

**Women in the news frame: An investigation into the
representation of women in television news.
An analysis of SABC2, SABC3 and e-tv news.**

By

**NTHATI MOOROSI
Supervisor: Prof. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli
Co-supervisor: Miranda Young**

**Submitted in the Faculty of Human Science, University of Natal –
Durban, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Masters of Arts
– Cultural and Media Studies.
October 2002**

Declaration

I, Nthati Moorosi, do hereby declare that this is my own work, and that all other people's works have been fully acknowledged. I further declare that I have never before submitted this for an award of a degree to any university. This work is being submitted in partial fulfillment of Master of Arts degree in the Faculty of Human Sciences at the University of Natal – Durban, South Africa.



NTHATI MOOROSI

Durban, 2002

This work is dedicated to my son Boitelo who was born in the midst of attaining the degree.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks go to my supervisor Prof. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli and my co-supervisor Miranda Young for their assistance, constructive criticism, great support and their patience.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Rene Smith for proofreading my work and offering support and building criticisms.

I also want to thank the CMS students and staff including the head of the department Prof. Keyan Tomaselli, Susan Govender, Thembisa Mjwacu and Ntokozo Ndlela for their inspiration, encouragement and assistance.

I gratefully remember my friends, especially Morris Nyakudya, for their great support, care, love and inspiration in difficult times.

An appreciation is also paid to the Cibani family, which not only accommodated me but also supported me like their own child.

Lastly, I give my special thanks to my family for their enormous support, understanding, patience, love and believing in me.

I thank God it is done.

Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the representation of women in South African television news by closely comparing the three stations; e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3. The news bulletins that were recorded over a week (seven consecutive days), for each station were measured and compared to find out the presence of men and women as workers for news production; as news reporters and news readers as well as news subjects.

Theories of news and feminist media are strong points from which the study is informed. The feminist media theories highlight the sexist ideology of media content and addresses issues of how television news positions the female news subjects. Theories of news on the other hand emphasize the question of what is news and aids the understanding of why women are represented the way they are in news as they stress the nature of news as a human construction that is shaped by the world. Together these theories used in this research highlight the background of the ideologies underlying the coverage and representation of both men and women as news sources.

The findings of this research confirm the assumption that news is designed for male audience by having more men than women as newsreaders and reporters and also by having a remarkable dominance of men as news subjects over women. All the three stations; e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3 are dominated by men in the newsroom. With affirmative action policy in South Africa, which was designed to uplift the image of the previously marginalised, especially women, the number of women as window dressing has increased. However, when looking for news sources, women are still not considered reliable and embodying reason, trustworthiness and knowledgability. Male experts occupy all fields of knowledge from politics, terrorism, and economics to science and medicine, from literature to technology, law, sports and environment. Of all the social actors who were covered in news, the presence of men outnumber that of women with the majority of 80.9% compared to 19.1% of women.

Table of contents	
Declaration.....	I
Dedication.....	II
Acknowledgements.....	III
Abstract.....	IV
Introduction	1
Section One	
Literature Review	4
Women in media: General Overview.....	4
“Engendering broadcasting legislation”.....	6
Feminist criticisms of the portrayal of women in media.....	8
What is news?.....	11
Definition of news.....	11
News and ideology.....	12
Newsgathering and selection.....	14
News selection and women.....	17
Section Two	
Methodology and data analysis	20
Methodology and research process.....	20
Limitations of the research.....	23
Data Analysis.....	24
1. The presence of men and women as news presenters/readers.....	24
2. The presence of men and women as journalists/reporters on television news.....	26
3. The presence of gender in the protagonists of news stories.....	28
4. The presence of gender in different news categories.....	30
e-tv news.....	31
SABC2 news.....	33
SABC3 news.....	34
Summary.....	36
5. The presence of men and women as reporters in different categories.....	36
Summary.....	42
5. Status of people news programmes.....	42
1. Sportsmen/women, members and representatives of teams and national leagues.....	43
e-tv.....	43
SABC2.....	43
SABC3.....	44
2. Anonymous members of the public and victims of crime and disasters.....	44
e-tv.....	44
SABC2.....	45
SABC3.....	45
3. Persons with executive power: Managers, CEOs, Directors and Religious leaders....	46
e-tv.....	46

SABC2.....	46
SABC3.....	46
4. Heads of governments/states.....	46
e-tv.....	46
SABC2.....	47
SABC3.....	47
5. Political leaders, ministers and representatives of governments, organizations and unions.....	47
e-tv.....	47
SABC2.....	47
SABC3.....	48
6. Members of the judiciary.....	48
e-tv.....	48
SABC2.....	48
SABC3.....	48
7. Terrorists/Criminals.....	49
8. Police/Soldiers and members of the public order and security.....	49
e-tv.....	49
SABC2.....	49
SABC3.....	49
9. Businessmen/women; members of financial groups and stock exchange.....	50
e-tv.....	50
SABC2.....	50
SABC3.....	50
10. Experts in different professional fields; medical doctors, academics, musicians, actors, choreographers et cetera.....	50
e-tv.....	50
SABC2.....	51
SABC3.....	51
Summary.....	51
General overview of the presence of men and women on television news; e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3.....	52

Section Three

Discussion of the findings	54
News presenters and news reporters/journalists.....	55
“When a woman reads news”	59
News subjects.....	62
International news.....	65
Sports news.....	68
The representation of race in sports news.....	72
Crime and violence news.....	73
Political news.....	75
Race and political news.....	77
Business and finance news.....	77
Community/development news.....	78

Health and medical news.....	79
Disaster news.....	80
Arts news.....	81
News around Africa.....	81
Environment news.....	82
The presence of gender in the reporting of different categories of news.....	82
Women as social actors in newscasts.....	84
Sportsmen/women, members and representatives of teams and national or international leagues.....	85
Anonymous members of the public and victims of crime and disasters.....	85
Executive persons; managers, CEOs, Directors and religious leaders.....	86
Heads of governments/states.....	86
Political leaders, ministers and representatives of governments, organizations and unions.....	87
Members of the judiciary and legal system.....	88
Terrorists/Criminals.....	88
Police/soldiers and members of the public order and security.....	89
Experts in different professional fields.....	90
Conclusion.....	90
References.....	93

List of tables and charts

Figure 1.1: Total Number of e-tv newsreaders per week.....	25
Figure 1.2: Total number of SABC2 newsreaders per week.....	25
Figure 1.3: Total number of SABC3 newsreaders per week.....	25
Figure 2.1: e-tv news reporters.....	26
Figure 2.2: SABC2 news reporters.....	27
Figure 2.3: SABC3 news reporters.....	27
Figure 3.1: The number of protagonists on e-tv.....	28
Figure 3.2: The number of protagonists on SABC2.....	29
Figure 3.3: The number of protagonists on SABC3.....	29
Figure 4.1: The presence of men and women on diverse news categories on e-tv.....	32
Figure 4.2: The presence of men and women on diverse news categories on SABC2.....	34
Figure 4.3: The presence of men and women on diverse news categories on SABC3.....	35
The presence of men and women as reporters on different categories on e-tv.....	38
The presence of men and women as reporters on different categories on SABC2.....	40
The presence of men and women as reporters on different categories on SABC3.....	41
The presence of gender on television news.....	52
The presence of gender on South African television expressed in 100%.....	53

Introduction

Mass media, particularly television media, has a significant and penetrating impact throughout the world. With its ability to inform, entertain and educate, television shapes our perception of the world. Its ability to reflect and create culture highlights the significance of issues of representation to this discussion. Through television's representation we are able to embrace new ideas and our creativity and imagination can be challenged and sharpened. On the other hand, it can also limit our understanding of the world by closing off ideas, failing to inform, excluding and effacing important issues.

News programmes may not have a direct effect on the behaviours and beliefs of people but through the selection of items for news they are able to influence the viewers. As argued by Gill Branston and Roy Stafford (1996), news programmes are able to set the agenda of issues which people can think about, selecting the information for people for consideration and leaving some unannounced. This is the huge power of news. News, like all media genres, conforms to the mainstream media's potential to construct culture which often reflects the dominant values and interests of a society even when these convey inappropriate messages with sexist, racist and classist suppositions. As argued by CASE (2001),

[t]he media assert dominant values and social structures as universal human 'truths' and as representing the natural order of things. While the media does not necessarily represent the realities of neither our society nor its ideal structure, it does reveal, symbolically, its values and relationships (CASE 2001:1).

The aim of this paper is to convey how South African television news programmes represent one of the basic dimensions of social reality: **gender**. The Media Monitoring Project's (MMP) findings in relation to gender representation in media have shown that news tends to be constructed for a male audience, thus portraying limited representation of women (Media Monitoring Project, 1999). South Africa's new constitution stresses the need for fair representation of women in all sectors of the society. This dissertation investigates three national television stations, SABC2, SABC3 and e-tv, as influential audio-visual media, in order to assess whether they are effecting appropriate gender policy changes. It will assess the way that women are portrayed, the coverage of women

as presenters/readers of news, as journalists and as subjects of news on television. Both the SABC and e-tv have a duty and responsibility in terms of the constitution as well as their licensing mandate from the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), previously the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), to deal with gender inequalities in such a way that women are fairly represented. As the public broadcaster, the SABC's mandate is to cater for the diversity of the South African population with sensitivity (Primo, 2001). It is also the responsibility of e-tv, stipulated in its promise of performance document (Midi TV 1998), to represent women fairly. Both television stations should therefore ensure that they use women as sources for stories, as news protagonists, witnesses, experts, achievers, as well as the more usual depictions of casualties of crime. The research will therefore investigate the portrayal of women against the above mentioned responsibilities of the television broadcasters. I will assess whether the television conforms to the mandated changes set for the SABC and e-tv to enhance the visibility of women.

The paper will first review the position of women in media generally. This section will help to highlight the concerns that are reviewed in the discussion of the findings. Different typologies of feminist criticism of media will also be briefly reviewed in order to understand the concerns of women about their marginalisation in newscasts. It will also be important to review the theories of news, which highlight the question of 'what is news' and 'why does news turn out the way that it does?' It is this section that will make it easy to understand the argument of representation of gender in news as "news is a human construction shaped by the social world from which it emerges" (Berkowitz, 1997:cover page).

Section two will include an explanation of the methodology used as well as the advantages and limitations of this research. This will then be followed by a content analysis of the three television stations. The three stations will be compared to see where they overlap and differ in their representation of women in news. The contents of every news bulletin recorded over a period of one week (seven news bulletins for each station) for every channel will be analysed by breaking it down into news categories and the

number of women and men will be measured for this research. Finally the summary of the findings will be given.

Section One

Literature review

Women in media: General overview.

Women's movements that started in the 1960s not only raised concern for the image and empowerment of women in the workplace but the representation of women in the media also became a prime concern. Media have always been at the center of the feminist critique. As indicated by Liesbet van Zoonen (1994), the American communication legislation has offered ample opportunity to challenge broadcasters' policies vis-à-vis the portrayal of women. In the 1970s and 1980s, many local television stations in America saw their legal license to broadcast challenged by women's groups because of their sexist representation of women and their neglect of women's issues. The media, television in particular, were supposed to provide women with more positive and liberating role models instead. Although none of these legal complaints in America were successful, they did raise the awareness of broadcasters to the depiction of women, and they triggered academic research to document and support claims of women's movement (Cantor 1988 in Van Zoonen 1994:11).

In South Africa on the other hand, the issue of gender oppression has recently been given attention in an attempt to democratise the country. Regardless of the conscious efforts by the democratic countries to liberate people and grant rights to diverse citizens, women still remain among the marginalised members of the society. It is widely held (Van Zoonen, 1991) that it is through media that this subordinate position of women is depicted and reinforced by partially reflecting women's experiences.

In media terms, the marginalisation of women evident in the exclusion of women's issues in the programmes and programming; having certain stereotypical topics targeted for women – (emphasising their weakness), or merely by exclusion or under-reporting of events or issues that are identified as primarily concerning women. According to CASE (2001),

[t]he selection, emphasis or omission in the media of such issues reflects social and institutional approval. As such, the oppression of women is structured into the fabric of social discourse, in social institutions and in its media products (CASE, 2001:1).

The representation of women in media can be analysed from various perspectives. It could be representation in terms of portrayal of women, coverage of women's issues, empowerment in the workplace, and the presence of women in important reported issues. When we talk of the portrayal of women, we refer to the extent to which media depict women, especially in comparison to men. As mentioned earlier, there appears to be a tendency for media to portray stereotypes of women as the weaker, dependent and subordinate sex. Men, on the other, hand are portrayed as strong, in-control and superior to women. When advertisers are accused of being sexist in their portrayal of women, they always argue that they only reveal the reality of how the world behaves. The stereotypical perceptions are endowed in our society. The issues of femininity and masculinity are constructed by our societies (Dyer, 1992; Berger, 1972). One wonders then what kind of reality the media is reflecting in their representation of women. In a world where women outnumber men in population figures, can media be said to reflect the world as it is or dictate to it?

Taking television as an example, women are typically seen less often than men are on television. According to her study on the portrayal of women on television, Helen Ingham (2000) argues that not only do men outnumber women in television dramas, cartoons and soap operas, but males also dominate children's television in general. In addition "men also dominate the production side of the television, so it is hardly surprising then, that the masculine or patriarchal ideology is presented as the norm, when women are so outnumbered by men on screen, and behind the screen in television" (Ingham 2000:1).

The stereotypes that are portrayed in media are not exclusive to the media. They enjoy a robust existence in other areas of cultural production such as literature and drama. Unfortunately wherever the stereotypes appear, they help maintain the existing relationships of dominance and subordination. According to Barrie Gunter (1986),

television stereotypes are connected to various roles in which men and women are portrayed and which relate to the personality attributes they typically display. Gunter sees stereotyping as two-dimensional: sex role stereotyping and sex trait stereotyping. Sex role stereotyping reflects changes in beliefs and about the value of family, child care, the role of woman in marriage and the possibility of self-fulfilment through work. Generally, in the world of television, women tend to be confined to a life dominated by the family outside and within the home and personal relationship far more than men are. Men are usually portrayed as working in the public sphere than women are (Gunter 1986:11). Sex trait stereotyping on the other hand reflects stereotypes about women's characteristics; for example that women are more emotional than men. However, according to Gunter (1986:11) "the word 'emotion' is not used in association with aggression or dominance, it is more often than not more associated in reference to the neuroticism commonly associated with women and femininity".

The lack of coverage of women's issues can be linked to the stereotypical perception that, newspapers, prime time television programmes and radio are targeted for men. It can also be attribute to the fact that "television is widely known to represent and reinforce the mainstream ideology of contemporary western culture: patriarchy" (Ingham 2000:1). In the patriarchal world men belong to the public sphere where there is a 'need to know' about world political and economic news. Women on the other hand belong to the domestic sphere where supposedly their only need is to know how to take care of others by cooking and cleaning for them. The MMP's findings in relation to gender representation in media have indicated that news, for example, tends to be constructed for male audience, thus portraying a limited representation of women (MMP 1999).

"Engendering broadcasting legislation"

South Africa, in its attempt to democratise the country, has reviewed its policies and broadcasting legislation to accommodate diversity; of gender, race, age and class in media representation and advancing gender equity in a range of social spheres. It is the expectation of the communications regulatory body, Independent Authority of South Africa (ICASA), that broadcasters in South Africa work towards promoting diversity

both within the media sector and in using the media as a conduit for advancing gender transformation in the broader South African context. The existing broadcast legislation and government policy stipulates a need to fulfil these expectations by advancing the position of women in the media sector and promoting the use of diverse images of women in the different broadcast media. According to constitutional requirements, the objectives outlined in the Broadcasting Act 1999 includes a number of different statements that suggest the need to address and reflect the needs and interests of diverse voices. As far as gender equity is concerned, Section 2 of the Broadcasting Act 1999 states that the broadcasting policy must (among other things):

- (a) Contribute towards gender equity;
- (c) encourage ownership and control of broadcasting services of previously disadvantaged groups;
- (d) ensure plurality of news, views and information;
- (e) cater for a broad range of services...for programming needs in respect of children, women, the youth and disabled;
- (f) encourage the development of human resources and training and capacity...especially amongst historically disadvantaged groups and
- (m) ensure that commercial and community licenses...are controlled by...persons from a diverse range of communities in South Africa.

The Act continues to state that the South African Broadcasting system (which includes broadcasting resources) must be owned and controlled by South Africans, and must be controlled by persons and groups from a diverse range of communities (Section 3 (c) and each element (of broadcasting system) must ensure ownership, control and management of broadcasting services by previously disadvantaged groups and persons. It goes on to say that programming provided by broadcasting system must be varied and comprehensive, and must meet the needs of the entire South African population in terms of age, race, gender interests and background (Section 5 (a)).

The ICASA Act (2000) stipulates its objectives with regards to gender equity and communication. Their aims are to:

1. Regulate broadcasting in the public interest and ensure fairness and a diversity of views broadly representing South African society, as required by Section 19, (2) of the constitution.
2. Regulate the telecommunication in the public interest; and
3. Achieve the objectives contemplated in the underlying statutes.

The constitution of the relevant legislation and policies reveal assumptions reflecting dominance of men as point of reference. According to Natasha Primo (2001),

[t]his means that gender considerations and women's interests are not addressed in the various Acts in a way that reflects understanding of power imbalances and gender relations. It also means that where an Act defines the roles and responsibilities of institutions within the broadcasting system, it fails to address gender, women's concern in context. (Primo 2001:10)

Although Primo (2001) still regards the constitution as not clear enough on the stand/position of women in broadcasting, the bottom line is that the distorted image of women and their invisibility in this democratic South Africa has to be advanced and corrected. The broadcasters and all media have the responsibility of promoting gender equity thoroughly. The concern of this paper, as it has already been mentioned, is to investigate whether the national television stations SABC2, SABC3 and e-tv and news broadcasts are acting in accordance with the constitution, especially in the influential genre of news.

Feminist criticisms of the portrayal of women in media.

Feminists' concerns relating to the media has always been that of the representation of women. However, there are several typologies of feminist thought in media criticism. It is identified by Paul Trowler (1988) that there are three different perspectives of which women's debate on the portrayal of women in media are based. These are; liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism. For this paper, the discussion will be based on gendered perspectives drawing form different feminism typologies.

Liberal feminists hold that individuals are trained by the mass media and other social institutions into patterns of behaviour, which are performed unconsciously. According to Trowler (1988), sex roles, in particular, have become embedded in our culture. In liberal feminism terms, women demand equal access the patriarchal symbolic order “desiring equality rather than subjugation” (Kaplan, 1987:219). On the other hand, socialist feminism views the distortion as a capitalist fault in an economic structure for the disadvantaged position of women in society. Trowler (1988) asserts that, in capitalism terms, women give their labour cheaply. They serve as reserve army of workers who can be called on when the need arises and then sent back into the home.

The political feminist typologies mentioned above are classified by Ann Kaplan, (1987) as the essentialist feminist criticism. According to Kaplan, essentialist feminism “assumes a basic truth about women that patriarchal society has kept hidden” (1987:217). Kaplan continues to relate that essentialist feminism argues that there is a particular group, in terms of identity, that precedes or is outside of culture and that ultimately has to have biological origins. The essential aspect of women, repressed in patriarchy, is assumed to embody a more humane, moral mode of being that once brought to light, could not change society in beneficial directions (Kaplan, 1987).

