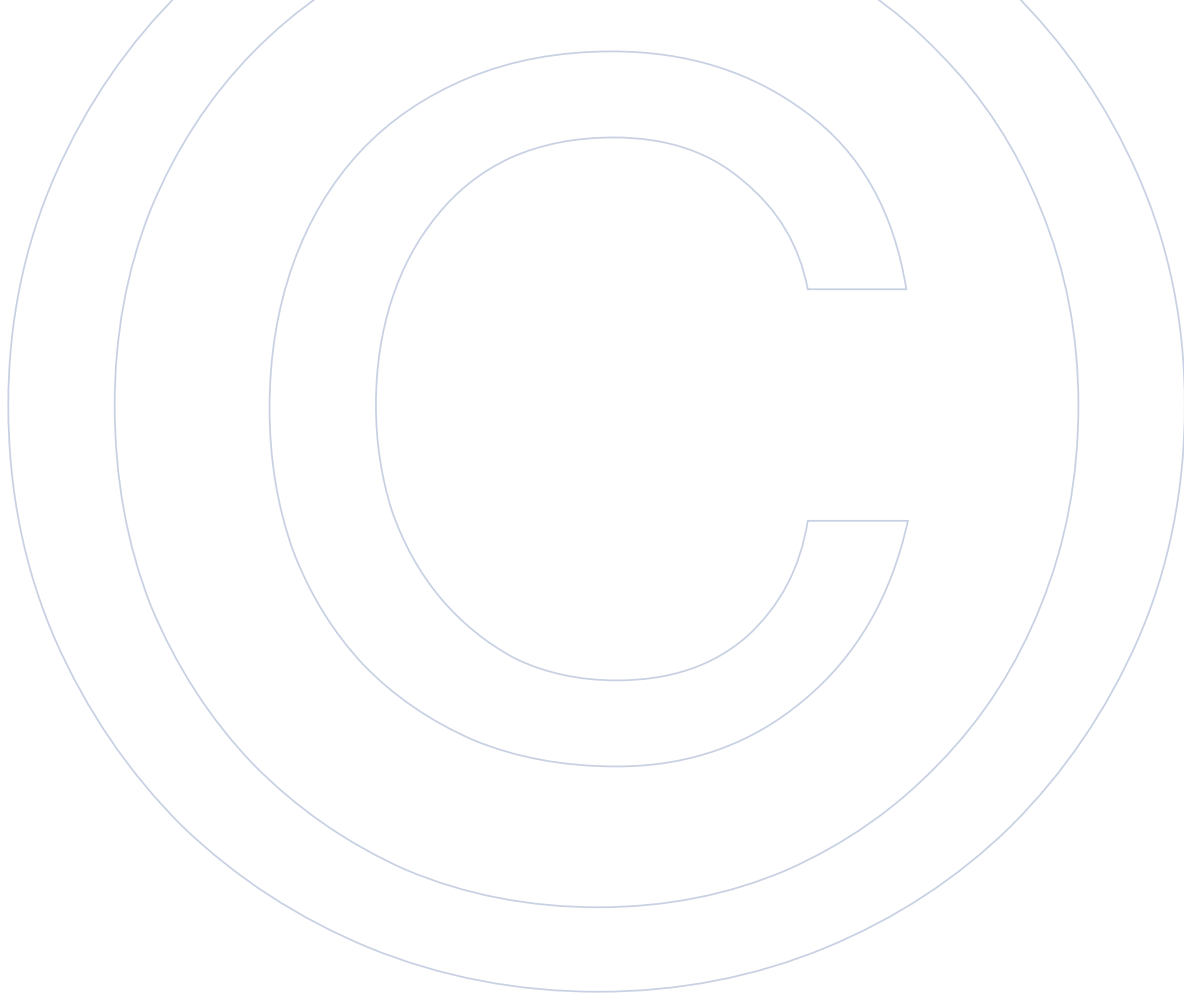




GENDER IN THE 2011 SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL ELECTIONS



BY COLLEEN LOWE MORNA AND NTOMBI MBADLANYANA



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1

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

executive summary



Will the DA deliver for all.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna



The 2011 local government elections that witnessed a decline in women's representation at the very moment that South Africa should be redoubling its efforts to achieve gender parity underscores the need for a legislated quota for women in national and local elections. This is the conclusion reached by Gender Links (GL), the Johannesburg-based research and advocacy organisation following a gender analysis of the 18 May 2011 local government election results.

