press* published artwork depicting President Jacob Zuma as Lenin and titled *The Spear*, in which his genitals were exposed. In reaction, people burned copies of the paper and Haffajee was accused of keeping the painting on the paper's website because she needed it 'for the long lonely nights' (Spear 2012). Haffajee says she eventually removed the image in the spirit of peacemaking but also out of fear (Spear 2012).

Several important women have risen to leadership in South African media. Khanyi Dhlomo is managing director of Ndalo Media, a company she founded in 2007 and that publishes two magazines (Top women 2012). Other stars include Debora Patta, executive producer and anchor for the TV program *3rd Degree*; Esmaré Weideman, chief executive officer of *Media 24*; Liza Albrecht, who was head of digital for Afrikaans titles at *Media 24* newspapers in 2011; Mapula Nkosi, deputy editor at *Sowetan*; and media consultant Libby Lloyd.

Conclusion

Post-apartheid South Africa's news media are transforming to adjust to the many new demands of the young democracy. Issues of media ownership, accountability and press freedom are frequently discussed, as well as the fair representation of race and gender in the newsroom. South African women have made great strides in terms of representation in parliament, but illiteracy, unemployment and violence against women plague the country. In newsrooms, women are exceeding parity in terms of overall participation, with a few beginning to break through the glass ceiling in governance and top-management roles, and, most significantly at the senior-management level. In higher education, women also dominate as journalism and media studies students and faculty. Women's employment is comparable to and in some ways relatively more secure than men's in media companies. Most South African news companies have policies of gender equality and sexual harassment.

Note

1. Gender Links' *Glass Ceilings* study designated the following occupational categories: 'Top Management', 'Senior Management', 'Board of Directors', 'Professionally Qualified', 'Skilled Technical', 'Semi-skilled' and 'Non-permanent'. The descriptions for these categories were compared with the descriptions used by the *Global Report* study and data were rearranged accordingly. Using identical data, this realignment of categories resulted in a different result in some cases.

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Part II

Marking Substantial Progress