In contrast, anti-essentialist feminists attempt to understand the processes through which female subjectivity is constituted in patriarchal culture, but they do not find any essential femininity behind the socially constructed subject. In the formulation of the anti-essentialist,

the feminine is not something outside of , or untouched by, patriarchy, but integral to it...If the goal is to get beyond the socially constructed definitions of man/woman or masculine/feminine, anti-essentialists argue we need to know precisely how those social constructions are inscribed in the process of becoming human” (Kaplan, 1987:217).

Post-structural feminism rejects the dichotomy between masculine and feminine as metaphysical or biological and works towards the transcendence of the categories of sexual difference or at least recognition of their cultural construction. Post-structural feminism scholars analyze the symbolic systems, including the filmic and televisual

aparatuses through which we communicate and organize our lives in an attempt to understand how it is that we learn to be what our culture calls 'women' as opposed to what are called 'men'. (Kaplan, *Feminist criticism and television*, <http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/~cybee/j388/feminist.html>).

From a perspective of anti-essentialist feminism, one of the theories that have been found as central is that of Laura Mulvey (1975) in her criticism of film. In her essay, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Film' (1975), she appropriates Lacanian psychoanalysis to explain how patriarchal unconscious structures the representation of women in film. In her analysis, she involves Hollywood's apparent inscription of the "male" as opposed to any possible "female", unconscious ; "[d]rawing on Freud's twin mechanisms of voyeurism and fetishism, Mulvey shows that the dominant Hollywood cinema is built on a series of three 'looks' all of which satisfy the desire in the male unconscious" (Kaplan, 1987:228).

According to Maggie Humm (1997), Mulvey conceptualizes cinema as irreducibly shaped by sexual difference, arguing that film is constructed around the looks or gazes, which in turn shape the editing and narrative and further, that those looks are completely and eternally those of men looking at women. The three looks that Mulvey analyses in her essay are; the look of the camera – "this look is inherently voyeuristic and usually 'male' in the sense that a man is generally doing the filming" (Kaplan, 1987:228). The second look is that of 'male' figures within the film narrative and the third one is the look of the spectators both male and female. According to Kaplan (1987), voyeurism and fetishism are mechanisms that the Hollywood cinema uses to construct the (presumably male) spectator in accordance with the needs of his unconscious. The fact that women are objects of the male gaze leaves women as the passive objects and men as the active subjects. Mulvey (1989) contends that "Hollywood genre films structured around masculine pleasures, offering an identification with the active point of view, allow a woman spectator to discover that lost aspect of her sexual identity" (Mulvey, 1989:71).

In television news reading, women do not come to the studio only as professionals. They are looked at from a point of view of a camera. As Mulvey (1989) argues, the very

construction of sexual difference through the oedipus and castration complexes (Lacanian psychoanalysis theory), make women the objects of male scrutiny, their visual presence itself a symbol of sexual standing fears and losses. As argued by Patricia Holland (1987) “[i]mages of women are not images of *women* at all but images of men’s impossible desires of their fears for the full masculinity they can never achieve” (Holland, 1987: 195-196). The images of women reading the news on the television screen are hard to escape male voyeurism. The made up faces and the likelihood of finding the news presentation done by mostly pretty women can only mean that women newsreaders are objects of the male gaze. According to Holland, (1987), women’s right to speak in public may easily be subverted by drawing attention to their visual appearance. “Women’s faces, when they appear, are not normally poised for looking or for speech, but are painted, decorated presented for beauty and the pleasure of the viewer” (Berger, 1972 in Holland, 1987:195). The figure of a man or a woman on the screen is not complete unless he/she says or does something. Holland continues to argue that,

[o]n television the visual presentation of a head and shoulders image is always inadequate by itself. Something is missing; the image must be completed. In the case of a man it is unproblematically completed by what he has to say. In the case of a woman the commentators point to an absence of a different sort. For them what is missing is the woman’s body (Holland, 1987:196).

In television news reading, a picture of just head and shoulders of the presenter has to be completed by something said.

What is news?

Definition of news.

News occupies a privileged and prestigious position in our cultural hierarchy of values. No one can deny the priority and importance that is granted to news by our society; be it radio news, television news and print news. Theorists and journalists have found news difficult to define. The definition of news that is given by Danuta Reah (1998) is that news is a late Middle English word that refers to tidings, new information of recent events. This definition has been criticised for being too broad, as any happening can be seen as a recent event. A more narrowed down definition is therefore suggested by Reah (1998) that; news is “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently

large group or that may affect a sufficiently large group of people” (Reah 1998:4). There has also been an attempt to define news through analysis of its content. For an example, Walter Lippmann focuses on the process of newsgathering, which he saw as a search for “the objective clear signal that signifies an event hence news is not a mirror of social conditions, but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself” (Lippmann 1922:216, in McQuail 2001:338).

Attached to the term news are also social meanings suggesting that news is the result of social processes. According to Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli and Johan Muller (1987), certain kinds of reality are singled out and selected from the ongoing process of social experience, “highlighted and made more important than the mundane social processes within which they repose. The event is then re-presented and sold as ‘news’ to the consumer public. News then becomes a commodity” (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller 1987:24). News is also newsworthy because it represents the unpredictability and conflictual nature of the world. John Hartley (1982) states that among other things, news is a social and cultural institution. This idea is supported by Dan Berkowitz (1997) by asserting that, news can never be value-free, because social values are embedded in everyday activities and the way that people manage them: “News is a human construction that gains its characteristics through the social world from which it emerges” (Berkowitz 1997:xii). Berkowitz (1997) explores the nature of news from the social perspective by putting more emphasis on the social processes by which journalists decide what is news and the social forces that influence and limit the gathering and assembling of the events into news.

News becomes the product of the practicalities and constraints of the process by which it is created. It becomes the product of economic systems and political systems and the press systems that result from them. And it becomes the product of unspoken cultural values and beliefs by which people manage their daily lives (Berkowitz 1997:xii).

News and ideology

In explaining how news can be an ideological discourse and a political genre, Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller (1987) first look at the meaning of ideology. Ideology is not a

system of ideas imposed from outside, but “rather, it is an interlinked ensemble of social, political and economic structures which permeate our everyday experiences” (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller 1987:22). This statement might lead us to understand how and why women are left out of the news frame. Journalists in capitalist societies form part of a powerful ideological class working in conjunction with the dominant ideology. As advocated by Berkowitz, the news media play an essential role in maintaining the authority of the political system: “The news paradigm can therefore be said to operate within this larger ideological sphere- particularly in hegemonic process” (Berkowitz 1997:245). Can we say therefore that news is biased in its representation of gender as the journalists comply with the patriarchal ideology that reinforces and represents the dominance of men over women? Socialist feminists would argue that television as an explicitly capitalist institution, affects the types of images of women portrayed (Kaplan, <http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/~cbybee/j388/feminist.html>). Such Marxist-feminist researchers stress the production of the male-viewer and female-viewer as consumers, a process that emerges from television’s need, as a commercial, profit-making institution, to sell objects along with providing information.

The question as to whether journalists act consciously or unconsciously in this regard has been debated widely. Theorists like Herbert Gans (1979) argue that journalists are always trying to be fair and unbiased. He argues that,

[m]ost of the journalists fully realise that objective methods provide no guidelines for the selection either of stories or of which facts go into stories. Nevertheless, in making the selection, journalists strive to be objective, by applying personal detachment, and in effect, by disregarding the implications of the news. They do not choose news on the basis of whom it will help or hurt; and when they cannot ignore the implications, they try to be fair (Gans 1979:183).

It is unrealistic to claim however that journalists report objectively without taking any standpoint or rather without conforming to certain prevailing ideologies. As argued by Berkowitz (1997), in recent years, journalists have found it increasingly difficult to maintain that they are wholly objective. Most journalists today rather talk about defensive claims like ‘accuracy’, ‘fairness’ and ‘balance’. One of the news values proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1987), is that for stories to be regarded as newsworthy, it should

impinge on the culture of the news gatherers – ‘cultural proximity’. This only illustrates that journalists gather and select news with a certain perspectives. Everett Dennis and John Merrill (1996:107) state that “they do not come to stories as blank slates on which the reality of events is to be written. They may want to be unprejudiced, balanced thoroughly and completely honest in their reporting, but they simply can not be”. As such we can see that the reporter’s subjective values, cultural background, biases, interpretations and news judgements intervene in the production of news stories. As indicated by Roger Fowler (1991) real events are not intrinsically newsworthy but are subject to conventional processes of selection. A vast number of events are not reported and so selection immediately gives us a partial view of the world. It is only after selection that “there is transformation, a different treatment in presentation according to numerous political, economic factors. As far as differences in presentation are concerned, there would definitely be a possibility of a bias” (Fowler 1991:11).

Newsgathering and selection.

In order to understand the relative absence of women in news, we may need to understand how news stories are gathered and selected. It is important to mention that newspapers and television news cannot include every recent event/incident. As suggested by Danuta Reah (1997), the selection of items to be put in the news pages may also affect the way in which the reader is presented with the world. In his view, newspapers readers do not receive entirely new information on recent events, but rather selected information of recent events. Reah (1997) asserts that this information may well be presented with an ideological ‘spin’ that makes it difficult for the reader to form an independent decision on what his/her viewpoint of these events actually is. Mass media must operate with a certain definition of what is newsworthy:

[i]t is not that institution manuals exist telling newsmen that certain subjects (drugs, sex, violence) will always appeal to the public or rather certain groups should be continually exposed to scrutiny. Rather, there are built-in-factors, ranging from the individual newsman’s intuitive hunch about what constitute ‘a good story’, through precepts such as ‘give the public what it wants’ to structured ideological biases, which predispose the media to make certain events into news (Cohen and Young 1973:15).

There are two selection models followed by journalists in manufacturing news: the manipulative model and the commercial model. According to Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (1973) these are the two bases that explain the quality of news that we consume. Manipulative model presents an oversimplified view of the domination of news and controllers over creators. In the manipulative model, some of the acute public concern in news is ignored. News is not selected according to public interest but rather delivered in a fashion that supports the status quo of power and interest. In a patriarchal world, men have power and are dominant over women. If news is supportive of this status quo, of course women would not be seen as newsworthy in news.

In the commercial model, the mass media are merely in the business of supplying the demand for news and wherever a particular desire for certain information grows to a size that is commercially feasible, a selection of media will develop in order to cater for it. Media owners are only interested in maximising specific audience and thus advertising revenue. Could equal or fair representation of women in news cause a loss of customers? Are women not potential consumers for news? A stereotypical gender-role scenario would be a man coming back work and sitting down to read the newspaper or watching television, while the woman is cooking, cleaning the house and taking care of the children. To argue from a commercial model of selecting news, if journalists are influenced by such stereotypical perception about gender roles to gather news stories, in commercial model women are not as good consumers of news as men. The news is thus targeted for a male audience.

Looking more broadly at the question of what makes news, 'news'? What exactly strikes the journalists' attention in all different happenings of everyday? There are a series of conditions that have to be fulfilled to qualify an event for inclusion in news that are proposed by Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge (1973). According to Galtung and Ruge (1973), events become news if they fulfil some of the following conditions:

(F1) frequency – time-span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning.

(F2) threshold – size of an event.

(F2.1) absolute increase

(F2.2) intensity increase

(F3) unambiguous – an event should be clear and straightforward.

(F4) meaningfulness – the event should be interpretable within the framework of the reader or the listener.

(F4.1) cultural proximity – events should accord with the cultural background of the news gatherers.

(F4.2) relevance – events in foreign countries will be newsworthy if they impinge on the news gatherers' home culture.

(F5) consonance – predictability or desire for an event can make it newsworthy.

(F5.1) predictability – is what is selected to the mental pre-image.

(F5.2) demand –.

(F6) unexpectedness - the 'newness' of unexpected events usually are considered newsworthy

(F6.1) unpredictability – sometimes the unpredictability of an event may credit it as newsworthy.

(F6.2) scarcity -

(F7) continuity – a covered story in news should continue to be covered for some time.

(F8) composition – a mixture of different kinds of events; for example both foreign and local.

(F9) reference to elite nations – the more the event concerns the elite nations the more probable it becomes the news item.

(F10) reference to elite people – events that refer to elite persons stand a better chance of selection than stories about ordinary people.

(F11) reference to persons – events are seen as the actions of people as individuals.

(F12) reference to something negative – in our society, 'bad news is good news'. (Ruge and Galtung 1973:61).

These twelve factors are not independent of each other; rather there are interesting inter-relations between them.

Representing women as subjects/protagonists of news could meet all these conditions for newsworthy stories. As mentioned before, women are present in almost all sectors of

social organisation. Many women constitute what are considered elite people, who hold high positions in our society: there are female politicians, ministers, doctors, accountants and sports experts to name a few. However, Galtung and Ruge (1973) hypothesise three things to be expected if all the above mentioned news values are operating.

1. Selection: The more events satisfy the criteria mentioned, the more likely that they will be registered as news.
2. Distortion: Once a news item has been selected what makes it newsworthy according to the factors will be accentuated.
3. Replication: Both the process of selection and the process of distortion will take place at all steps in the chain from event to reader.

Do journalists select a news item that has as its protagonist women at all three stages, or do they lose their credibility at the distortion stage? The selection values that are proposed by Galtung and Ruge's (1973) offer guidelines that define newsworthiness of events and they do not answer the question of the under-representation of women. It is important to look at the ideologies governing the selection of news while we are still seeking the answer.

News selection and women

News is basically what is believed to be newsworthy by the editors and the journalists. Dominant perceptions of what constitutes news are among the most important determinants of coverage. According to definitions given by Lippmann (1922) and Reah (1998), events rather than processes make news. The eruption of violence is more likely to win inclusion in a news line-up than a peaceful state of affairs. Also, by conventional standards, news is told through an individual rather than an event. Perhaps this is also an area where gender representation should be considered. According to Ammu Joseph and Kaplana Sharma (1994), the activities of the wealthy and powerful rate more highly than those of the poor and marginalised, including women. The opinions of the dominant sections of society are also given more weight and, therefore, more coverage (Joseph and Sharma, 1994:18).

If these categories of newsworthiness espoused by Galtung and Ruge are correct, then the coverage of women would be affected. As argued by Joseph and Sharma (1994:18), most issues of special concern to women “do not fit into the traditional concepts of what constitutes news”. According to Van Zoonen, some theorists like Thoveron (1986) argue that the exclusion of women from the news is often a result of their participation in the public sphere. Van Zoonen indicates that in such arguments, the concept of the public sphere includes all non-private and non-domestic activities people might engage in, and is not limited to spaces and occasions in which people enact their political roles as citizens. Thoveron (1986:293) claims that women are seen having a generally low profile in the public sphere and people managing television channels “cannot be held responsible for women’s low profile in the political, industrial and economic world. Their programmes are a mere reflection of the actual situation” (Van Zoonen 1991: 219). Van Zoonen (1991:219) continues to argue that the under-representation of women in news results in part from the male dominance among the reporters. Thus, the news turns to reflect a male view of reality, “leaving little room for feminist and women’s achievements or consigning topics and approaches that traditionally belong to the realm of women to special niches in the news, like human interest and lifestyle time slots”. This view is also shared by Harvey Molotch in (Joseph and Sharma 1994):

Women are not in control of society’s institutions. Traditional dependence by the media for spokesmen blocks women’s mobility in other realms accumulates to block women from even knowing they exist as a public phenomenon (Molotch in Joseph and Sharma, 1994:18).

The point that women do not play dominant roles in the public sphere can be argued to some extent. In most democratic countries like South Africa, the empowerment of women has resulted in having women in all public sectors playing front-line positions where they lead and head different institutions. What reason then can be put forward for this minimal representation of women in news? Joseph and Sharma (1994) argue that the event, as opposed to process orientation, results in the neglect of issues concerning women because many of them are linked to processes rather than events. That is,

[a] number of serious women’s issues are not overtly violent or dramatic and, although often involving large numbers, the affected persons are not necessarily part of a readily identifiable group or concentrated in a particular geographical area.

Further, many aspects of women's oppression are so commonplace and widely accepted that they are not considered sufficiently extraordinary to merit coverage (Joseph and Sharma, 1994:19).

The kind of women's issues that receive attention from the media are those that have to do with violence; for example rape and death, and thus reflecting them as passive victims. This can only mean that the news gatherers have not integrated the gender perspective in their selection of what is newsworthy. Sometimes even when the story is about what affects women, women are still not heard as sources and their views are rarely known. Joseph and Sharma observe that for the decision-makers in the gathering of news, women are still not important constituents. The invisibility and the inaudibility of women in news is what Gaye Tuchman (1979) calls 'symbolic annihilation', a combination of condemnation, trivialisation and erasure. Similarly, Joseph and Sharma (1994:21) purport that "women continue to be the other as far as the press is concerned".

Looking at the history of the status of women in our society, we can understand why media has represented women inappropriately from the start. Perceptions about the difference of males and females in our society are rooted so deep that even in this democratic age, women are still being marginalised by the media. Today, many governments, through conscious efforts, are trying to accommodate diversity and meet the requirements of democracy where people have equal rights. Media players must make it their goal to accommodate women by employing them as producers of the programmes and having their issues covered in news and including them as subjects/protagonists of the stories. It is therefore the duty of the media players to make sure that women are fairly represented and their issues are covered as much as men's issues are. The following section will look at the findings and the methodology used in studying the representation of women in television news on SABC2, SABC3 and e-tv.

SECTION TWO METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

Methodology and research process

The design of this dissertation is described as a content analysis of television news bulletins. Quantitative methodology has been employed in an attempt to conduct a comparative content analysis of news bulletins broadcast on three television channels: commercial television, e-tv; public service television, SABC2 and public service/commercial television, SABC3. SABC1 news was not chosen for this study because of the language barrier for the researcher. The same thing applies to Afrikaans news that is broadcast on SABC2. The content of seven news bulletins for each channel was recorded from the 23rd to the 29th of September 2001 during prime time. e-tv news was recorded at 7pm, SABC2 was recorded at 9pm and SABC3 at 8pm. The week that the news was recorded was chosen randomly. All these news bulletins were then transcribed and given a gender based analysis.

The research was conducted through a gendered content analysis as a systematic analytical method. Content analysis, as defined by Asa Berger (1998), is a research technique that involves measuring something in a random sampling of some form of communication. It works through identifying and counting chosen items in a given medium, and is “a method of study and analysing communication in a systematic, objective, and qualitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (Kerlinger, 1973:138).

For this research, the percentage of the presence of women as **readers**, as **reporters** and as **news subjects/protagonists** on national television stations was measured. The news stories were investigated in terms the kind of news stories that feature women, and the kind of stories that are reported by women. Content analysis is systematic, objective and quantitative. This means that content under consideration is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules. All content that was recorded was treated in exactly the same manner. According to Kerlinger (1973), quantification aids the researcher in the quest for precision. Moreover, quantification enables the researcher to summarise results

and report them succinctly. The content analysis of news for three television channels is systematic in the sense that it was treated in the same manner using the same explicit and consistently applied rules.

The methodology that was followed in this content analysis of television news was of a comparative approach. The news of the three channels has been compared to see where they overlap and where they differ in their representation of women. The content of every bulletin for all the channels has been analysed by breaking it down into different categories. The number of men and women who read and report the news and those who are subjects/protagonists; both the interviewees and the mentioned persons in news was measured. In the analysis, the importance of race in gender representation has been highlighted by mentioning the race of the persons in the news generally. In measuring the number of newsreaders and reporters, only two races that are considered official in South Africa, black and white, were used as classifications. According to the Employment Equity Act (1995) black people include African, Indian and coloured people. All other groups of people outside these groups have been classified as white. In measuring the protagonists of stories and experts (those interviewed) and people who are mentioned, one more race was added to cater for Asian people¹.