The analysis shows that women now constitute 38% of councillors following the 18 May polls, down from 40% in 2006. GL predicted this outcome to the exact percentage point, based on an analysis of the likely decline in support for the African National Congress (ANC), the only party that endeavoured (but even then did not quite succeed) in fielding equal numbers of women and men candidates in both ward and PR seats.

TABLE 1: GENDER AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Year	% women ward	% women PR	% women overall
1995	11%	28%	19%
2000	17%	38%	29%
2006	37%	42%	40%
2011	33%	43%	38%

Table 1 summarises gender and local government election results over the four municipal elections since 1995. The table shows steady progress in the first three elections, with women's representation increasing from 19% in 1995 to 29% in 2000; up further to 40% after the ANC adopted a 50/50 quota in 2006. Of particular significance in 2006 was the increase in the representation of women in ward seats (where women traditionally do not do as well as in Proportional Representation or PR seats) from 17% in 2000 to 37% in 2006. The decline in women's representation in ward seats from 37% in 2000 to 33% in 2011, and corresponding overall decline of women's representation by two percentage points is a bitter blow for the 50/50 campaign.

While the main opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) is led by two prominent women, Helen Zille and Patricia de Lille (formerly leader of the Independent Democrats), the party opposes quotas. The local elections again witnessed a war of words between Zille and the ANC over her having an all-male cabinet in the Western Cape where she is premier, after de Lille moved from the provincial cabinet to become mayor of Cape Town. Zille counter accused the ANC of fielding very few women for mayors of the new councils.

The decline in women at all levels of local government comes against the backdrop of the 2008 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development (to which South Africa is a signatory) that calls for gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015. Unless the ANC succeeds in its current endeavours to get national and local election dates synchronised leading to an unexpected round of local elections along with the scheduled national elections in 2014, South Africa has missed the chance (so tantalizingly possible) of achieving the parity target at the local level on time, since the next local elections would ordinarily be in 2016.

Ironically, as South Africa prepared for the 2011 local elections, Minister of Women, Children and People with Disabilities Lulu Xingwana was put the finishing touches to the Gender Equality Bill that would result in punitive measures for companies and individuals that do not meet the government's gender equality targets. Yet the government did not seize the call made by NGOs, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) to legislate quotas for women's representation in South African elections so that this is not left to the whims of political parties.

The gender analysis of the 2011 elections contained in this report demonstrates clearly how leaving women's representation to political parties is fraught with challenges, and why a legislated quota is urgently required if South Africa is to meet its 2015 obligations.