The tapes that were recorded and transcribed were all taken as units of analysis to ascertain:

1. The presence of women on television news bulletins; their ratio to men in terms of:
 - a) News presenters/readers
 - b) News reporters/ journalists
 - c) Protagonists of news stories
2. The categories of news stories that frequently feature women, and the categories of news stories where women are most constantly absent/present.
3. How women are featured and referred to on television news.

¹ The category of the Asian people here is added to cater for other groups of people especially from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Israel who were news subjects.

The analysis was conducted over several stages by measuring:

1. Readers of news on:
 - 1.1. e-tv
 - 1.2. SABC2
 - 1.3. SABC3
2. News reporters on
 - 2.1. e-tv
 - 2.2. SABC2
 - 2.3. SABC3
3. Protagonists of news stories on
 - 3.1. e-tv
 - 3.2. SABC2
 - 3.3. SABC3
4. Persons mentioned and interviewed under different categories of news stories on
 - 4.1. e-tv
 - 4.2. SABC2
 - 4.3. SABC3
5. Reporters on different categories
 - 5.1. e-tv
 - 5.2. SABC2
 - 5.3. SABC3
6. Status of people mentioned and interviewed in news stories on
 - 6.1. e-tv
 - 6.2. SABC2
 - 6.3. SABC3
7. General overview of the presence of women compared with men on
 - 7.1. e-tv
 - 7.2. SABC2
 - 7.3. SABC3

The evaluation procedure for all these stations is the same throughout.

In breaking down the stories into different categories I used my own classification because some of the stories are not categorised in the news. e-tv has the following categories; *Top stories, News around Africa, Arts, Business, Sports, and Weather.* SABC2 and SABC3 have its categories as *Top stories, International news, Local news, Business news, Sports news and Weather.* I therefore drew my own categories that are applicable to all bulletins recorded and I used my own discretion to assess the stories and see where they fitted more appropriately. The categories that were used to analyse the news stories are the following:

1. Arts
2. Around Africa
3. Business/Financial
4. Community/Development
5. Crime/Violence
6. Disaster
7. Environment
8. Health and Medicine
9. International
10. Political
11. Political Crime
12. Sports
13. Weather

The news has been broken down into thirteen categories, which help in drawing the types of stories that feature women most and those that feature men most.

Limitations of the research

The initial intention of this research was to also find out the general age group of women featured on television news. This proved difficult because the age of the news subjects is not mentioned on the news. I therefore decided not to include it as one of the characteristics defining the kind of women and men present in the news.

Another limitation was the timing of the recording of the news for analysis, which coincided with the period after the events of the 11th September 2001 in New York. Following the attacks of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, most of the coverage of the news focussed on the developments of this story. This resulted in a somewhat skewed coverage of other events, particularly local news.

Data Analysis

The following section includes an attempt at a comparative analysis of news stories on South African television stations, e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3. To carry out the research, four stages of the presence of women have been differentiated.

- First, the presence of gender was measured focussing on the number of female news presenters/readers against that of males.
- The second stage involves looking at the presence of women as reporters of news.
- The third stage assesses the presence of men and women as the protagonists and experts of news stories.
- Finally we look at the social representation of gender in news by finding out how women are referred to in news and how they are featured generally.

1. The presence of men and women as news presenters/readers

Looking at the news presenters/readers of news, all the three television channels had more men than women. On e-tv, the total number of the appearances of newsreaders for seven days was 22². 15 times of the news reading was done by men, while only seven was done by women. In looking at the representation of race, e-tv had more white male newsreaders than black male newsreaders. The number of readers calculated here included not only the presenter/s who introduced the news, but it also included the other anchors of different categories of news like *Sports news*, *Weather*, *Business news* and so on. Of the 15 male readers/presenters, 10 were white male while only five were black. The same pattern applied even to women where there were no black female newsreaders. All the seven women readers were white women.

² The number of the newsreaders was measured according to the number of times that readers appeared in news reading. For all the channels, some of the newsreaders appeared the whole week and they were calculated as they appeared.

Total number of e-tv newsreaders per week

Gender	White	Black	Total
Male	10	5	15
Female	7	-	7

Table 1.1

We had a different trend in terms of the presence of race in SABC2 where there were no white newsreaders due to the languages used. SABC2 news was broadcast in Sotho languages; Sotho, Pedi and Tswana, and so the presenters for this channel were people who can speak the language fluently and with whom black people can identify. However, SABC2, like e-tv, had fewer women than men as newsreaders. The numbers, though they were not as unrepresentative as e-tv, still showed men outnumbering women. For a period of seven days, there were 20 presenters/newsreaders. Of these 20, 11 were male newsreaders and nine were women.

Total number of SABC2 newsreaders per week

Gender	White	Black	Total
Male	-	11	11
Female	-	9	9

Table 1.2

SABC3 had a total number of 14 newsreaders per week. Of the 14 newsreaders, nine were men while five were women. Unlike e-tv where black women were completely absent in news reading, SABC3 had more black women than white women newsreaders. Four of the five female presenters were black women and there was one white woman presenting the news. However, with the male news presenters, white male presenters outnumbered black male news presenters. Out of nine male newsreaders per week, only three were black men and six of them were white men.

Total number of SABC3 newsreaders per week

Gender	White	Black	Total
Male	6	3	9
Female	1	4	5

Table 1.3

1. The presence of men and women as journalists/ reporters on television news

The number of journalists and the gender balance vary from one station to another. e-tv showed both men and women journalists to be significantly present, but more in terms of gender balance than race balance. Actually, e-tv seemed to have slightly more women than men as news reporters³. Out of 77 news reporters present on e-tv, 38 were men while 39 were women. However disparity existed in the representation of race. Of the 38 male reporters, only six were white men while 32 were black men. On the other hand, in terms of women, there was almost equal representation of race where we had 19 black women and 20 white women. Generally the group that seemed to be under represented is that of white male journalists.

e-tv news reporters

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	2	5	4	4	6	6	5	32
WM	-	1	1	1	3	-	-	6
BW	2	3	3	3	5	2	1	19
WW	4	2	4	3	3	2	2	20

Table 2.1

In terms of reporters, SABC2 followed its own trend since the nine o'clock news is broadcast in African languages and therefore has no white journalists. An extreme under-representation of women as reporters against that of male reporters was evident in assessing SABC2. The total number of reporters for the whole week was 56. Of these 56 reporters, only 13 were women. The remaining 43 news reporters were men. This revealed disparity between the presence of women and men as reporters.

³ For news reporters as well, the calculation have been done by the number of times that a man and/or a woman appeared reporting. Most of the reporters rotated in the seven days of the recording.

SABC2 news reporters

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	3	8	6	3	9	7	7	43
WM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
BW	1	1	3	5	5	2	1	13
WW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Table 2.2

Looking at SABC3, one still finds significantly less representation of female reporters than that of male reporters. Over seven days, SABC3 had 80 journalists reporting on news stories. All 50 of these were male reporters while only 30 were women. As has been the case with e-tv, the number of black male journalists outnumbered that of white male journalists. Of 50 male news reporters, 28 of them were black men and only 22 were white men. With female journalists, it was white female reporters who dominate black female reporters in terms of numbers. Out of the 30 female reporters, only 13 are black women while 17 are white women.

SABC3 news reporters

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	4	5	3	4	2	4	6	28
WM	4	1	5	3	6	1	2	22
BW	1	3	1	1	2	2	3	13
WW	3	4	2	1	2	3	2	17

Table 2.3

All the channels showed a larger proportion of male reporters to that of female reporters. e-tv was exceptional in its allocation of female journalists where there was a slight dominance of female journalists to that of male journalists. In contrast, SABC2 was appalling in its allocation of female versus male journalists. Thirteen women against 43 men revealed a huge gap that showed an extreme under-representation of women. SABC3 on the other hand showed a better presence of women than SABC2, though there were still more men.

3. The presence of gender in the protagonists of news stories

Protagonists are people who are central characters to the stories; as subjects of the stories, people whom stories are about. The number of women who were protagonists in television news stories was overwhelmingly low compared to that of male protagonists.

On e-tv, the total number of protagonists on the entire stories recorded over one week was 58. The female protagonists amounted to only 12 while the other (46) were male. Asian women were completely absent as subjects of news stories while black and white women were similarly the least covered with seven black women and five white women. Conversely the number of men covered as main players within news stories was almost equally divided between all races under consideration. There were more black men, 20, then 19 Asian men, and finally there were 17 white men. Refer to figure 3.2.

The number of protagonists on e-tv⁴

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	2	2	3	5	1	3	4	20
WM	-	2	1	5	5	3	1	17
BW	-	1	1	3	2	-	-	7
WW	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	5
AM	3	2	3	5	1	3	2	19
AW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Table3.1

A similar pattern was recorded on SABC2, as significant in its coverage of women as protagonists against that of men. Out of a total of 87 protagonists covered by news stories for seven days, only nine were women. The other 78 protagonists were men. Again there was a complete absence of Asian women. There was only one black woman protagonist while the other eight women were white. There was a significant balance between the coverage of black men as the central characters of the news stories on SABC2 compared

⁴ The following abbreviations stand for: BM – Black men; WM – white men; BW – Black women; WW – White women; AM – Asian men and AW – Asian women.

to that of white and Asian men. Black male protagonists amounted to 38. Twenty-seven were white and only 13 were Asian men. Refer to figure 3.2.

The number of the protagonists on SABC2

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	2	4	3	5	2	12	10	38
WM	2	4	9	4	6	1	1	27
BW	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
WW	-	2	2	1	-	3	-	8
AM	2	6	2	2	1	-	-	13
AW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Table 3.2

The trend of less coverage of women as the main subjects of news stories was also revealed in SABC3. Here, the total number of protagonists in the news stories amounted to 105. Ninety-six of those protagonists were men and only nine were female protagonists. Unlike on e-tv and SABC2, there was minimal presence of Asian women where only one of all the protagonists covered was an Asian woman. Both black and white women were minimally covered as the protagonists of stories; there were only three black women and five white women. With male protagonists, Asian men were the least represented compared to black men and white men. Of the 96 male protagonists covered by the news programmes, only 21 of them were Asian men. The total number of white male protagonists was 40 compared to black male protagonists, which was 35.

3.3.The number of the protagonists on SABC3

Gender/ Race	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	28th	29th	Total
BM	5	3	2	3	2	11	9	35
WM	5	6	8	7	8	5	1	40
BW	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
WW	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
AM	5	4	2	3	2	2	3	21
AW	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table 3.3

The three channels, e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3 showed a significant under-representation of women who were covered as news protagonists. Asian women were almost completely absent with only one Asian woman covered on SABC3. Both black and white women were the least represented as central characters with SABC2 having only one woman out of nine as a black female protagonist. e-tv and SABC2 had more of black men against white men in their coverage of protagonists in news stories. SABC3 however showed white male protagonists outnumbering black male protagonists. Contrary to SABC3, e-tv showed Asian men as outnumbering white male protagonists.

4. The presence of gender in different news categories

The following section looks at the presence of male and female persons in different categories of news as people mentioned and interviewed. The motive behind breaking down news stories into categories is to check in which categories of news where women are more present. This will also help in detecting any stereotypical notions in the representation of women. I have devised 13 categories that comprise television news. These categories for analysis are: *Arts news*, *news Around Africa*, *Business/Financial news*, *Disaster news*, *Environment news*, *International news*, *Political news*, *Political Crime*, *Sports news* and *Weather*.

Arts news covered all artistic activities like music, dancing, poetry and literature. *News around Africa* as the title suggests, concerned about any news stories on African countries outside South Africa. *Business/Financial news* concentrated on news about economics; the markets and stock exchanges. To cater for 'good' news stories that were reported on television, I devised the category of *Community/Development news*, which dealt with positive happenings that people do for the community, works of charity and development activities in the country. All the Crime and Violence stories reported on the news was covered under *Crime and Violence news*. *Disaster news* concerned natural disasters and terrible accidents where people lost their lives. *Environment news* on the other hand covered stories on the cleanliness of the environment and all the geographical issues reported on television. *Health and Medicine news* dealt with health issues in the country, the politics around doctors, nurses, community workers, clinics and hospitals in

the country. *International news* covered all the news reported from countries outside the borders of Africa. *Political news* covered the governance of South Africa and related issues. To cater for the *Political* news that was reported with an element of crime and violence, the category of *Political Crime* had to be devised. As the title suggests, *Sports news* concerned sports activities in the country and sports politics like the case of Hansie Cronje and the election of South African Football Association (SAFA) members. The final category was *Weather*.

e-tv news.

In analysing at the different news categories on e-tv, all exhibited a greater representation of male than female protagonists. Some of the categories had no women as experts – either those interviewed or mentioned on the news. On e-tv, no women were present in any of the reports from the four categories: *news around Africa*, *Business news*, *Disaster news* and *Sports news*. Under the section of *news around Africa*, the total number of people featured was five and all were black men. Where nine people were mentioned and interviewed in *Business/Finance news*, eight of them were white men and only one was a black man with no coverage of women. On *Disaster news* there was equal representation of black and white men; two white men and two black men and no women. The most overwhelming section was that of *Sports news* where there was a total number of 39 persons but no woman was featured. The number of white men exceeded black men with the maximum of 22 white men against only 16 black men.

In other categories there was an extremely minimal presence of women. On *Arts news*, there were 12 persons featured of which eight were men and only four were women (three were black and one white). *Community and development news* also showed a little presence of women with only one black woman featuring out of four people including two black men and one white man. Men also dominated the category of *Crime and Violence*. The total number of persons under this category was 23. Seventeen of these were men while only six were women. Blacks of both sexes outnumbered whites. Of the seventeen men featured, eleven were black and six were white. With women, five of the six women featured were black and only one was white. *International news and Political*

news showed a huge gap in the presence of men against that of women. The total number of persons featured in this category was 77. Only thirteen of these were women while the rest (64) were men. White men, followed by Asian men dominated this category, while the presence of eight black men is just as low as that of women. With women, the least represented were Asian women. Of the thirteen women featured in this category of *International news*, only two were Asian. The presence of black and white women on the other hand was almost equal with five black women and six white women. Black men on the other hand dominated *Political news* and both white men and women were equally represented. Of the 21 persons featured in this category, sixteen of them were men, with black men outnumbering (eleven black men and only five white men and five black women and no white women).

Political Crime news and *Environment news* had almost equal presence of both men and women. Even though women did not dominate in *Health and Medicine news*, their presence was significant. Out of nine persons featured under this section, five of them were all black men and four of them were women; three black women and one white woman.

The presence of men and women on diverse news categories on e-tv

Gen der/ Race	News Categories												
	Ar ts	Around Africa	Business/ Finance	Community/ Development	Crime/ Violence	Disaster	Enviro nment	Heal th/ Med	Intern ational	Politic al	Political Crime	Sports	We ath er
BM	8	5	8	2	11	2	1	5	8	11	3	16	-
WM	0	0	1	1	6	2	1	0	29	5	0	22	-
BW	3	0	0	1	5	0	1	3	5	5	2	0	-
WW	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	-
IAM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	1	0	1	-
IAW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	-
TT	1 2	5	9	4	23	4	3	9	77	22	5	39	-

Table 4.1

SABC2 news

SABC2 also followed the trend of featuring more men than women in all the news categories. There were no reports on Arts news. In the sections, *news around Africa* and *Political news*, women were completely absent. Surprisingly, even white men were completely absent in these categories. In other categories; *Business/Finance*, *Crime and Violence news*, *Environment news* and *International news* featured women even though their number was far less than that of men. *Business news* featured 10 persons of whom only one was a white woman, and the other nine were men (five white men and four black men). *Crime and Violence news* also showed only one woman as covered in this category out of 11 persons featured. Six of these were black men while only four were white men.

International news particularly revealed the extreme results of the dominance of men against women in terms of their presence. Out of 32 persons featured in this category, only two were women; one black woman and one white woman. Thirty people were men; seventeen white men, nine Asian men and four black men. White male news subjects hugely outnumbered other groups in this category and the presence of black men was almost as insignificant as that of women.

Unlike e-tv which showed no women, *Sports news* in SABC2 did reveal a minimal presence of women. In this category, both black and white men were almost equally prominent. The total number of persons mentioned and interviewed on *Sports news* over was 46. Thirty-four of these were men; 18 white men and 16 black men, and only 12 were women; seven black women and five white women. A slight significance in the presence of women was observed in *Health and Medicine news*. Here women were featured almost as significantly compared to men. Out of seven persons mentioned and interviewed under this category, four of them were women (two black women and two white women), and only three were men, all black. This was the only section of news on SABC2 that featured more women than men. The rest of the news categories revealed the dominant presence of men against that of women.

The presence of men women in different news categories on SABC2

Gender/Race	News Categories												
	Arts	Around Africa	Business/Finance	Community Development	Crime/Violence	Disaster	Environment	Health/Medicine	International	Political	Political Crime	Sport	Weather
BM	-	5	4	9	6	0	0	3	4	4	4	16	-
WM	-	0	5	9	4	2	1	0	17	0	2	18	-
BW	-	0	0	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	6	7	-
WW	-	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	5	-
IAM	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	1	0	-
IAW	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
TT	-	5	10	22	11	4	1	7	32	4	13	46	-

Table 4.2

SABC3 news.

The dominance of men was also apparent SABC3. In all the categories that made daily television news, except for that of *news around Africa*, for the period of time covered by the research, men significantly outnumbered of women. In some categories, there was a complete absence of women covered as news subjects. First was *Arts news*, which had only black men (five), as the persons mentioned and interviewed on television news. *Crime and Violence news* had 10 black men and only three white men featured. *Disaster news* revealed an equal representation of race of the male persons featured where there were two black men and two white men. Black men dominated in *Political news* where there were only three white men out of the 13 men featured on this category. In all the other categories, there was the most minimal coverage of women as news subjects. In *Community and Development news*, out of the 14 people featured only two were women – white women - and the other 12 people are men (seven black men and five white men). Unlike in SABC2 and e-tv, the category of *Health and Medicine* was dominated by black men and **not** by women. There were only two women out of eight persons mentioned and interviewed (five black men and one white man). *Political Crime* section also revealed the same trend of a minimal representation of women with only two black women covered against seven men (four black men and three white men).

Taking *International news*, *Business news* and *Sports news* for example, the gap between the representation of gender and race was insignificant. Looking at *Business news*, out of 20 persons featured under this category, 10 of them were white men while six were black men and only four were women and all were white women. With *International news*, women were almost absent, making only a minimal number of four out of all the 60 persons covered under this category. Asian women were completely absent as news subjects while both black and white women were equally present; 2:2. Though the count of men amounted to such a huge number against that of women on *International news*, that did not mean that all men of all races were represented equally. Black men were the least featured, as in all the channels under this category, with only five out of all 56 men covered. White men were dominant with the total number of 33 and only 18 Asian men. Men unquestionably dominated Sports news. While the total number of persons featured in this category was 62, only 11 were women (seven white women and four black women). The other 51 news subjects came from men with white men dominating; 28 white men and only 23 black men.