2

BACKGROUND

background

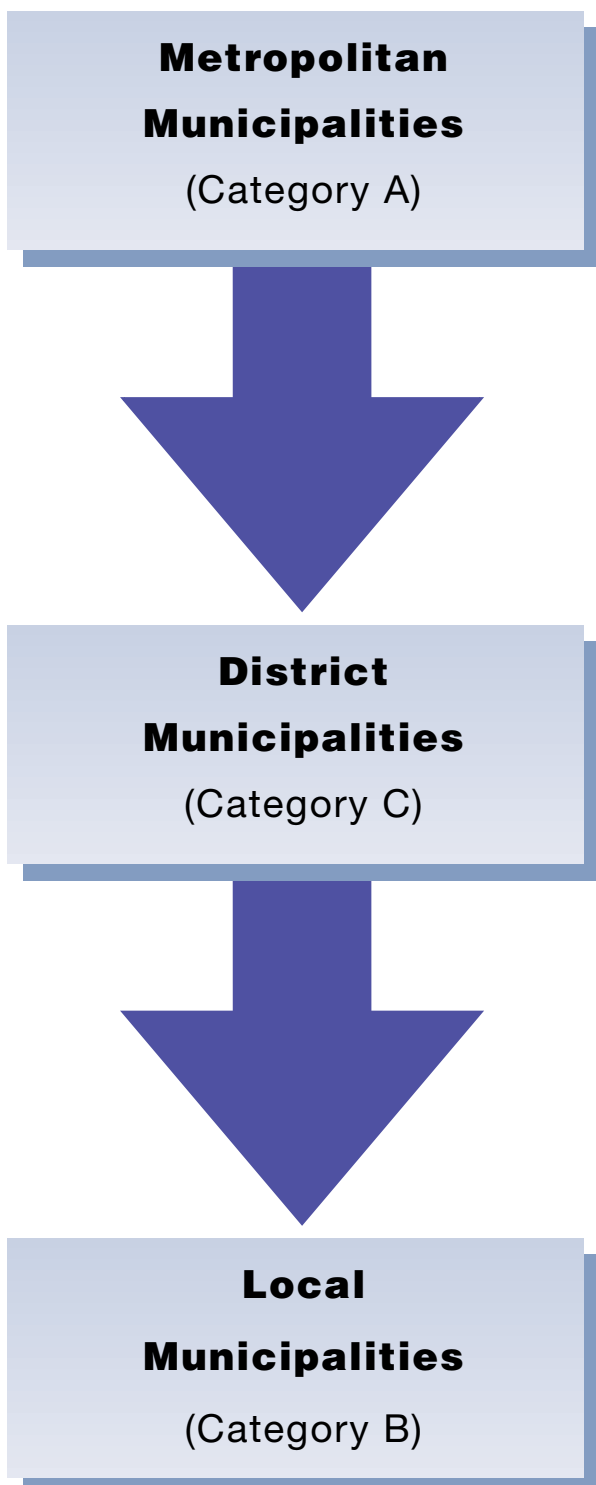


Tseki Village in the wake of last month's local government elections.

Photo: Public Eye News



Municipalities in South Africa are a division of local government that lie one level down from provincial government, forming the primary level of democratically elected government structures in the country. South Africa has 284 municipalities, divided into three categories. Municipalities can belong to one of three categories: metropolitan, district and local (referred to in the constitution as categories A, B and C).



Metropolitan - (or Category A) municipalities represent large regions that encompass some urbanised region or regions that might be regarded as a city.

For example, the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape encompasses the city of Town other and surrounding towns.

There are six metropolitan municipalities in South Africa:

- City of Cape Town
- City of Tshwane
- City of Johannesburg
- eThekweni
- Nelson Mandela Bay
- Ekurhuleni

District Municipalities - (or Category C)

- A district municipality is a designation for a class of municipalities found in several locations.
- A district council has municipal executive and legislative authority over a large area.
- For example, Aganang Local Municipality is contained within the District Municipality of Capricorn, in the province of Limpopo.

Local Municipalities - (or Category B)

- Local municipalities share authority with the district municipality under which they fall.

Electoral system

There are two main types of electoral system:

- In the **Proportional Representation** (PR) or “list system” citizens vote for parties that are allocated seats in parliament according to the percentage of vote they receive. Individual candidates get in according to where they sit on the list. In an **open list system**, voters determine where candidates sit on the list. In a **closed list system**, the party determines where candidates sit on the list, although this is usually based on democratic nomination processes within the party.
- In the constituency or “**First Past the Post**” (FPTP) system, citizens vote not just for the party, but also for the candidate who represents the party in a geographically defined constituency. Thus a party can garner a significant percentage of the votes, but still have no representative in parliament, because in this system “the winner takes all”.



In South Africa, national elections are conducted on a simple PR basis while local elections are conducted on a mixed system that involves both the PR and FPTP system.

The mixed PR and FPTP system in South Africa is designed to harness the best of both electoral systems (with the PR system more friendly to women and minorities and the FPTP enhancing individual accountability). Initially however, this system disadvantaged women, as they performed worse than men in the ward seats.

For metropolitan councils, each voter has two votes: one for the ward councillor (or candidate of their choice) and the other for the PR vote (or party of their choice). For local councils, voters have three votes: one for the ward, the other for the PR and the third for the district PR vote.

District councils are constituted on the basis of two PR votes by District Management Area Voters plus one PR vote by local council voters and one representative from local councils. In sum, metropolitan and local councils have an even split of ward and PR councillors while in the case of district councils the split is 60:40.

Gender and local government elections

Initially, gender took a low priority in the complex negotiations on how to restructure and transform local government and did not feature in the debates on how the electoral system would affect women's representation.

As reflected in Table 1, in the first local government elections in 1995, women won a mere 11% of the ward seats and 28% of the of the PR seats, for an overall total of 19% (significantly less than in the 1994 national elections in which women won 27% of the 400 seats in the National Assembly).

At the time of negotiations on the White Paper on Local Government in 1998, the Cape Town-based Gender Advocacy Project (GAP) raised a number of concerns with regard to women's representation as well as facilitating their effective participation in local government. GAP and the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), a constitutional body established to 'promote and protect' gender equality, made a submission to the then minister responsible



Zuma's inauguration.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

for local government, Valli Moosa, on how the situation might be rectified.

The outcome of these negotiations is reflected in the Municipal Structures Act 1998. Given women's poor performance in the ward seats, one significant gain was to adjust the balance of ward/PR seats in local and municipal councils from the original 60:40 ratio to the equal balance described earlier in this chapter for local and municipal elections.

The Act fell short of legislating a quota as advocated by GAP and the CGE. However it required that parties "seek to ensure that 50 percent of the candidates on the party list are women, and that women and men candidates are evenly distributed though (sic) the list."¹

The weakness of this wording is that it encourages, but does not oblige parties to adopt a zebra system for the PR seats, and places no obligation on them to field women candidates in the ward seats.

The influence has been especially felt within the ANC. While the party has shied away from legislated quotas, it has been at the forefront of promoting women's participation where it has the influence to do so.

The ANC adopted a voluntary 30% quota for women in all three provincial and parliamentary elections since 1994 and in local government in 1995 and 2000. While the quota, used in combination with the PR system at provincial and national level, ensured over thirty percent women in these spheres of politics, local government lagged behind because women struggled to get in on the ward seats in local government.

However, in the 2006 local elections the ANC adopted a 50% quota for women. Furthermore, it made a particular effort to ensure that women were elected on their own merit in ward seats, narrowing the gender gap between the PR and ward seats and increasing the overall representation of women in local government from 29% in 2000 to 40% in 2006. The ANC also adopted a 50/50 quota for national elections in 2009, resulting in an increase in the proportion of women from 33% to 44%.

The ANC's big achievement in the 2006 elections was not only to field 53% women candidates overall (of whom 46% won) but to substantially increase the proportion of women ward councillors to 40% of the total ANC ward councillors. The upshot (see Table 1) is that women ward councillors increased from 17% in 2000 to 38% in 2006 while PR councillors increased from 38% in 2000 to 43% in 2005 for an overall total of 40% (compared to 29% in 2000).



Photo: nieandyou.blogspot.com

1 Municipal Structures Act 1998, Schedule 2, Part 1, section 5 (3).



3 gender in the 2011 elections



SABC covered South African 2011 Local Government Elections live.

Photo: sabc.co.za



Women as voters

The IEC began voter registration from the 5 - 8 February 2011. Table two shows that a total of 547,651 voters registered: 53% women. Western Cape, Limpopo and Kwa Zulu-Natal registered the most female voters. Women traditionally take an active interest in elections, especially at the local level, as water, electricity and sanitation have a direct bearing on their lives. The youth responded in full force to the call to register and to the campaign to “Love Your South Africa” endorsed by local celebrities and musicians. Many political parties also made an effort to target younger voters by creating campaigns specifically targeting these groups.

TABLE 2: WOMEN VOTERS IN THE 2011 LOCAL ELECTIONS

Province	Female	Male	Total	Women	Men
Eastern Cape	34,944	31,704	66,648	52%	48%
Free State	13,097	11,336	24,433	53%	47%
Gauteng	56,630	52,413	109,043	51%	49%
Kwa Zulu-Natal	80,865	69,479	150,344	54%	46%
Limpopo	27,303	22,418	49,721	55%	45%
Mpumalanga	17,673	16,023	33,696	52%	48%
Northwest	16,147	14,336	30,483	53%	47%
Northern Cape	7,852	7,134	14,986	53%	47%
Western Cape	36,908	31,389	68,297	54%	46%
Total	291,419	256.232	547,651	53%	47%

Source: Independent Electoral Commission

Gender analysis of party manifestos

Political parties released their political manifestos pre the election period to canvas their policies and programmes to the voting public. These manifestos all promised to improve the lives of people with infrastructural development, housing, sanitation and improvement of services. On the other hand, these manifestos failed to indicate how they would promote the mainstreaming of gender into their various planned programmes and

projects, they also failed to show how they would improve the status of women, whilst ensuring that women had access to services and amenities to improve their living conditions.