The presence of men and women in different categories on SABC3

Gender/Race	News Categories												
	Arts	Around Africa	Business/Finance	Community Development	Crime/Violence	Disaster	Environment	Health/Med.	International	Political	Political Crime	Sports	Weather
BM	5	-	6	7	10	2	0	5	5	10	4	23	-
WM	0	-	10	5	3	2	0	1	33	3	3	28	-
BW	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	4	-
WW	0	-	4	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	7	-
IAM	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	-
IAW	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
TT	5	-	20	14	13	4	1	8	60	13	9	62	-

Table 4.3

Summary

The representation of women in all channels was very low; almost insignificant. However, the study showed that not all men were represented in all the categories. Some of the categories had a greater number of white men while black men dominated in others. Looking at SABC2 and SABC3, white men were dominant in *Business/Finance news* while e-tv was the opposite. Black men dominated in *Business news*. White men generally seemed to have a huge presence that was dominating to both black and Asian men on the category of *International news*. However, the presence of Asian men was much more significant when compared to that of black men. Even in *Sports news* the presence of white men dominated that of black men in all channels. Of all the categories, black men seemed to be dominating more on the section of *Crime and Violence* as well as in *Political news*. These were the outstanding categories where we had dominance of black men in all the categories.

There are no categories in which women were completely dominant. In some categories, their presence was notable but did not dominate that of men. In some categories, not all women were represented in terms of only some racial categories. Looking at *Business news* for example, women who were featured on both SABC2 and SABC3 were only white. On the other hand, black women were featured more on the categories like that of *Political news* and *Political and Crime and Violence news*. In some categories, even though both black and white women were featured, some women dominated others. An example in this regard can be that of the section of *Health and Medicine* where the presence of black women dominated that of white women.

5. The presence of men and women as reporters in different categories

The intention of this section is to examine the presence of men and women as reporters of different section of news. The aim is to find out which categories have more of women reporting and which ones have men dominating as reporters.

Considering e-tv, there was unequal proportion of the presence of male and female journalists. Generally black men reported in almost all the categories. The presence of

white men on the other hand was very minimal against that of black men with an exception of *Arts news* where there was dominance of white male journalists. Out of six reporters in this category, five of them were white men and only one was a black man. This category had no female reporters. The three sections: *news around Africa*, *Business news* and *Sports news* had an extremely poor presence of women journalists compared to that of men. On the section of *news around Africa*, the total number of journalists was five (four black men and only one white woman). There were no black women and white men reporters in this category. *Business news* also had the same figures where only one white woman was present compared to three black male reporters. Similarly, this category lacked black women and white men. The figures in *Sports news* showed an overwhelming gap in the presence of men compared to women. There were 10 journalists who reported on *Sports news*. All the nine of them were black men when only one was a white woman. The same trend of complete absence of black women reporters and white men reporters existed even on *Sports news*.

There are a few categories where there was a significant presence of women reporters. On *International news*, there were more women reporting than men. Out of the 24 journalists who reported on *International news* for the whole period of seven days, 14 of them were women, with white women dominating; eight white women and six black women. Only 10 were men (seven black men and three white men). Though both black women and white men were present in this category, their presence was still overshadowed by both white women and black men. *Political news* reporting also showed significant dominance of women. Of the 11 journalists who reported in this category, five were white women and three black women and only three were men; all black. There was no presence of white men in this category. *The Weather* was exceptional in its total absence of male reporters. For all seven days of reporting on weather, only women reported with a significant dominance of white women: six white women and only one black woman. White women had a 100% presence and dominance on *Community and Development news*. There were four reporters on this category and all of them were white women.

Some of the categories had an almost equal presence of both men and women though the representation of white men was insignificant. In the category of *Crime and Violence*, there were more men present than women, with black men dominating. Out of the eight reporters in this category, four of them were black men, two were white men and only two were women (one white and one black). *Health and Medicine* category had equal representation of men and women as reporters though white people were completely absent in this category: one black man and one black woman. In *Political Crime news* there was only one reporter, a black man. Generally on e-tv the presence of women was significant though white women were more prevalent. On the other hand, most male reporters were black and the presence of white men was extremely low compared to all the reporters on this television channel.

The presence of men and women as reporters on different news categories on e-tv

Gender/ Race	News Categories												
	Arts	Around Africa	Business/ Finance	Community/ Dev.	Crime/ Violence	Disaster	Environment	Health/ Medicine	International	Political	Political Crime	Sports	Weather
BM	1	4	3	0	4	-	-	1	7	3	1	9	0
WM	5	0	0	0	1	-	-	0	3	0	0	0	0
BW	0	0	0	0	1	-	-	1	6	3	0	0	1
WW	0	1	1	4	2	-	-	0	8	5	0	1	6
TT	6	5	4	4	8	-	-	2	24	11	1		7

Table 5.1

Since the news bulletins sampled for this study on SABC2 were reported in African languages, Sotho, Pedi and Tswana, the issue of race is not highlighted in this study, as all the reporters were black people. In analysing the data on SABC2, only gender issues are discussed. The presence of women and men was extremely unequal in most of the categories showing figures of male dominance and only a few with women dominating. It was only in the category of *news around Africa* in which there was an equal representation of both sexes. There were only two reporters in this category, one was a man and the other was a woman. Otherwise, as many as six categories were dominated

by male reporters. In *Business/Finance news*, there were seven journalists who reported, five of these were male while only two were female reporters. On the sections of *Community and Development news* as well as *Disaster news*, there was a complete absence of women as reporters. All the six journalists who reported under *Community and Development news* were men. On *Disaster news*, one journalist who reported was male.

The minimal representation of women as reporters was also confirmed in *International news* where we had all the seven reporters out of nine as men and only two women. Similar to e-tv, SABC2 *Sports news* was dominated almost totally by male reporters. The total number of 10 reporters out of 11 was of male journalists and only one person was a female journalist. All the mentioned categories had male dominance. There was no reporting on *Arts news and Environment news*. The four categories remaining revealed women reporters dominating. In *Crime and Violence news*, there was a minimal presence of male reporters where there were seven female reporters out of nine journalists and only two male reporters. In *Health and Medicine* category, out of the three journalists who reported, two were women and only one was a man. There was also a huge dominance of women reporters on *Political Crime news* with a total of five compared to that of men (two). Similar to e-tv, there were more women on *Weather* on this channel. Out of seven reporters, only two were men while the rest of five were women. Looking generally at the figures, the presence of men seemed to be dominant against that of women in many news categories.

The presence of men and women as reporters on different news categories of SABC2

Gender/race	News Categories												
	Arts	Around Africa	Business/Finance	Community/Dev.	Crime/Violence	Disaster	Environment	Health/Med.	International	Political	Political Crime	Sports	Weather
BM	-	1	5	6	2	1	-	1	7	3	2	10	2
WM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BW	-	1	2	0	7	0	-	2	2	2	5	1	5
WW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TT	-	2	7	6	9	1	-	3	9	5		11	7

Table 5.2

As in all the channels, SABC3 had a significant, but not dominating presence of women as reporters in different categories. This means that male reporters, in terms of figures, still outnumbered female reporters. Only one person who was a white male journalist reports on *Arts news*. There was no reporting on *news around Africa*. In the category of *Community and Development* we had better representation of men than women with black men dominating. Out of six reporters in this category, four were black men and two were white men and only one was a woman (black). Men also dominated the section of *Health and Medicine*. A huge dominance of male reporters, particularly white male, in the *International news* category was found. Out of 14 journalists in this category, only five were women (four white women and one black). The other nine were male reporters with a significant number of six white men and three black men. In *Sports news*, SABC3 followed the same trend as e-tv and SABC2 where there was an overwhelming presence of male reporters, especially black men. The total number of journalists reporting on *Sports news* was 27. Only three of these journalists were women (two white women and one black woman). All the 24 journalists were men with black men extremely outnumbering white men (17 black men and seven white men). In *Weather*, it was only men reporting and all of them were white men⁵.

There were however a few categories which showed a slight precedence of female reporters over male reporters. The category of *Crime and Violence* was completely reported by women (two white women and one black woman). This trend was also seen in *Environment news* where out of three journalists who reported, two were white women while one was a white man. *Political news* also featured only white female journalists though they were outnumbered by men (two white women and three black men). There was only one category that showed equal presence of men and women though race was not equally represented. *Political Crime* had only one black male reporter and one white reporter. Also, only one category reflected the dominant presence of black women reporters against that of white women – *Business/Financial news*. Out of the total number of eight journalists on *Business/Financial news*, four were black women and four men (one black man and three white men).

Generally SABC3 seemed to have stronger presence of white women than that of black women. In all the categories where there were a proportion of women reporters, white women seemed to dominate. With male reporters, black men outnumbered white male reporters.

5.3 The presence of men and women as news reporters on different categories on SABC3

Gender/ race	News Categories												
	Arts	Around Africa	Business/ Finance	Comm unity/ Dev.	Crime/ Violen ce	Disa ster	Enviro nment	Health /Med.	Intern ational	Politic al	Political/ Crime/ Violence	Spor ts	Weat her
BM	0	-	1	4	0	0	0	1	3	3	1	17	0
WM	1	-	3	0	0	1	1	2	6	0	0	7	7
BW	0	-	4	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
WW	0	-	0	1	1	0	2	1	4	2	1	2	0
TT	1	-	8	6	3	1	3	4	14		2	27	8

Table 5.3

⁵ *Weather* was reported by only one person for the whole week. The calculation was done by appearance of a male reporter.

Summary

On all the three channels, e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3, we saw a notable presence of women as reporters, though men still dominated. There were, however, some categories where men outnumbered women in a remarkable way. Both *International news* and *Sports news* had a significantly low number of women as journalists in all channels. On SABC3, white male journalists outnumbered black male journalists. In *Sports news* on the other hand, we had more black male reporters than white male reporters. There was a general lack of white men as reporters on e-tv. On SABC channels, all the categories where there were male reporters had black men dominating. In contrast, e-tv exhibited a different trend, employing more white female journalists than black female journalists. This also applied to SABC3 where we had a minimal presence of black female journalists compared to that of white female journalists. For e-tv there were only white women reporting on *Weather* for all seven days of recorded bulletins, while on SABC3 there were only white male reporters on this category. With SABC2, women outnumbered men in the *Weather*. One observation concerning the reporters on both e-tv and SABC3 was that there was an imbalance of race representation among the reporters. As already mentioned, e-tv lacked white journalists while SABC3 had fewer black female journalists. Only black people on the other hand reported on SABC2.

6. Status of people on news programmes

News discourse concentrates on prominent social actors who are at the centre of current affairs. From the recorded news bulletins, there was a whole range of social actors covered as subjects of the news. This section looks at the status of men and women who are featured in the news. The aim behind this study is to find out how the women who are covered in the news are featured, how they are referred to and what class position they occupy in society. To make the analysis precise, the range of positions people occupy on the news has been narrowed to the top 10 general social actors that make news discourse. The categories identified for the purpose of this research are:

1. Sportsmen/women, members and representatives of teams and national and international leagues.

2. Anonymous members of the public and victims of crime and disaster.
3. Executive power persons: Managers, CEOs, Directors and religious leaders.
4. Heads of the governments/states.
5. Political leaders, ministers, government representatives and representatives of organisations and unions.
6. Member of the judiciary.
7. 'Terrorists' and criminals.
8. Police/soldiers; members of public order force and security.
9. Businessmen/women, members of financial groups and the stock exchange.
10. Experts in different professional fields; academics, medical doctors, musicians, poets et cetera.

The following section looks at the presence of men and women as the top social actors in the society who make the television news. The three channels are compared to see the class position women who are present in news tend to belong to.

1. Sportsmen/women, members and representatives of teams and national or international leagues

e-tv.

This category covers all sports persons; players of different sports, coaches, teams captains, managers of teams and of sports clubs as well as member of unions formed for different sports like SAFA for soccer. An analysis of e-tv revealed that in this category, men greatly overshadowed women with a startling 94.7% presence. Fifty-two percent of all the sports persons featured were black men while 42.1% were white men. Though men dominated in this category, black men acting as sports persons were more dominant than white men. The single woman presented here was a white sportswoman.

SABC2

Compared to e-tv, SABC2 revealed a slightly better representation of women though men still dominated with a maximum of 76.2% and women occupied only 23.8%. As on e-tv, black sports men outnumbered white sportsmen occupying 42.9% while white men were

featured with 33.3%. The dominance of race was also revealed with the representation of women where more white women were shown acting as sportswomen than black women. Of the 23.8% presence of women as sports persons, 19% were white women and 4.8% were black women.

SABC3.

SABC3 followed the same trend of having a minimal representation of women as sports persons. The sportsmen covered in this bulletin outnumbered sportswomen by massive 85% to 15%. However, SABC3 was unique with its representation of white men, which dominated that of black men acting as the sports persons. Of the 85% presence of sportsmen on SABC3, 58.8% were white men and 41.2% were black men. There were absolutely no black sportswomen featured. The 15% representation of women in this category was only made up of white women.

2. Anonymous members of the public and victims of crime and disasters

In this category of social actors who make news, the concentration was on people who gave their testimony opinion on the news without necessarily being acknowledged and the victims of all the criminal acts and disasters reported on the news.

e-tv.

On e-tv, men made more frequent appearances than women as the anonymous members of the public and as victims of crimes or assault with the maximum of 64.3% while the representation of women were only 35.7%. With the male members of the public and victims, e-tv revealed Asian men were more present than black men who were covered under this category. White men were not represented at all. Of the 64.3% of male members of the public, 35.7% of them were Asian men while black men only occupied 28.6% of all men covered. White women were also not represented as anonymous members of the public and as victims. The only women featured under this category were black women as well as a few Asian women. Asian women occupied 7.1% of all the women featured as anonymous members of the public and as victims while black women occupied all the 28.6% of the 35.7% presence of women in general.

SABC2

SABC2 similarly showcased more men than women in the category of anonymous members of the public and as victims. Fifty-five point six percent of the persons covered under this category were men while women made up 44.4%. Of the 55.6% of men featured under this category, 27.8% of them were white men and black men were represented 22.2% while Asian men made a minimal appearance of only 5.6%. Among women, black and white women were almost equally represented with a slight dominance of black women. Of the 44.4% women who were anonymous members of the public and as victims, 23.4% were black women and only 19% were white women.

SABC3

SABC3 also covered a large number of men compared to women who were anonymous members of the public as well as victims. Of all the 73.9% of men covered on SABC3, black men were overwhelmingly dominant in this category. Of the total number of men featured here, 80% were black men while both white men and Asian men made the minimal appearance of only 20% altogether (4% of Asian men and 16% of white men). Women on the other hand, only made a minor presence of 26.1% as anonymous members of the public and as victims. There was significant absence of Asian women covered in this category. However, black women dominated white women with the difference of 83% black women and only 16.7% white women.

3. Persons with executive power: Managers, CEOs, Directors and Religious leaders e-tv

People who were covered acting as persons with the executive power on e-tv were mostly men with women making a minimal presence of 6.7%. The other 93.3% were men with an overwhelming presence of black men. Of all the men featured as the executive power persons – 93.3%, (66.7% of them came from black men while both white and Asian men made only 26.7%: 20% white men and 6.7% of International Asian men).

SABC2

SABC2 showed only men representing members of the executive power on the news – a 100% representation. Only black and white men made the list of executive power persons covered in the news and both had equal representation with the ratio, 1:1. Asian men were not covered. There was a complete absence of women featured as actors in the executive power.

SABC3

SABC3 in the same way revealed a predominance of men representing the majority of the executive power persons with women making a minimal presence of only 7.7%. The other 92.3% were men, with slightly more black men, 53.8% compared to 38.5% white men. The 7.7% of women represented was made up of only black women.

Generally, the persons who were featured on television news as holding the executive power were predominantly men. There were a few women who were covered representing the actions of the members of the executive.

4. Heads of government/states

e-tv

Under these social actors on e-tv, not a single woman was represented as a head of the government. Only men, of all races were covered as the heads of governments and of states. E-tv showed more white male heads of the governments/states than either black or Asian men. The representation of white men made a maximum of 44% compared to that of Asian men who made 33.3% and that of black men occupying only 22.2%.

SABC2

SABC2 covered slightly more of the Asian men than both white and black men as the heads of the government/states, making a presence of 42% of all the persons covered under this category. It must be remembered that in the wake of the September 11 2001, heads of Arab and Asian states were high in the *International news* agenda. White and black men were equally represented with 28.6% each race.

SABC3

SABC3 also showed the dominance of Asian men as the heads of governments/states compared to both black men and white men under this category. Asian men occupied a maximum of 66.7% while white men were represented with 22% and only 11.1% were black heads of the government/states covered on SABC3.

5. Political leaders, ministers and representatives of governments, organizations and unions

Under this category we had a diverse range of social actors covered by the television news in all the stations under review. Surprisingly, there was an overwhelming coverage of women representing the majority actions of members of the political leaders and representatives of governments, organizations and unions.

e-tv

On e-tv, there was only one woman out of the 32 persons covered under this category of social actors. Men made up to 96.9% of the group with almost equal representation of white men, black men as well as Asian men.

SABC2

Similarly, SABC2 showed a minimal representation of women who were featured as political leaders, ministers and representatives of governments, organisations and unions. Of the 15 social actors covered by news under this category, only two of them were women politicians (13.4%). There was a significantly larger percentage of black men, who represented 53.3%, to that of white men, who comprised 33.3%. Asians were completely absent.

SABC3

SABC3 was similar to SABC2 in that they both reflected an extreme under representation of women as politicians where we had only two women out of 29 persons covered under this category as political leaders - all white. The 93.1% of men was comprised of more white men making a maximum entry of 44.8% against 41% of black men and only 13.8% Asian men. There were no black female politicians represented on SABC3.

6. Members of the judiciary

This section covers all the legal persons covered on television news.

e-tv

e-tv figures showed a total absence of women featured as the members of the judiciary. Out of all males covered as members of the judiciary, white men dominated with the maximum of 80%. Black men on the other hand made a minimal entry of only 20%. There were no Asian male legal persons covered under this category.

SABC2

Contrary to e-tv, SABC2 showed a larger presence of women acting as member of the judiciary, even outnumbering that of men. A maximum of 54.5% of persons covered as members of the judiciary were women, with both black and white women represented equally. Men on the other hand were represented with only 45.5% (27.3% of black men and 18.2% of white men).

SABC3

SABC3 featured a few women who belonged to the judiciary. Of all the persons featured as members of the judiciary, women were represented with a minimum of only 27% while men were substantially represented with a maximum of 72.7% (white men occupied 45.4% and black men comprised of only 27.3%).

7. Terrorists/Criminals

Not many persons generally were featured as terrorists/criminals on television news on all the channels. A minimal presence of women is only found on e-tv where a single white woman was presented. Both black and white men were equally represented with the ratio of 1:1.

Both SABC2 and SABC3 featured no women in the role of terrorist/criminals. The few people featured in this category were all men. SABC2 lacked white men as criminals. Two persons featured were black men while only one was Asian. SABC3 showed the

opposite results where no black men were covered as terrorists or criminals. Of the three terrorists/criminals featured on SABC3, two were Asian men and one was a white man.

8. Police/Soldiers and members of the public order and security

e-tv

On e-tv, there were only black and white men featured as police/soldiers and members of the public order force with black men dominating by 20%.

SABC2

SABC2 on the other hand showed the dominance of Asian men (51.7%), as actors of security and peace keeping in news. Black men occupied 28.6% of security persons and only 14% of white men. There were no female security persons featured under this category.

SABC3

SABC3 was exceptional in featuring one black woman in this category though the representation of women remained insignificant compared to that of men. Male persons who were featured under this category amounted to a maximum of 85.7% with both black and white men equally represented: 3:3.

9. Businessmen/women; members of financial groups and stock exchange

e-tv

On e-tv, there was a single white woman out of eight businesspersons covered in news. There was a huge dominance of white men compared with black men (60% and 30% black men). Asian men were not represented.

SABC2

Contrary to e-tv, SABC2 figures revealed a slight dominance in the presence of women acting as businesswomen. Sixty percent of the persons featured under this category were women while men only amounted to 40% with equal representation of both black and white men.

SABC3

Surprisingly, SABC3 showed a huge gap in its coverage of male and female businesspersons. There were more men than women making a maximum entry of 66.7% with white men greatly outnumbering black men. Fifty-five percent of all men featured were white men and black businessmen occupied only 11.7%. The 33.3% of women who featured as businesswomen were all white women. Seemingly in all channels, all businesswomen featured were white. There were absolutely no black businesswomen featured on television news of all three channels.

10. Experts in different professional fields; Medical doctors, academics, musicians, actors, choreographers et cetera

e-tv

On e-tv, the presence of men amounted to as much as 72.7% with a significant dominance of black men, (50% black men; 18% white men and only 18.2% Asian men). The presence of women on the other hand amounted to only 27.3% with both black and white women equally represented with the ratio of 3:3.

SABC2

SABC2 also revealed a predominance of men (68.4%), who were featured as experts in different fields while white men were dominated with 36.8% of the 68.4% of male experts featured and only 31.6% were black men. Asian men were entirely absent as experts on SABC2 news. Women experts made a better entry of representation with a minimal amount of 31.6%. The presence of black women was dominant to that of white women with the ratio of 4:2.

SABC3

In the same way, SABC3 covered a far less number of female experts in different fields compared to that of male experts. Of all the persons featured as experts on SABC3, women only represented 23.8% compared to male experts who occupied 76.2%. White women's presence slightly dominated that of black women with the ration of 3:2. Asian

women experts were not covered by the news on all the channels under review. Both black and white male experts were equally with the ratio of 8:8.

Summary

Collectively, in all the channels, women were the least represented in the entire top ten actors of the society compared to men. There was a huge predominance of men in all the categories mentioned. In terms of race, there were more black male social actors than white men on most of the categories; terrorists/criminals, anonymous members of the public, persons with the executive power, political leaders, police and soldiers and members of the security force and experts in different fields. White men on the other hand were largely featured as members of the judiciary, businessmen and as experts in different professional fields. Asian men were seen where they were covered as heads of the states/governments, as criminals/terrorists and as police/soldiers and members of the public order forces.

Women social actors were generally fewer than male social actors in the top ten categories under review. Among these few women, there was a general dominance of white women over black women. Asian women were completely excluded as participants in any of the categories. The dominance of white women over black women was seen in the category of; sportspersons, political leaders, members of the judiciary and legal system, businesswomen as well as experts in different professional fields. Black women on the other hand dominated the presence of other women only where they were covered as anonymous members of the public/victims of crime and disaster and as members of the executive power.

General overview of the presence of men and women on television news; e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3

Looking generally at the issue of gender on South African television news, it was discovered that black men were most visually presented in news. Women were the least represented on television news. White women dominated the few women who were covered in news. There was almost no coverage of Asian women. Of all the 529 people covered by the news on e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3, 396 of them were men with a huge dominance of black men (215 black compared to 128 white and only 53 Asian). Women on the other hand amounted to a minimum 202 with a huge dominance of white women (132 white women and 69 black women and only one Asian woman).

The presence of gender on television news

TV Station	E-TV	SABC2	SABC3	ALL
Black Men	57	89	67	213
White Men	33	17	68	118
Black Women	26	23	20	69
White Women	32	8	23	63
Asian Men	19	13	21	53
Asian Women	0	0	0	0
Total MALE	109	163	156	428
Total FEMALE	58	31	44	133
Total	167	163	199	529

Table 7.1

The presence of gender on South African television expressed in 100%

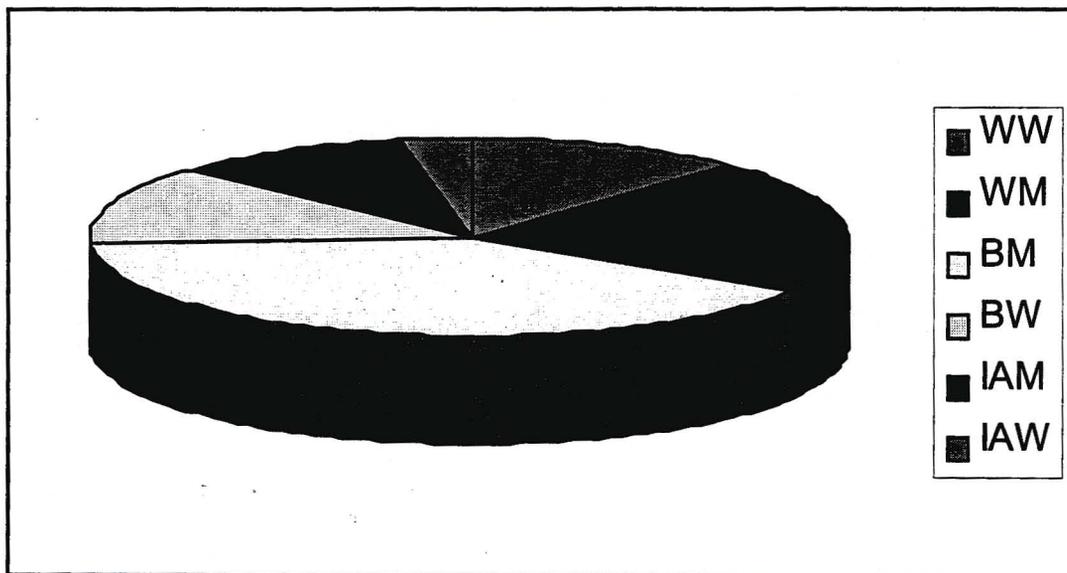


Table 8.1

BM = Black Men

WM = White Men

BW= Black Women

WW= White Women

AM= Asian Men

AW= Asian Women

SECTION THREE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The overall results indicate that, though women are increasingly reporting and presenting news, they are rarely portrayed as news subjects and news protagonists. Regardless of the fact that South African women are entering more and more of powerful positions in the public sphere, they are virtually ignored in news. While it has been argued in the past decades that women's exclusion from the news is often a result of their marginal participation in the public sphere, today such a statement would be dismissed as inaccurate. In spite of this, theorists such as Theveron (in Van Zoonen (1991) asserts that, "the people running TV channels cannot be held responsible for women's low profile in the political, industrial and economic world. The programmes are a mere reflection of the actual situation" (Theveron, 1986 in Van Zoonen 1991:219). Assumptions like this cannot be taken as valid these days, since women started entering the once exclusively male public domain. For instance while there are female politicians, ministers, doctors, accountants, sports experts, etc the research reveals that, the chance of women being covered are one in four. The argument is that, even though men outnumber women in the public domain, there are women, plenty of women who work with men, who are powerful and hold high positions in the social organisations, but still they do not make news. They are inadequately covered as news subjects by the news.

In this section the aim is to synthesise the findings of the research concerning the representation of women on television news with the theory. Generally, on all the channels, e-tv, SABC2 and SABC3, women were minimally represented when compared to men. However there was a better representation of women as presenters and as reporters of news. An overwhelming number of men were found in analysing the presence of gender of news subjects; as people mentioned and quoted, and as people interviewed for expert opinion. The questions that are asked in this research are concerned with the presence of women in workplace; as news anchors/presenters and also as the reporters/journalists of news, as well as the presence of women in programming; looking particularly at news gathering and selection. In addition, it is the interest of this paper to investigate why women make less of news subjects than men on television.

News presenters and news reporters

The presence of women as presenters of news was dominated by that of men, who outnumbered women by 67:37% across the three channels. When talking of presenters in this sense the research refers to the main readers of news, as well as other readers/anchors for different categories of news. Taking e-tv for example, there are different presenters for the main news, *Arts news*, *Sports news*, *Business news* as well as the *Weather*. All these people have been calculated under the category of news presenters. Furthermore, the investigation of gender in the work place includes the presence of women as reporters of news stories. Combined, the three stations showed a predominance of men reporting on news compared to women. Women make up only 28.5% compared to men who comprise 61.5%. However, e-tv differed with the SABC channels in that it had slightly more female reporters than male reporters with the ratio of 9:10. On SABC2 and SABC3 there was a huge gap between the male and female reporters.

There are various reasons why we see many women entering the journalism field. In a democratic South Africa, the aim is to have as much diversity as possible in all public sectors. One of the policies adopted after apartheid was the policy of affirmative action (Employment Equity Act 1995) that aimed at overcoming past discriminatory practices, policies and other barriers to equal opportunity in all political, social and economic life. It aimed to empower previously marginalized people by bringing them into the public sphere. It is about squaring the rights for all the citizens. According to Susan Manhando (1996) SABC adopted the affirmative action policy with the aim of having a “labour force that reflects the demographic composition of the South African population, but also taking into consideration of the specific skills required for different positions” (Manhando 1996:114)

Affirmative action is not only about eradicating racism in the workplace but it also has as a central focus, to correct women’s subordination. As related by Penelope Andrews (1995), the reality of women’s subordination surfaced fairly late in South Africa’s political discourse. She asserts that “[t]he liberation movement and anti-apartheid organizations in the country concerned themselves with the struggle against racism. The

fact that women's rights have been an afterthought, as it were, means that women have to be continuously vigilant about government policies and programmes, and patriarchy in the affirmative action" (Andrews, 1995:50). The adoption of affirmative action in South Africa was the government's attempt, albeit it secondary to the race agenda, to create circumstances in which women can take their place in all public sectors as equal participants with men. Andrews (1995) sees the implementation of affirmative action as promoting diversity in the public sector and elsewhere. She views affirmative action, especially for women, in terms of social harmony and stability: "The workplace and other sectors should have equal representation of men and women and should reflect the broad outlines of the population at large" (Andrews, 1995:53).

The presence of women as presenters and reporters on television stations can be analysed as a conscious effort by the television channels to adopt policies that ensure diversity. According to Andrews "[t]here is general consensus in South Africa that the new society is to be based on principles of non-racism and non-sexism" (Andrews, 1995:49). While these policies are enunciated and well known by administrators this research found that there is a significant under representation of women in the news and news workplace. For example SABC2, showed overwhelming gap between male and female journalists, with men making a maximum of 75% and women journalists comprising only 25%⁶. On this basis, the efforts of e-tv to balance gender presence in the studios of news construction are praised. It is apparent from the findings of this research that the SABC is falling short in its stated objective of extending diversity and pluralism. According to Farhana Goga (1996), affirmative action in media organisations was not effective as inequalities persisted in power relations and black men seemed to be the ones benefiting from affirmative action more than women.

Another aspect of investigation in this research is the representation of race in news. The intention is to trace which men and women, in terms of race, are employed as newsreaders and which ones are news reporters. As argued by Angela Davis (1984),

⁶ According to a study on 'Women Broadcasters and Affirmative Action at the SABC' by Manhando (1996) the figures provided by the SABC in Natal, women in broadcasting comprised a third of the total broadcasting staff.

women's equality cannot be looked at as a monolithic term but issues of power dynamics that come with race and classes also are to be considered. News reading connotes greater prestige and authority than news reporting. Anchoring news indicates a more powerful position than news reporting. As it has been advocated by Van Zoonen (1991) news presentation has an important symbolic value:

Paradoxically, the perceived objectivity of the news and its social status depends for a great deal on the perception of a presenter's personal reliability, credibility and authority. The suggestion that presenters speak the 'objective discourse of truth' is supported by their discursive central location, materialised in their position behind the central desk in news studio (cf Fiske, 1988: 288-9 in Van Zoonen 1991:220).

On e-tv, the presence of white male news readers to black men made a ratio of 10: 5 and on SABC3 white male to black male news presenters made a ratio of 6:3. This indicates an enduring stereotypical presentation of a white man as most powerful. Theorists such as Van Zoonen (1991) contends that:

[t]he personality thus constructed embodies the viewers' need for a person who knows everything and who will explain the confusing and often unsafe world to them. 'This all-seeing, all-knowing, god-like person is, of course, male and white' (Van Zoonen 1991:220).

The research found a minimal presence of white men as news reporters on e-tv. Out of the 38 news journalists who were measured for the research, only six of them were white men, while the other 32 reporters were black men⁷. The finding that there are more black men working as reporters and fewer black men as news presenters and anchors, could lead to the interpretation that e-tv positions black men as less competent and capable of carrying the kind of prestige required.

On e-tv there is a clear disparity between the presence of white women and black women. Of all the seven female news presenters recorded over a week on e-tv, none was black. It can be argued in this case that affirmative action may be working to advantage differentially those who were previously disadvantaged. It does benefit some of the previously discriminated members of the society, in this case white women, but not black

⁷ The number of journalists here refers to the number of times they appeared. Some journalists appeared everyday of the week.

women. However, as Manhando (1996) asserts, in the implementation of affirmative action, all sections of recruitment, transfer or promotion will be based on the requirements of the post and ability of the individual to perform that job adequately. For black women it might be more difficult to be appropriate for the jobs in media because, “the majority of South African population is illiterate. A small percentage of black women are not educated, let alone having skills for such positions” (Manhando 1996:114).

According to Andrews (1995:52) “African women have been and are the most disadvantaged members of this society, and any affirmative action programme needs to address that fact systematically”. SABC3 appears to be driven by this analysis, it had more black female news presenters than white female news presenters with the ratio of 4: 1. In contrast to SABC3, e-tv showcased almost the same number of black women as white women reporters, twenty white female reporters and nineteen black female reporters. This point reminds us that the position of reporting in news can never be as prestigious as that of anchoring and/or presenting the news. On SABC3 white female reporters outnumber black female reporters with the majority entry of 17 against 13 black female reporters.

“When a woman reads the news”

Certain feminists critics, who deal with issues of representation (Kaplan;1987, Humm; 1997, Van Zoonen;1991 and Mulvey; 1988), have given media a different perspective of criticism. The presence of women in news presentation has been viewed by some as fulfilling the voyeuristic desire of men. A woman presenter is someone who looks beautiful with a made up face and beautiful jewellery to please the eye of the voyeur. Van Zoonen argues that,

[w]ithout denying their professional performer, however, a woman can hardly be expected to come to the public sphere playing merely a professional role, in this case as a newsreader. Again that would deny the gendered nature of subjects, the gendered nature of cultural expectations and perceptions. ‘Woman’ inevitably signifies a whole cultural set of feminine values (Van Zoonen, 1991:224).

This brings us to one of the assumptions around the news discourse. News has been associated with men as primary consumers and with women's consumption secondary. According to John Fiske (1989) the assumption is that women enjoy fictional programmes on television more than factual programs. Van Zoonen (1991) recounts surveys that have been carried in Europe which do not reveal great disparity in the number of men and women watching news programmes; however, evidence from qualitative research does show gendered ways of relating to news and current affairs programmes. "Masculinity is primarily identified with a strong preference for factual programmes (news, current affairs and documentaries) and femininity identified with a preference for fictional programmes" (Morley, 1988:43 in Van Zoonen 1991:232).

Given the assumption that news is constructed for male consumption, the presence of women in news can then be related to pleasing the eye of the male viewer⁸. Their right to speak in public may easily be subverted to drawing attention to their visual appearance. This might be the role expected of female newsreaders: to display their qualities of femininity. Holland (1987) asserts that female presenters on television are decorative objects for men to enjoy while they watch the news. "For women 'the invitation to speak with the voice of authority' maybe nothing but an invitation, yet again, to be a decorative performer" (Holland 1987:149 in Van Zoonen 1991: 224). A woman newsreader then is seen as a "pleasurable object for voyeuristic (male) gaze" (Holland 1987:149 in Van Zoonen 1991: 225). While it would be interesting to find out if beauty is one of the criteria for choosing female news readers, the female newsreaders that we see on our television stations are mostly good-looking women, with made up faces and elegantly dressed. As it is asserted by Holland (1987), the images of women are expected to stress not the head nor shoulders, but the face and bodies. "Women's faces, when they appear, are not normally poised for looking or for speech, but are painted, decorated, presented for beauty of the viewer" (Berger 1972 in Holland 1987:195). In her seminal article entitled 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', Mulvey (1988) contends that in all forms of contemporary media, including advertising, the sexes are divided into the active male

⁸ Internet newsreaders on www.nakednews.com have women who do strip tease while reading the news. They call themselves "the programme with nothing to hide". Girls read newscasts while taking off their clothes.

and the passive female. Mulvey explains that man is the bearer of the gaze; he is “responsible for the determining male gaze”. Women in contrast, “hold the look”. In support of this statement, Penley argues that

[t]raditionally, the woman displayed has functioned on two levels: as erotic object for the characters within the story, and as erotic object for the spectator...the woman as object...she is isolated, glamorous, on display, sexualised (Penley, 1998:62).

On SABC3, Khanyi Dlomo-Mkhize presented news for five days. This is a woman who connotes beauty in her capacity as the former Miss South Africa. Like all the other female news presenters on all the channels under review, her physical appearance is normally enhanced with heavy make-up, neat hairstyles and elegant clothes. Other female news presenters like, Chantel Ratah on e-tv, Nthabiseng Moloi on SABC2 are not beauty queens, but are nevertheless good-looking women.

The presence of women on television news cannot only be tied to symbolising their femininity and displaying their physical appearance. While not all men in the panel of newsreaders on television are classically good looking, there is an effort to make them look ‘presentable’ as well. It would therefore not be fair to dismiss women presenters as decorative performers yet the men are also made to look good before reading the news. Nevertheless the criterion for beauty between male and female newsreaders is not equal⁹. Female newsreaders should be beauty queens, while with male newsreaders; authoritative posture and voice define them better than physical beauty. It is asserted by Holland (1987) that the body does not complete the image of a man but it is completed by speech: “The authoritative male newsreader is a well established presence on the screen. The image of a man, head and shoulders, in formal jacket and tie, is familiar across the media as a sign of assurance and power” (Holland, 1987 in Baehr and Gray, 1996:195). It is on these bases then that it can be asserted that female presenters’ physical beauty is more emphasised and therefore women presenters of news connote to be looked-at-ness/

⁹ According to the study by, George Spears and Kasia Seydegart, ‘Who makes the news? The global media monitoring project 2000’, as TV presenters, women form a majority in the 20-34 year group but tend to disappear after 50. Facts like these raise questions about the employment practices of female newsreaders which seems to indicate that appearance is a stronger job prerequisite for women than for men.

voyeuristic male gaze. With male newsreaders, their physical appearance is of less significance. It is taken for granted that what is of interest is what they have to say.

Compared to news presenters, there is far less attention or emphasis paid to the physical looks of news reporters and journalists. They dress casually, report standing and definitely do not convey the power and authority the presenters do. However, with women reporters, good looks are clearly a factor. The entrance of women in the journalism profession is not seen as purely professional. Van Zoonen (1991) asserts that women can hardly be expected to come to the public sphere playing only the professional role of news reading. That would deny the gendered nature of women, the gendered nature of their cultural expectations and perceptions.

News subjects

News stories are 'heavily people centred'. According to Trudie Richards and Brent King (2000), it is a journalistic premise that consumers can only understand abstract content by personalising it. The primary question in every news production is, "who says?" People who are interviewed as witnesses of facts and mentioned as news actors have certain credentials that make them more reliable as news sources. As noted by Carmen Rosa Caldos-Coulthard (1999), since much of the time news is what is said, the values and words of a privileged body of people who have special roles in society are generally put forward. The mentioning of names on news indicates the scope of representation of gender. According to Jordi Farre, Enric Saperas and Vincenc Navarr (2000) "[t]he name is a constant element in the television news as a reference to and recognition of the people who are at the centre of current events" (Farre, Saperas and Navarr (2000:2).

Most of the social actors who are covered by the news are prominent people in society and belong to the elite. As it has been proposed by Ruge and Galtang (1973) in their 'news values' theory, elite people are key sources and key subjects of the news. According to Daniel Chandler (1997) news often reports what the prominent people say about events rather than the events themselves. He asserts that "indeed, what such people say may constitute an event in itself: powerful people 'make news'" (Chandler, 1997:2).

He continues to argue that, expert and special correspondents comment upon the events and this is a stylistic feature which tends to reinforce faith in the status quo, “in the basic soundness of existing society - and to favour the point of view of the privileged groups” (Chandler, 1997:2). The current research reinforces the proposition that women in general are part of the unaccessed voice group. The effect of this is that “unequal access is evident in what is reported and who speaks, and as a consequence, the linguistic code imposes and reinforces the attitudes and values on what it represent” (Caldos-Coulthard, 1999:226).

The findings of the research have confirmed that compared to women, men are deemed more ‘newsworthy’ and they appear more regularly than women in news. With the obvious over-representation of men, women rarely feature in television news and they get disproportionate coverage. One of the interests of the research was to investigate the presence of women as the main or central actors in the news. These are protagonists of stories, people who ‘make’ the stories. In all the channels, there was an overwhelming under representation of women as the protagonists of the stories. On e-tv, the total number of protagonists for all the recorded bulletins was 68. Of all the 68 protagonists, only 12 were women. The remaining 56 were male news protagonists with black men dominating (20 black male protagonists), followed by Asian men (19) and 17 white male protagonists. The same trend of under representation of women was seen again on SABC2. Of the 87 central characters in news stories, women were only represented with a minimum of only nine female protagonists against the high number of male news protagonists – 78. Most of the central news actors on SABC2 came from black men making a percentage of 48.7% of all men, then 34.6% of white men and the minimum of Asian men making only 16.7% of the total number of male protagonists. With the female news protagonists, there was a huge dominance of white women and an absolute absence of Asian women. Black women made an entry of only 11.1% as the central characters of the news stories and the other 88.9% were white women.

The number of female protagonists on the three television stations was overwhelmingly low compared to that of male protagonists. Of the 68 protagonists of stories on e-tv,

82.4% of them were men and only 17.6% were women. SABC2 in the same way showed the same huge gap of male protagonists of news stories making a maximum of 89.7% and women making only 10.3%. SABC3 had covered more persons as protagonists than all the stations. Of the 105 protagonists of stories on SABC3, 91.4% were male protagonists and female protagonists comprising only 8.6%. On SABC3 as well, there were far more male protagonists than female protagonists. Of the 105 news protagonists recorded, only nine were women. The other 96 news protagonists were men. However, compared to the other two stations, SABC3 showed a slight difference in terms of race representation by having more white men than black men as news protagonists. White male protagonists dominated the presence of other male protagonists with a maximum of 41.7%; 36.5% of black male protagonists and 21.8% Asian men. Like SABC2, white women dominated the female news protagonists on SABC3 making a maximum entry of 55.5%, while black women made 33.3% and Asian women were minimally represented with only 11.1%.

The general picture that was ascertained from the representation of all the protagonists across the channels is that women are distinctly under-represented compared to men who are obviously over represented. With the growing entrance of women in the public sphere, holding high positions, and the insistence by the government to implement empowering mechanisms for women, it is difficult to understand why there are so few women making news. We have women ministers, economists, businesswomen, doctors, and the list of the prominent positions that women hold goes on. However, the chance of television news covering women as news subjects was only 12.2%. All the 87.8% of news subjects came from men.

In news there are also experts and special correspondents who normally comment to confirm what the presenter reads as truth. These are people who are trusted and chosen by the broadcaster, to give validity to news statements: "Events are reported largely in terms of who said or did rather than in terms of processes or community movements" (Chandler 1987:9). Almost all these people who were asked for expertise opinion were men, making the ratio of 8:2. The following section will dwell more on the presence of gender on

different categories of news. This section is concerned about where do we see women featured as news subjects, as people mentioned and as people interviewed in news?

There are thirteen news categories that were used to analyse the news. With the exception of *the weather*, all the other categories were reporting what people did or said. The top categories that had more news subjects, in order were: *International news; Sports news; Crime and Violence news; Political news; Political Crime; Business/Finance news; Health and Medicine news; Community/Development news; News from around Africa; Arts news; Disaster news and finally Environment news*. The following section will discuss the findings of the first four top news categories that mentioned and interviewed many sources. These are *International news, Sports news, Crime and Violence news and Political Crime news*. The other categories will be discussed under general news sections.

International news

Most of the International news coverage concerned the bombing of World Trade Centre in New York on the 11th of September 2001. The news reported that the two towers of New York's World Trade Centre and the Pentagon were attacked by the hijacked American passenger jets used as missiles. The main suspect, 'Osama Bin Laden, falls under the Asian men in my present classification of people mentioned on the news. From the day this happened, it was given a great deal of airtime; 40% of news broadcasts over the week period was dedicated to this topic. As a continuity and 'big news story', the period that this research was conducted, 23rd to the 29th (12 days after the event) was dominated by its developments. According to Bridgette Nicolas (1994) it is the tendency of media to give terrorism stories excessive coverage for strictly self-serving, competitive reasons and the newscasts at the moment obliterate other important news. Men were the chief sources of information in the development of the story and appeared to be the only people who could give an expert opinion. This paper shares the same views as Paul Farhi (2001, *Television's talking heads lack female voices*: web page) in that after the incident of the World Trade Centre in New York, news reports seem to indicate that, almost all people who seemed to know anything were men. He states that

[m]en know about Afghanistan. They know about anthrax. They know foreign policy and military strategy. They know about terrorism and counter-terrorism. Judging by what's on TV, men have something wise to say—or just something to say—on most of the subjects of concern to America these days (Farhi, 2001:1).

If women made only 9.7% of all the persons featured under *International news*, then it implies that the news genre does not recognise women as legitimate sources and experts and as authorities to be featured in the newscasts. As Barbra Cochran, former CBC News Bureau chief who heads Radio and Television news Directors Association, has said, it does not mean that there are no women out there (Farhi, 2001). Very rarely were we presented with female prominent members who acted as news subjects like, among the few who were given airtime were the American national security adviser, the US ambassador in Pakistan, a South African woman living in Pakistan who helped an Afghanistan refugee and a few others. This does not mean there are no women in prominent positions, especially in America. As has been related by Farhi (2001), at last count, there were 367,000 women in the U.S military, many with senior ranks (6-8 percent of colonels and captains are women). The number of female physicians has nearly tripled since 1980. “Women hold one of every three college faculty jobs in America”, says the Farhi’s interviewee, American Association of the University Professors, Patricia Ellis, executive director of the Women’s foreign Policy Group, which promotes female expertise in foreign affairs, points out that dozens of women have held ambassadorship or high-ranking positions in the State Department. “A lot of talented, competent people are not being heard,” she says (Farhi, 2001).

Setting aside the few women mentioned above, the majority of people mentioned and interviewed are male and white. Asian males were also covered in great numbers because of the Asian country from which the main suspect, Osama Bin Laden, came. Asian women were completely marginalized and their voices were not heard. The only story that covered Asian woman revealed her as a victim of the conflict between Pakistan and Israel. This casts women as passive human beings. The total absence of Asian women as news subjects gives an impression that there are no women in any prominent sectors of the Asian society especially in countries that were mentioned in the news, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Israel. The news only accommodated these women as victims of the

conflicts. As Holland (1997) indicates, women rarely appear in their own right as actors in those fields that are the central concern of news and they are rarely selected as to comment on or interpret the news:

When they are invited to speak it tends to be either as anonymous example of uninformed public opinion, as housewives, consumer, neighbour, or as mother, sister, wife of the man in the news, or as victim – of crime, disaster, political policy. Thus not only do they speak less frequently, but they tend to speak as passive reactors and witnesses to public events rather than as participants in those events, (Holland, 1997: 197).

Another way of understanding the wiping-out of women from the *International news* that was mostly about terrorism in America and the conflict in the East is to understand that traditionally women do not deal with fights. Stereotypically, terror and political differences are more closely associated with men than women. A woman would not be expected to know much about war because 'a woman does not fight'. However, this view is contradictory by viewing cases like a recent incident of a female terrorist who bombed a bank in Pakistan and killed a number of people. What about the female militants who are not even mentioned in any incident? What about the female rescue workers who were never interviewed for any information on the progress of finding the victims of the World trade Centre? What about the female scientists who could have been interviewed on the possibility of the biological or chemical warfare?

Racial imbalances in sourcing were also dramatic in *International news*. The dominance of white expertise against all other men in *International news*, especially news dealing with terrorism, can reinforce a stereotypical notion that only white and male are synonymous with expert and authority. In trying to analyse the dominance of white men in terrorism news, Farhi (2001), highlights that America is run by white men and so the news airwaves are accurately reflecting the American power structure:

Senior government officials- a staple of news-chat shows since the beginning of news-chat shows – tend to be males. So are the former senior government officials, who often have a vested interest in speaking out about central policies (and the clout and connections to get themselves on the air). The same is true of corporate America, Hollywood, think tanks, academia and the scientific establishment, Farhi, 2001:2).

Another theory that can be used to understand the dominance of the white men in *International news* is that white men dominate the TV news business. Although for this research the objective is not to find out who is behind the curtain of news production, other researchers like Farhi (2001) and Ina Howard (2002) have underlined that white men dominate the production of news so the news will reflect the interests of one group of the elite, white male. The findings of the representation of gender and race in South African television news, and in this case, *International news*, only confirms what Fiske (1987) claims that, television “works mythically to promote the point of view of the white, male middle classes as the ‘neutral’ point from which to make sense of experience and to disguise the sectional nature of this process by universalising it” (Fiske, 1987:134). The *International news* that were broadcast then, was the mutated version of the events in which men, and mostly white men, have dominated the debate, shaping the understanding of what happened, how it happened and what should happen next.

Television information production and distribution parallels the larger political economy of the world system where the powerful observe, document, and legislate the meaning for the powerless and the people of the peripheries confront an alien representation of themselves which exists only as an object for the metropolis, (Adam, 1978 in Adams, 1991:6).

Looking at the presence of women, there is a gender balance in the representation of both black and white women in all the television stations. In the 9.7% of the presence of women in *International news*, the only group of women that is almost absent is that of the Asian women who are represented with only 0.9%.

Sports news

The mediation of sports cannot be missed on the contemporary cultural horizon. A daily newspaper without a sports section is anomaly. Local news broadcasts feature sports more prominently than they do coverage of local Political, (Wenner, 1998:xiii).

Sport has been a great passion of the twentieth century for thousands of players and fans across the globe and it has become increasingly intertwined with various media. It is inconceivable to have newscasts without any sports reporting. According to Richard Boyle and Richard Haynes (2000) note that sports is at once both trivial and serious,

consequential yet of symbolic significance. "Sports in many cases informs and refuels the popular memory of communities, and offers a source of collective identification and community expression for those who follow teams and individuals" (Sugden and Tomlison in Boyle and Haynes, 2000:1).

It is in Sports news that we had high numbers of news actors. The dominance of male news subjects was also very apparent in this category in all the three television channels. On e-tv, the number of persons mentioned and interviewed is 39. Of all these people, not a single woman was covered as a news subject. All the news actors in this category were from men. White men dominated with 56.4%, followed by black men making a total of 41%. The least represented were Asian men making a minimum of only 2.6%. Unlike e-tv, SABC2 featured women in *Sports news* but men were still dominant. There were 46 people featured in *Sports news* on SABC2. The presence of women was only 26.1% with more black women than white women, making a ratio of 5:7. The other 73.9% were men, with a slight dominance of white men making a ratio of 8:9. SABC3 revealed remarkable representation of men compared to that of women in *Sports news*. The sports persons covered by the news were 62 and only eleven of these were women, with white women slightly dominating, 4:7. White men, making an entry of 54.9% against black men who made 45.1%, dominated the presence of men.

As it is argued by Boyle and Haynes (2000), the tendency towards the invisibility of women in media sport suggests a whole field of public life in which women are marginalized. There is a tendency to justify that less coverage of women's sports by news is related to the notion of 'supply and demand'. As argued by Margaret Carlisle Duncan and Michael A. Messer (1998), television producers have sometimes argued that the sports audience is composed mostly of men who are not interested in women's sports and therefore the producers only give the viewers what they want by devoting more resources to men's games. What the broadcasters seem to ignore is that even if it is not for men, there are women who would love to watch women's sports due to the increasing participation of women in sports. If we use the same notion of 'supply and demand' in the production of news, then it would mean that news is made 'only' for men and by

showing more of male sports competitions in Sports news casts, it is only satisfying the needs of the audience for news.

The only sports that seem to have any recognition in South African television news are sports that are dominantly played by men. The sport reports concentrated on soccer, golf, rugby and cricket. The small number of women that were covered in Sports news came from mentioning of a few general sports like swimming, horse racing (a woman was covered as the organizer of a big competition), and the motivational sports activities for the youth in Johannesburg, the wife and the mother of the fisherman who died in the Eastern Cape. Excluding women from Sports news reinforces patriarchal ideology. This confirms an assumption that news is masculine so, 'who would be interested in women sports?' As Duncan and Messer (1998) claim, sports in the twentieth century has given men an arena in which to create and reinforce an ideology of male supremacy:

By excluding women from this arena and by making athleticism virtually synonymous with masculinity, sport provides opportunities for men to assert their dominance at a time when male hegemony is continuously being challenged and opposed in everyday life (Duncan and Messer, 1998:170).

While it is true that the masculine hegemony is being challenged everyday by having an entrance of women in sports which were initially preserved for men, such competitions are hardly ever reported in news. Maybe it is because women's entrance into sports is seen as an incursion into the sphere that is most properly men's and symbolically they threaten masculine hegemony. We have ladies' soccer in South Africa, which has even formed a national team named 'Banyana-Banyana', but news hardly ever covers the tournaments or any kind of competition of the ladies soccer. On the one hand, men's soccer is given an ample of air in broadcast news with detailed explanation of the competitions and the interviews from players and couches and even the 'highlights' of the matches played. It is true we do not have ladies rugby and cricket, but there are other sports that can be covered by the news producers if they expand their nets a bit wider to represent all the South Africans, in this case, women.

If being a man in the past was defined with masculine qualities like being strong, aggressive and violent enough to be able to play sport, then women really threaten the

ideal hegemonic masculinities by entering the sports. Boyle and Haynes (2000) indicate that as the social binary codes suggest, sport is heavily laden with values of maleness. The assumption that sports like boxing and wrestling are 'too rough for women', has been challenged by having more and more women showing interest in playing these sports. To reinforce patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity of such sports, news chooses to treat women's competitions as trivial and not serious enough to be newsworthy while men's games are treated as dramatic spectacles of historic significance and therefore newsworthy. It is argued by Mary Jo Kane and Helen Jefferson Lenskyi (1998) that the images of sports women in media "in turn marginalize and trivialize women's sporting efforts and thus subvert their ability to gain a foothold in an institution of immense status, wealth and power" (Kane and Lenskyj, 1998:188). There are plenty of women's sports competitions that are heroic and significant enough to make news, only if the newsmakers could make it their goal to include women in their Sports newscasts.

In this country, the most popular sport for women is netball. However, it is very rare to find any news reporting on this sport. Other sports such as tennis, basketball, athletics, volleyball, swimming and many other sports that are played by both sexes are scarcely covered by the news, unless there is a major competition. If such sports are covered by the news, women will just be mentioned as actors of the news and all the interviewees will come from men. An example was the coverage of a basketball tournament that was held in Durban for SADC countries in September 2001, the South African ladies team was praised for playing very well but not a single woman was interviewed. Two interviews were taken from the South African male team captain and the Mozambican male team captain whose team had won the competition. Mozambican female basketball players, who were outstanding enough to make news, were only mentioned but the opinion that was used to confirm what was mentioned was the male opinion. The 'highlights' of the matches that were chosen were from men's game between South Africa and Mozambique and that revealed women's basketball game as less dramatic and less important than the men's game.

The exclusion of women in Sports newscasts diminishes the part played by women involved in sports and news, in this sense, can be seen as unfair and reinforcing the hegemonic masculinity. According to Mary Jo Kane and Helen Jefferson Lenskyi (1998) because women's athletic efforts and achievements are systematically ignored, underreported or denigrated when covered, the media become an important technology for constructing dominant ideologies, practices and power structures related to gender. "Sports tend to be presented in the media as symbolic representations of a particular kind of social order, so that in effect they become modern morality plays, serving to justify and uphold the dominant values and ideas" (Hargreaves, 1982 in Kane and Lenskyi 1998:187).

The representation of race in *Sports news*

There were imbalances in the representation of race in Sports news. More white men were featured in Sports news than black men. This was however not surprising due to the kind of sports that were covered by the news; rugby, cricket, golf and soccer. The three sports, rugby, golf and cricket, have far more white male players and coaches than black male players. It is only one sport, out of three that seemed to interest the news producers, soccer, in which black men dominated as both players and coaches.

Generally there was almost equal representation of race among the women covered by *Sports news*. While there were no women featured in e-tv Sports news, SABC2 showed a slight dominance of black women with the ratio of 5: 7 and SABC3 showed a slight presence of white women with the ratio of 4:7. It can be argued that the slight dominance of black women in SABC2 is related to the fact that the aim of broadcasting in Sotho languages in SABC2 is to appeal to black people, hence the more coverage of black sports persons than white person. It could be seen as a way of boosting the identification of black people with the people they see on television.

Crime and Violence news

Stories of Crime and Violence dominate news coverage. Stereotypically, men are the criminals and women are the victims. More often it is men of colour who are portrayed as criminals. According to the study undertaken by Lori Dorfman and Vincent Schiraldi (www.buidingblocksforyouth.org/media/factsheet.html), youth of colour fare far worse than their white counterparts in the media's association of youth and violence. A study of *Time and Newsweek* stories found that the term "young and black male" became synonymous with the word "criminal" in news. A study of television news on the other hand showed that white youth were likely to be featured in stories on health and education, (www.buidingblocksforyouth.org/media/factsheet.html). The portrayal of black people as criminals is seen as "demonization of black males, becoming a major 'white flight'" (Brants, Hermes and Van Zoonen, 1998:140).

The findings of this research showed that there were far more black men who were covered as news subjects under this category. On e-tv, of the 23 persons covered under this category, eleven were black men six were white men. Black women, making the ratio of 5:1, dominated the presence of women. SABC2 showed a slight dominance of black men with the ratio of 6:2. There was an absolute absence of white women in violent news and only one black woman was represented. On SABC3 on the other hand, there was no women featured under *Crime and Violence news*. There was a huge dominance of black men in this section with the ratio of 10:3. The highest number of women was found on e-tv where there were five women covered under this section and were portrayed as victims of crime.

These results demonstrate the strong stereotypes about black people and crime. People automatically assume that young black people are responsible for the high crime rate. The media images that associate black, especially black men with crime, perpetuates a distorted image. The binary opposition codes about black and white people would suggest that black people are poor, unemployed and criminals while white people will be revealed as rich and as victims of crime (if they are women) and having good jobs. White

men on the other hand were rarely portrayed as the criminals in news but at the same time they were hardly covered as victims of crime. It is also a way of demonstrating power from a different perspective. Yes, the criminals can be said to be strong but they cannot challenge the most powerful men; white men. As it is suggested by Jerry Lanson and Barbara Croll Fought, (1999), those who cover crime stories these days must do much more than the easy whodunit, which doesn't leave the audience with much more than a heightened sense of fear:

Reporters need to get beyond the latest horror story to consider why it happened, whether its part of the broader trend, and what both police and ordinary people are doing and can do to care for their homes and communities (Lanson and Fought, 1999:219).

Violence and crime stories can cause mistrust and fear of certain people who are always revealed as criminals in news. Showing black men as the usual perpetrators of criminal and violent stories that are reported in news can only make people of the other groups; women both black and white and white men to mistrust and fear them. Mallory Wober and Barrie Gunter (1988) assert that violence plays a key role in the portrayal of social order on television:

It is the simplest and cheapest dramatic means to demonstrate who wins in the game of life and the rules by which the game is played. It tells us who are the aggressors and who are the victims. It demonstrates who has the power and who must acquiesce to that power...In portrayal of violence there is a relationship between the roles of the violent and the victim. Both roles are there to be learned by the viewers. In generating among the many a fear of the power of the few, television violence may achieve its greatest effect, (Wober and Gunter, 1988:21).

The absence of women in *Crime and Violence news* can also be understood from the point of view that violence is about power. Televised criminal and violent behaviour convey a dramatic cultural lesson concerning the power structures of the society. In the patriarchal world, power is associated with masculinity. Being a criminal means one has to be aggressive, fearless and extremely daring, and these are the attributes that we do not associate with femininity. A woman is supposedly weak and passive. It is against this background that the portrayal of many women on television news turns to be victims of

crime. They are the victimised as opposed to the victimisers. They are the weak ones and men are the strong ones.

Political news

Political is a highly significant topic of general news. In common with all the other categories of news, this section is about what someone says or does. As Ruge and Galtung (1985) suggest, this 'someone' is not just anyone. It is what the elite people say or do which will be seen more as newsworthy than all the other sources of news. According to Allan Bell (1991:191), "[n]ews is what an authoritative source tells a journalist". Most sources for political news are authoritative people from both local and national government. People who are featured under this category range from the President, Ministers, local politicians, officials and many others involved in the governance of the country. Unofficial sources are ignored mostly. Bell (1991) claims that alternative sources tend to be ignored: individuals, opposition parties, unions, minorities, fringe groups and the disadvantaged. While women cannot be classified as the minority (at 52%), it is interesting to find out that in *Political news*, women were the least represented people and men were obviously over-represented.

Women represented only 27.7% of those portrayed in *Political news* on e-tv. No white women were shown. The 72.3% of men were dominated by black men making a maximum 51% while white men only made a minimum of 21.3%. SABC2 on the other hand was remarkably represented with 100% representation of black men in the Political news category. There were no women and no white men at all. On SABC3, there was an overwhelming dominance of black men while women were totally not presented in this category. Black men were represented with the maximum of 76.9% while the presence of black men made only the minimum of 23%.

The massive presence of men in *Political news* might be understood to stem from the fact that not many women enter the realm of Politics and become leaders of political parties. As it has been argued by Alex de Waal (web page),

Africa's political leadership is overwhelmingly male. There is a marked lack of woman in senior position in the government, business and to (a lesser extent) civil society. Equally problematically, there is dominant masculinity in African forms of government...The political sphere in Africa is a domain of 'hegemonic masculinity', in any cases tending towards the cult of machismo. 'Hegemonic masculinity means much more than men wielding power over women: it is the way in which characteristically masculine and macho manifestations of power are embedded in society, and accepted by both men and women (Alex de Waal www.justiceafrica.org/aidspaper.html).

However the absence of women in political news was not easy to understand especially in South Africa where we have seen many women entering political arena. Thus there are many women who could have been covered under the category of *Political news*. In terms of sex-role theory, women politicians have often been trying to emulate the masculine codes of aggression, rationality and dominance. 'Real women' are seen to embody passivity, submission and emotional behaviour. The qualities that define women within the structures of femininity are far from qualifying them as potential politicians, which is all about having power. News therefore is seen as instilling the masculine dominance by not covering more female politicians as news subjects to confirm that there are plenty of women who are organizers and runners of the public sphere that was previously preserved for men. Most of the women in the world are no longer in the margins. Today women make the list of the prominent members of politicians that we have in South Africa and it is the responsibility of news to make sure that it promotes that by exposing women as newsworthy subjects for political news.

Race and *Political news*

For all three of the television channels surveyed, *Political news* had more of black men covered than any other category. Most of the *Political news* was classified as local news, and it only makes sense to have numerous black men and a few black women covered, as the government is predominantly black. This however does not justify the bias that can be detected from the news producers for not covering white men who are in the government, both locally and internationally, as suitable news subjects.

Business/Finance news

In *Business news* again we saw a great presence of male news subjects compared to women. According to Dra. Gina Zabludovky (1998), the growth of women's entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that has gained increasing attention around the world. From government reports and other sources (www.ibm.com/businesscenter/us/smbusapub.nsf/detailcontacts/Interest+Groups9E8D), it is estimated that between one-quarter and one-third of the world's businesses are owned and operated by women. These firms are in a variety of industries, range in size from the very small to multinational businesses, and are literally and figuratively changing the face of business across the globe. With the empowerment strategies implemented by the government in South Africa, we have many women as managers of companies both government and NGO's. News in South African television however still resists accepting this as a fact and reality that has to be revealed to people by insisting on covering more men than women in *Business news* and thus confirms the stereotypical perceptions that the corporal world belongs to men.

On e-tv, there were absolutely no women covered as news subjects on *Business/Finance news*. All the nine persons featured on this category were men, mostly black and white men at 89% of the total. SABC2 covered only one white woman, out of the ten persons covered as Business/Finance social actors. Unlike on e-tv, SABC2 had a greater number of white men than black men with the ratio of 5:4. On SABC3, there was a significant dominance of white men featured under business news with the ratio of 10:6. The only women covered in this category were white women with a 20% presence. In general, women were under represented in *Business/Finance news*, but the few women featured in this category were only white women in both SABC2 and SABC3. Black women were completely absent.

The absence of black women in *Business news* does not reflect the presence of black women in business. In South Africa, with the empowerment strategies for the previously disadvantaged groups, black women are the best beneficiaries of these empowerment policies. South Africa has seen a significant entrance of black women in the business

world, as consultants, managers, chief executive officers and business owners, and they are successful high achievers in spite of society gender constraints. It is therefore unfair for news producers to ignore black women by not including them in *Business news*. Having only white women representing the presence of women here, propagates a stereotypical perception that it is white people's opinion in business that is valued more than black people's opinion as they are believed to be more exposed to the corporate world. The presence of black women in business must be highlighted in news by covering them as newsworthy subjects as well.

Community/Development news

Most news items on the *Community and Development* stories were about works of charity, and development activities in the country that citizens do for the community. From the statistics of gender presence in this category, it was evident that not many women were featured. On e-tv, only one woman out of four persons covered in *Community and Development news* was represented. The presence of men was slightly dominated by black men with the ratio of 2:1. SABC2 had more people covered in this category than any other station. However, of the 22 persons featured, only four women were represented and all of them were black women. The majority of news subjects came from men who were racially equally represented with the ratio of 9:9 white to black. On SABC3, the presence of women was also insignificant: 14.3% of those represented were women, all of them white. More black than white men in the ratio of 7:5 were portrayed.

The general picture for all the stations regarding the presence of women in this category was that both white and black were almost equally present. Even the gap between the dominance of black men on white men was not great. What was evident however, was the fact that men outnumbered women news subjects in this category. In the binary codes of women and men's traits, one would expect this category especially to be dominated by women because they are usually associated with characteristics of giving and being socially responsible. However, development is also about having money or possessing goods that can be given. In a patriarchal society, women are placed at the receiving end because they are financially dependent on men. Qualities of development and charitable

gestures for the community are 'supposedly' for men because they are 'supposedly' the ones in possession of resources. However, I would argue that women do a great deal of work for the community, from looking after the sick, running support groups for people who do not cope with difficult situations and even donating clothes to the poor. Many of the AIDS support groups and AIDS orphans houses are formed and run by women, but still they do not qualify as the newsworthy subjects. Such generous everyday gestures by women are hardly reported.

Health and Medical news

The social actors featured in this category included doctors, both medical and traditional, assistants, nurses, and policy makers for health issues in the country. This is the category where we had a sound presence of women, especially on e-tv and SABC2. SABC3 showed a huge gap between the levels of gender representation with men dominating. On e-tv, men to women ratio of 5:4. White men were completely absent in this category. With the ratio of 3:1, black women dominated the presence of women on *Health and Medicine news*. SABC2 on the other hand revealed positive results about the presence of women in this category where they slightly dominated that of men with the ratio of 4:3. Both black and white women were equally represented. As with e-tv, white men were absent in this category. There was poor coverage of women as news subjects under the section of *Health and Medicine* on SABC3. Out of the eight persons featured in this category, only two were women and both of them were black women. Black men dominated white men with the ratio of 5:1.

Though the presence of women was significant in this category, it was however disappointing to discover that the majority of women covered in this category were lower status actors, such as nurses, community workers and nurse assistants. The authoritative news actors in medicine and health field were represented by men except for one man who was covered as a victim of poor health facilities and he died. Most of the men featured in this category were doctors and policy makers, especially on the issue of AIDS and development of health centres in rural areas. This is one section of news that portrayed women stereotypically. Among other things, the sex-role stereotyping involves

portraying women as nurturers and caregivers, while the authority figures are all men. The fact that the only women covered under the category of *Health and Medicine* were confined within the range of the sick, the community workers and the nurses, gave a distorted image about the role of women. This is not to say that women are not nurturers or caregivers, but the point is that so many women have gone beyond that. We have a huge number of female medical doctors, for example, and some of the women work as the officers in Health Departments, but this research shows that news programmes choose to cover only men in the prominent positions of the *Health and Medicine* category. News resists the recognition of women as prominent people in society.

Disaster news

Disaster news deals with natural disasters such as earthquakes, huge road accidents, plane crashes and accidental fires. During the study period, most of the disaster news reported was about car accidents. News subjects on this section involved traffic police officers, people involved in road fund, and mostly victims. On e-tv, women were completely absent in this category while men; both white and black, were equally represented with the ratio of 2:2. SABC2 on the other hand featured men and women, two white men and two white women. Black people were completely absent on this channel. On SABC3, like e-tv, there were no women covered under the *Disaster news*. The only people covered were two black men and two white men.

The only women who were featured in *Disaster news* on SABC2 were the victims of a car accident that killed two women, a wife and a daughter of the male driver. The other men who were featured in news were not only victims of disasters, but some were officials who were responsible for taking care of car accidents and some fall under the rescuers. No female traffic officials, or rescue team were covered by the news. The officials interviewed were all men in all the disasters reported.

Arts news

Arts news is given special slot only on e-tv, where there is an anchor and reporters on the stories featured. For SABC channels, I had to use my own discretion as to which stories

were about arts. The category covered artistic activities, ranging from music, drama, dance and many others. It was therefore surprising to see such a huge dominance of men in all the Arts news. On e-tv, there were twelve persons covered under this category of news. There were three black women and one white woman. The presence of men, 67.7%, was made up of only black men. On SABC2 there were no reports on this section. On SABC3 the only people featured were black men. There were no white men featured.

South Africa has a vast number of female artist talents. However, news hardly found women as newsworthy subjects in this field. Black men dominated this category and white men, except on e-tv, were not represented. A few of the women represented on e-tv were portrayed as depending on men for their success. The first of the three, a female poet who featured on e-tv, was in partnership with a male poet and the story was that they wrote a feminist poem together. The second woman featured as the partner of the great choreographer Gregory Mak'homa. The last woman, a singer, was featured with a number of male musicians who were to perform at a festival. The representation of women as dependent on men undermined the achievements of women artists who have managed to 'do it on their own'. News programmes promote male dominance over women and instil a stereotypical perception about women as more fitted in private and domestic world than the public sphere.

News around Africa

Mostly news covered on this category covered anything that was considered outstanding enough for news from African countries, from political, economical and even cultural stories. While SABC3 had no news from around Africa, e-tv and SABC2 had both covered only black men as news sources in this category. Both of the stations had featured five persons under *News from around Africa* and all were men. White men were not represented and women were completely absent from this category. It is not surprising that women were not featured in this category of news coverage from the foreign countries, when in South Africa, the national television broadcasting seems to ignore the presence of women in many social sectors. The only stories that seemingly

were newsworthy enough from around Africa were those that featured men. The structure of news to keep men dominating the presence of social actors in news could not be avoided with the foreign news from Africa.

Environment news.

This was the least reported news on the whole television news reported. E-tv featured only three persons under this category and two of them were men; one white man and one black man. The only woman covered here was black. SABC2 featured only one white man, in the category of environment news. On SABC3, the only one person featured was a white woman. In general, though few people were covered in this category, there was almost equal presence of both black men and women and white men and women. This is the only category where we can say that news had recognised the presence of men and women, black and white, as newsworthy subjects.

The presence of gender in the reporting of different categories of news

Television news is organised in a way that for every news item there is a reporter. In different categories of news, there are different people reporting on the stories read or presented by the anchors. This section looks at the presence of women reporters in different news categories. The aim is to interpret the presence of both men and women rather than the absence of them in different news categories.

Generally there seemed to be a huge dominance of male reporters in almost all the categories of news. However the most notable of all the categories was *Sports news* reporting. There was an outstanding imbalance of gender in the reporting of Sports news in all the stations. On e-tv, only one woman out of ten people reported the Sports news. In the same way, SABC2 had 11 journalists reporting on *Sports news* and only one of these was a black female journalist. All the 10 male journalists were black. SABC3 also had a minimal presence of women as reporters of the *Sports news*.

The absence of women as reporters on *Sports news*, which is dominantly about men's sports, confirms the reflection of a simple reality of news, the hegemony of gendered

mass media. According to Pamela Creedon, (1998), hegemony refers to an infrasystem of values that overshadows our awareness and helps the dominant groups to maintain their power. Looking at the results of which sports are reported on news and who reports them, we can judge that by selecting only men's sports on news and having them reported by almost only men, news manifests the masculine hegemony. Creedon argues that,

[p]ower control teaches us that those who have power in an institution or organisation determine its ideology...the ideology supporting the institutions of media and sport, i.e., the infrasystem of values, seeks to preserve a gendered social structure so that these organisations can maintain stasis or control in their environment (Creedon, 1998:98).

Sports on television news still remain a male preserve. It is an area where very few women can be found, both as players of different sports and as news reporters. This instils the patriarchal order where women are confined to the private and domestic sphere while men are exposed to the open and the public. In the 21st century, with an expansion of public areas in which we see women participating everyday, it is difficult to understand why women's sports were not covered by the news and worse, even at the professional level, why women sporting achievements are hardly reported on *Sports news*. The conclusion remains that news the news is constructed for men's consumption.

The absence of white men in reporting in different categories of news can only be read in the right of the fact that in the hierarchy of prominent jobs, reporting is valued less than presenting news. A reporter's job does not have authority and status when compared to anchoring or presenting news, areas in which more white men are represented. Theories of masculinities teach us that though generally men dominate women in most of the social sectors, among men, there are those who are more dominant than others depending on class and race. When certain men have certain power over others, this is called hegemonic masculinity. According to Robert Morrell, (1998), subordinate and submissive masculinities exist among marginal or dominated groups and these maybe oppositional to dominant masculinities.

In the apartheid era, white men were at the apex of the hegemonic group that was the ruling class in the country. Through the anti-apartheid movements, however, apartheid

ended and what is called democracy for all emerged. The previously marginalised and discriminated-against black people took power. Today, South Africa can be said to be ruled by the masculinity of black men. They are dominant in our cultural hierarchy. It is further indicated by Morrell (1998) that masculinity is socially constructed and it is fluid. "There is not one universal masculinity, but many masculinities. These are "not fixed character types but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships" (Morrell, 1998:607). Black men are the ruling class in South Africa and therefore hegemonic. White men, on the other hand, cannot be said to be subordinated by black men. In terms of class they still hold prominent positions in the private sector. The hegemony is still in the stage of transition and therefore it is not surprising that news shows white men in more prominent positions than black men. This is in line with how Morrell (1998) indicates that hegemonic masculinity must be understood within a social context and as something that is constantly produced and contested. The white man's hegemonic masculinity in South Africa should be understood as being contested and heavily challenged by black male hegemony. The black male masculinity in South Africa has been assisted by affirmative action policies that are designed to advance the political and economic position of black people in South Africa.

Women as social actors in newscasts

The analysis concentrated on only top ten general social positions under which people on the news are likely to fall.

Sportsmen/women, members and representatives of teams and national or international leagues

The first one analyses the position of sportsmen and sportswomen and the representatives of teams and national or international leagues. South African television news selected more men than women as the sports people. Women who were sports people only 14.7%, dominated by white women. The rest were men. This kind of portrayal stems from the

fact that the sports covered by news on television are men's sports only. It is not surprising then that men covered as sports persons at 85% make the greater portion of subjects portrayed.

Anonymous members of the public and victims of crime and disasters

The findings of the research on this section reveals that most of the anonymous opinion is taken from men. However, in this section we found more women covered by news than any other category of social actors. By portraying more women as victims of crime and disasters and as anonymous people giving their opinion on the public, news promotes the dominance of men. The binary codes of femininity and masculinity suggest that women are more likely to be victims than survivors and their opinion is more likely to be anonymous and just rumble and it tends not to be taken seriously like a man's opinion will be. As related by Ellen Brown (1994), although women do tell stories, they do not tell stories in a way that the dominant culture expects them to.

Women's stories are often circular, lacking a clear beginning, middle, or end. Thus, in dominant discourse, what women tell is not classified or recognized as stories. Hence women's stories go unrecorded and unrecognised, (Brown, 1994:1).

What women say in news may be treated as just a talk of which the speaker might not need to be acknowledged. Men's talk on the other hand is taken as structured and meaningful and therefore is of a greater importance. Portraying women as victims as opposed to survivors promotes the stereotypical perceptions that people have about women, that they are weak, passive and dependent on active and strong men for protection.

Executive power persons; managers, CEOs, Directors and religious leaders

The positions mentioned here are very prominent positions in the social hierarchy and these are positions that command authority and dominance and power over others. Women who hold the above powerful positions in television news made only a minimum of 4.3%. All the other social actors in this category came from men who were almost equally represented across racial categories. The empowerment strategies that were undertaken in South Africa, among other things, intended, and to a certain extend

succeeded in uplifting the image of women in this society. Today we have more women entering the public sphere previously reserved for men, and they manage to get to the top positions in business industry. However, as social actors, men are still seen as more attractive than women. This distorted portrayal of women in news entrenches the notions of patriarchy. Feminist definitions of patriarchy show how this impacts on women. Men are assumed to be superior and women subordinate.

Religious leaders covered on News were all men, including the Roman Catholic Church Pope, John Paul, Muslim leaders, and Bishop Desmond Tutu. All these religions are still traditional in the sense that all the religious leaders are men. To argue this point will require a thorough understanding of those different religions, therefore I prefer to explain the dominance of men who are religious leaders as stemming from the fact that even in reality, these religions are led by men.

Heads of governments/states

It has been argued that in Africa and in many parts of the world, the ruling class is dominantly male; black men dominate in Africa while white men dominate in Europe and USA. Asian countries are ruled largely by men. Heading the state is one position in the social hierarchy that is and has been dominantly a male preserve. In feminist terms it will be seen as the working of the patriarchal order of the society that identifies man as the head. Especially in the level of the state, men are more likely to be entrusted with the duty of ruling the country. The only argument that can be drawn from this finding is that it promotes the manufacturing of different masculinities in terms of the ruling class. As Morrell (1998) suggests, in South Africa, the history of white supremacy suggests that white, ruling class masculinity was hegemonic in the apartheid era. When the apartheid ended, white male masculinity was challenged and contested by black men who gained the ruling power. In the USA and in Europe, the ruling class is predominantly white men. This situation is reflected in the news coverage of only men of different races as the heads of the governments and heads of the states.

Political leaders, Ministers and representatives of governments, organizations and unions

The great majority of the social actors featured in news in this category, (92.2%) were men. By covering only a few female social actors in this category, news programmes do not coincide with the reality of the presence of women in these prominent sectors of the society. In South Africa, the process of empowerment has meant that a significant number of women have access to legislative power, through their participation in making decisions in the community, and at national level. However, the dominance of black men in this category is a result of their dominance in government. South Africa dominantly is ruled by the African National Congress (ANC) party whose membership is largely black and that explains the predominant presence of black men in this category. Other white actors covered in this category are persons from foreign countries and a few are South African white men.

While it is true that the presence of men in these positions outnumbers that of women, the imbalance is not as large as it could be considering the absence of women in the news as female political leaders, Ministers and representatives of governments and organisations.

Members of the judiciary and legal system

In this category of social actors, white men dominated the presence of all persons covered. However, on SABC2, women were in the majority at a 34%. The legal system is about 'talk'. Most of the people covered as members of the judiciary are men. It has to be considered that the presence of women in the legal system is new. In defending cases of law, most people still appear to trust men more than women. While it is true that there are men who are very experienced, many top solicitors are women. Women's talk, as argued by Brown (1994), is mostly not taken seriously and it is not constructed and therefore unrecognised. To confirm that there are many women in the legal system, one need only look at the number of female law graduates every year just at the University of Natal.

Terrorists/Criminals

The only people covered as criminals and terrorists in television news were men. Most of the men featured as criminals and terrorists were Asian men and black men. To be a criminal or a terrorist means that one has to have attributes of aggressiveness, strong and daring. The binary codes of femininity and masculinity teach us that such traits are not associated with women. Powerful people are supposed to be men and women can only afford to be victims of crime and terrorism. This is another kind of masculinity that is not powerful because it does not command authority but it is powerful because it is very threatening. According to Morrell, (1994), gang groups manifested a protest of oppositional masculinity against the state, white people, African women and African elders:

The means by which youth masculinity was primarily asserted was by violence – against other gangs, against workers, against symbols of authority and against women. The old idea central to African masculinity, that being a man meant to be in control of oneself, not to resort to violence and to be wise was replaced with a tough masculinity that black consciousness captured in its early 1970's slogan, 'black man you are on you own' (Morrell, 1994:627).

Apart from poverty and unemployment for black people in South Africa, these are some of the motivations to having black men dominating the number of criminals in this country. News then perpetuates the fear of black people by portraying only them as criminals when there are white people who are criminals as well.

Police/soldiers and members of the public order and security

Policewomen and female soldiers as well as members of public order and security were almost absent in news except for a single entrance of one black woman featured as a policewoman on SABC2. On all the other channels, female members of security were absent in the news. The connotations of holding such position in the society are related to violence and power whereby the police or soldiers will have to use force and their power which is in most cases enhanced by the fact that they are armed. All these attributes are not associated with femininity. News does not recognise the change of roles that many women have adopted. Today, women make a significant percentage of persons in the

security system, whether as police or members of the army. News producers should reflect this change by using women as news sources.

Businessmen/women, members of financial groups and stock exchange

One of the objectives of implementing the empowerment strategies for women was to give them a sense of independence by making it possible for them to access economic resources. Economic empowerment relates to the access and control of economic resources. Through affirmative action we have seen women entering the business world and becoming equal competitors in the previously men's world. Women are running their own businesses from consultants to business owners. There is no reason therefore that can be valid enough for news to ignore these huge achievements of women by not including them as news sources. The presence of women as businesspersons made a significant entry of 42.7%. However, there were racial imbalances of the representation of women in this social sector where there was a huge dominance of white women. According to Davis (1984), black and white women's oppression has always been different. White women have always been more privileged in terms of educational background and employment in general. Their advancement in the business world is therefore understood but black women have also become great achievers in the business world. It is up to news to portray a picture of diverse South Africans as achievers in business.

Experts in different professional fields, medical doctors, academics, artists, et cetera

To ascertain how many women, as opposed to men are in these different positions in South Africa, I will not look far, but to the list of graduates in all those different fields. The number of women in different fields of professionalism is increasing every year. When news portrays men as the dominant social actors in these fields, it gets difficult to understand what is it about people that really attract the news producers. With women making only 27.6% of the showing in all the categories, obviously television news is not spreading its nets wide enough to cover both men and women equally as experts in different fields. The only expertise opinion that seems to be trusted is that of men. Men

are always the privileged in news as they are always portrayed as the 'know all' in almost anything that is presented in news.

CONCLUSION

News is a very important television genre. It is the reason television stations, like Sky TV and CNN exist. Like any other television programme, news is a commodity that has to deliver audience to the advertisers. As defined by Fiske (1987) news is "that which is printed at the back of advertisements", (Fiske, 1987:281). Although women make a majority of 52% of the South African population, they are misrepresented in News. News, like all the media discourses, is an instrument of cultural reproduction that is highly implicated within the power structures and reflects values about the world: "News is not a value-free reflection of fact" (Fowler, 1991:4). One of these values transmitted in News is male supremacy. By excluding women in news, the masculine nature of the News audience is confirmed. All the television stations portray a very minimal participation of women social actors in news. The perceived audience of news is obviously men. According to Fiske,

[a]ll television channels or networks use an early evening news program to lead into their prime-time schedules. This is designed to draw the male of the household into the TV audience. He is assumed to have just returned from work, finding his wife and children already watching the softer program preceding 'his' news (Fiske 1987:281).

News is about what happens in the public sphere as opposed to the private and the domestic. The binary oppositions of gender teach us that the public sphere is deemed as the masculine and is largely occupied by men. If news is about the public sphere, then it is perceived to be about men and for men. According to Fiske, (1987), news is about the masculine and it is aimed at a male audience. The production of news stories that were reviewed for this research can be seen to conform to Fiske's statement that news excludes women as the potential audience for news programmes.

To start off with, the newsrooms for both e-tv and SABC television stations seemed to be dominated by men. For the whole week that news was recorded, e-tv news was presented

by 68% of male news presenters and only 32% of female news presenters. SABC2 in the same way had its news presentation dominated by men with a majority of 55% and women presenters amounted to 45% of all those screened. As was the case with both SABC2 and e-tv, SABC3 had more male newsreaders than female newsreaders with the difference of 64% to 36%. The same situation applied to the news reporters/journalists where there was a significant gap between the presence of male and female news journalists/reporters. However, e-tv was exceptional by having almost equal presence of male and female news reporters. On SABC2 and SABC3 male news reporters outnumbered female news reporters with a difference of 68% to 32%. Despite the efforts of the government, through the policy of affirmative action, to uplift the image of women in South Africa, women are still marginalised in the news discourse.

With affirmative action, the number of women as window dressing has increased, but when looking for expert opinion, as source, women are still not considered reliable and embodying reason, trustworthiness and knowledgability. Women's voices are hardly heard. It is noted by Caldos-Coulthard (2000) that, internationally women in general are part of the unaccessed voice group and the small quality of female speech reported in the press. This is confirmed in the present research. The vast majority of experts interviewed in the channels reviewed for this research were men and there was only a sporadic presence of women experts in such roles. Male experts occupied all fields of knowledge, everything from political, terrorism, economics to science and medicine, from literature to history, new technology, arts, sports, environment to law and justice. Looking at the social actors who were normally covered in news, all the categories devised for this research were dominated by men with the maximum of 80.9% compared to 19.1% of the presence of female news subjects. However, a significant presence of women was seen where they were featured as the anonymous members of the public or the victims. They were used to bring out the emotive and dramatic dimensions of certain events and men were interviewed for more constructive and weighty opinion. This promotes sex-role stereotyping where men are supposedly more organised and reasonable and women are emotional and irrational.

The exclusion of women from television news has a clear potential to affect news audience. The audience remains uninformed about what women do for the society. Ignoring women's issues in news and wiping them off the newscasts reinforce the cultural stereotype contained in the implicit messages around the insignificance of women and their role as mothers or housewives. Female audience members are excluded from the public sphere and "the implicit symbolic messages contained in the coverage largely serve to reinforce cultural stereotypes about the insignificance of women and their proper place" (Pingree and Howkins 1978 in Van Zoonen, 1991:219). The classic division between the female private sphere and male public sphere appears to be valid from the analysis of the South African television news. It is further argued by Van Zoonen (1991) that some authors claim that the news does not provide women with knowledge that enables them to make sense of their own daily experiences. This sexism in news blocks women from knowing that they even exist as a public phenomenon.

There are various reasons for the absence of women in news discourse that have been highlighted (Theveron; 1986, Van Zoonen; 1991). One of the most frequently argued points is that women's marginal participation in the public sphere contributes to their absence in news. However, women have entered the public sphere in great numbers, and it is just up to the news producers to spread their nets wide enough and make it their goal to include women in news programmes. For democracy to be fully implemented in South Africa, television audience need to see the diversity of news players and women in particular need to feel represented in news media.

REFERENCES

Published work

- Adams, D.A. (1991). 'Nacaragua, the peace process, and television news: A case study of U.S and Canadian coverage in three languages'. In *Canadian journal of communication*. Vol. 16.
- Allan, B. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Allen, D. Rush, R.R and Kaufman, J.S. (1996). *Women transforming communication*. London, Sage.
- Andrews, A. (1995). 'Affirmative action in South Africa'. In Liebenberg, S. *The constitution of South Africa from a gendered perspective*. Western Cape, Community law centre.
- × Berger, A. (1998). *Media analysis techniques*. 2nd edition. London, Sage.
- × Berger, A. (2000). *Media and communication research methods*. London, Sage.
- × Berkowitz, D. (1997). *Social meanings of news*. London, Sage.
- × Bird, W. (1999). 'Here is the news: A comparative analysis of e-tv and SABC3 News'. In *Media Mask*. Vol. 4, No 1. (Pp14-32).
- Butcher, H. et al. (1981). 'Images of women in media'. In Cohen, S. and Young, J. *The manufacture of news*. London, Constable.

- Caldas-Coultheart, C.R. (1991). 'Man in the news: the misrepresentation of women speaking in news-as-narrative-discourse'. In *The language of the news media*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Creedon, P.J. (1989). *Women in mass communication: Challenging gender values*. London, Sage.
- Creedon, P. (1998). 'Women, sport and media institutions: Issues in sports journalism and marketing'. In Wenner, L.A. *Mediasport*. London, Routledge.
- Dahlgren, P. and Sparks, C. (1991). *Communication and citizenship: Journalism and the public sphere*. London, Routledge.
- Davis, A. (1984). *Woman, culture and politics*. London, Women's Press.
- Duncan, M.C. and Messer, A.M. (1998). 'The media image of sport and gender'. In Wenner, L.A. *Mediasport*. London, Routledge.
- Ferguson, R. (1998). *Representing 'race': Ideology, identity and the media*. London, Arnold.
- Fiske, J. (1989). *Television culture*. New York, Routledge.
- × Fowler, R. (1991). *Social meanings of news*. London, Sage.
- × Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. (1981). 'Structuring and selecting news. In Cohen, S. and Young, J. *The manufacture of news*. London, Constable.
- × Gans, H.J. (1980). *Decoding what's news*. New York. Vintage Books.

Gary, O.H. (1998). *Communication and race: Structural perspective*. London, Arnold.

Gautlett, D. and A. Hill. (1999). *TV living: Television culture and everyday life*. London, Routledge.

× Goga, F. (2001) 'Issues of race and gender in the post-apartheid South African media organizations, 1994 – 2000'. In Tomaselli, K and Hopeton, H (Eds). *Media, democracy and renewal in Southern Africa*. Colorado Springs, International Academic Publishers Ltd.

Gunter, B. (1986). *Television and sex role stereotyping*. London, John Libbey.

Hartley, J. (1990). *Television culture*. New York, Routledge.

Holland, P. (1987). 'When a woman reads the news'. In Baehr, H and Gray, A. (1996). *Turning it on*. London, Routledge.

hooks, b. (1986). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. London, Sheba feminist.

Humm, M. (1997). *Feminism and film*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Adinburg University press.

× Joseph, A. and Sharma, K. (1994). *Whose news? The media and women issues*. London, Sage.

Kane, M.J. 1998. 'Media treatment of female athletes: issues of gender and sexualities'. In Wenner, L. A. *Mediasport*. London, Routledge.

X Kaplan, A. 1987. 'Feminist Criticism and television'. In Allen, R.C. *Channels of discourse: television and contemporary criticism*. London, The University of the North California Press.

Kerlinger, F. (1973). *Foundations of behavioural research*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Krathwohl, D.R. (1988). *How to prepare for a research proposal*. 3rd edition. New York, Syracuse University Press.

X Lanson, J. and Fought, B.C. (1999). *News in a new century*. Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press.

Lodziak, C. (1986). *The power of television: A critical appraisal*. London, Frances Pinter.

McQuail, D. (2000). *McQuail's mass communication theory*. (4th Edition). London, Sage.

Mattelart, M. (1986). *Women media crisis*. London, Comedia.

X May, T. (2001). *Social research, issues, methods and process*. Burkingham. Open University.

Melkote, S.M. and Steeves, L.H. (2001). *Communication for development in the third world – Theory and practice for empowerment*. (2nd Ed). London, Sage.

Morrell, R. (1998). 'Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies'. In *Journal of Southern African studies*, Vol., 24, pp605-630.

- Manhando, S. (1996). 'Women Broadcasters and affirmative action at the SABC'. In
 X Mporfu, A. Manhando, S and Tomaselli. K. *Public Service Broadcasting: Policy directions towards 2000*. Johannesburg, Anthropos Publishers.
- Mulvey, L. 1989. *Visual and other pleasures*. Bloomington and the Indianapolis, Indiana University.
- Nacos, L. B. 1994. *Terrorism and the media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the Oklahoma city bombing*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Penley, C. 1989. *The future of an illusion film: Feminism and psychoanalysis*. London, Routledge.
- X Philo, G. (1990). *Seeing and believing: The influence of television*. New York, Routledge.
- X Richards, T. and King, B. (2000). 'An alternative to the fighting frame in news reporting'. In *Canadian journal of communication*. Vol 25. pp479-496.
- Riano, P. (1994). *Women in grassroots communication: Furthering social change*. London, Sage.
- Robert, A. (1987). *Television and contemporary criticism: Channels of discourse*. California, University of North California Press.
- Segel, J. and Tomlison, A. (1994). 'What is the name of the article?' In Boyle, R. and Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: sports, the media and popular culture*. London, Longman.
- Shanahan, J. and Morgan, M. (1999). *Television and its viewers: Cultivation theory and research*. Cambridge, University Press.

- X Silverstone, R. (1981). *The message of television: Myth and narrative in contemporary culture*. London, Heinemann.
- Shoemaker, P.J. and Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the messages: Theories of influences on mass media content*. London, Longman.
- Tuchman, G. (1981). 'The symbolic annihilation of women by mass media'. In Cohen, S. and Young, J. *The manufacture of news*. London, Constable.
- Tuchman, G. (1979). 'Women's depiction by the mass media'. In Baehr, H. and Gray, A. (1996). *Turning it on*. London, Arnold.
- Tudor, A. (1998). 'Sports reporting: race, difference and identity'. In Brands, K, Hermes, J and van Zoonen. *The Media in question: Popular culture and public interest*. New Delhi, Sage.
- Trowler, P. (1988). *Sociology in action. Investigating the media*. London, Unwin Hyman.
- UNESCO. (1987). *Women in media decision-making*. Paris, UNESCO.
- Van Zoonen, L. (1991). 'Feminist perspectives on the media'. In Curren, J. and Gurevitch, M. (Eds). *Mass media and society*. London, Edward Arnold.
- Van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies*. London, Sage.
- X Van Zoonen, L. 1991. 'A tyranny of intimacy? Women, femininity and television news'. In Dahlgren, P and Sparks, C. *Communication and citizenship: journalism and the public sphere*. New York, Routledge.
- X Watson, J. and Hill, A. (2000). *Dictionary of media and communication studies*. (5th Edition). London, Arnold.

Weber, R.P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. (2nd edition). London, Sage.

Wenner, L.A. 1998. *Mediasport*. London, Routledge.

Wober, M. and Gunter, B. (1988). *Television and social control*. Hong Kong, Avebury.

Young, K. (1988). *Women and economic development: Local, regional and national planning*. Oxford, Berg.

Unpublished papers.

CASE. (1995). "Where are women?": Analysing the representation of women in the media. Johannesburg: MMP.

Media Monitoring Project. (1999). 'A snapshot survey of women's representation in the South African media at the end of the millennium'. Commissioned for Women's Media Watch. South Africa. Johannesburg: MMP.

Midi TV. (1998). Promise of performance document. Johannesburg – Submitted to ICASA.

Women's Net. (2001). 'Research into Engendering Broadcast Legislation'. National Electoral Media.

Aphane, A.M. (1994). 'The treatment of violence on the South African Broadcasting Corporations television news: A comparative analysis between TV1 and CCV news from 14 March to 26 April 1994'. M. A Thesis. Center for Cultural and Media Studies. University of Natal, Durban.

Farre, J. Saperas, E. and Navarro, V. (1998). 'The presence of women in the television news'. Institut Catala de la Dona. University Pompeu, Fabra.

Primo, N. (2001). Policy analysis report: Engendering the broadcast legislation. Johannesburg, Women's Net.

Teer-Tomaselli, R.E. (1992). 'The Political of discourse and the discourse of Political: Images of violence and reform on the television news bulletins. July 1985 – November 1986'. PhD Thesis. Center for Cultural and Media Studies. University of Natal, Durban.

Internet sources.

Howard, I. (2002). 'On party, gender, race and class, TV news looks more to the powerful groups'. www.fair.org/extra/0205/power_sources.html

X Chandler, D. (2000). 'Notes on the construction of reality in TV news programmes'. www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/TF33120/news.html

X Peace, M. (2000). 'The construction of reality on television news'. www.aber.ac.uk/media/Students/mbp9701.html.

Capecchi, S. and Demaria, C. (2000). 'Gender representation in the news'. In <http://4tbo.women.it/workshops/spectacles2/saveriacapocchi.htm>.

'Do women make the news (look good)?' On www.wacc.org.uk

'Gender analysis and gender equity guidelines'. On www.undp.org/gender/resources/mono6.html

Lori Dorfman and Vincent Schiraldi
www.buidingblocksfor youth.org/media/factsheet.html

Media Association for Christian Communication.
www.wacc.org.uk/publications/mgm/10/news.html

Alex de Waal. 'AIDS Africa's greatest leadership challenge: Roles and approaches for an effective response age'. In www.justiceafrica.org/aidspaper.html.

Dra. Gina Zabludovky. 1998. Women Business Owners in Mexico: An emerging Economic force, In www.ibm.com/businesscenter/us/smbusapub.nsf/detailcontacts/Interest+Groups9E8D

Farhi, P. 2001. Washington Post on lack of diversity in news personalities after Sept 11. In an e-mail for Ruth Teer Tomaselli from svalentine@health-e.org.za

Ingham, H. (2001) 'The portrayal of women on television'. In www.aber.ac.uk/media/Students/hzi9401.html.

Kaplan, A. Feminist criticism and television. <http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/~cbybee/j388/feminist.html>.