Some political parties mentioned gender vaguely; some did not mention gender at all, whilst only one gave a detailed account. Table 3 is a detailed analysis of gender in party manifestos.



TABLE 3: GENDER ANALYSIS OF ELECTION MANIFESTOS

PARTY	QUOTA	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN MANIFESTOS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
African National Congress (ANC)	Committed to the 50:50 quota to achieve gender - equality after the 2011 local government elections.	More women are represented in local government than ever before (42% of councilors are women).	The manifesto says that the ANC led government will build a local government system that will give power to communities to make their voices heard and to work with municipalities to make change happen. In doing so municipalities will need to ensure that there is equal access to employment and skills development for women and youth.
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	No Quota	Only mentions women in terms of increasing safety- ACDP will prioritise efforts to increase the safety and well-being of women and children.	No specific mention of how it plans to mainstream gender into the daily activities. And it mentions these plans rather very vaguely by indicating that an elected local councilor will support community initiatives to help prevent teen-pregnancy and offer assistance for young mothers.
Democratic Alliance (DA)	No Quota	<p>No mention of women in the entire manifesto, not even in the introduction of the manifesto.</p> <p>Only focused on service delivery, reducing crime and providing houses</p> <p>There is mention of providing services to the poor and disabled persons, and assisting them by having rebate rates.</p>	<p>Not mainstreamed at all no plans or indications of how they plan to ensure that effective service delivery will improve the lives of women.</p> <p>No strategies in place main focus is on service delivery and infrastructural development.</p>



PARTY	QUOTA	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN MANIFESTOS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
Freedom Front Plus (FFP)	No quota.	<p>No mention of women in the manifesto not in the introduction as well.</p> <p>Focus is mainly on ensuring that there is better service delivery, and also promoting moral values in accordance to the Christian value system.</p>	Not mainstreamed, the focus is on building Christian Values and promoting multi-lingual society and service delivery.
Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP)	No quota	<p>No mention of women in the manifesto not in the introduction.</p> <p>No projects/plans to improve services for the poor/youth/ marginalised.</p> <p>Instead the IFP is solely focusing on rooting out corruption and holding municipalities accountable for funds spent.</p>	Not mainstreamed.
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	No quota	<p>The UCDP does recognise that corruption within municipalities can hinder the plan to bring on par gender equity.</p> <p>However this is mentioned very oddly, no clear plan as to how they are willing to address this issue.</p>	No clear mention of how the UCDP will ensure that women are offered opportunities for growth within these municipalities, and to also address the issue of how corruption will be rooted.
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	No quota	<p>The UDM has an integrated environmental management plan which does include women.</p> <p>It states that a UDM led council will promote women and youth participation in environmental projects that create job opportunities.</p>	Although there is mention that a UDM council will promote women participation and have opportunities for jobs there is no clear plan or indication of how this will be implemented.



The analysis shows that the ANC is the only party that has made an effort to mainstream gender in its manifesto. The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) did not have any clear vision in terms of how women will be empowered, instead they refer to women being offered the opportunity to be supported if they fall pregnant and will assist with teenage pregnancy issues. COPE also did not have a clear plan as to how the councilors who will form sub-committees will have projects or programmes to ensure that women are empowered.

Several parties including the DA, IFP, and the FFP do not even mention women in their manifestos, not even in their introductory paragraphs. The references to service delivery, rooting out corruption, infrastructural development are gender blind.



Women as candidates

TABLE 4: KEY COMPARATIVE DATA ON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS			
Comparison	2000	2006	2011
Parties contesting	79	97	121
Party list candidates	16,573	21,507	23,278
Ward candidates	13,214	23,672	29,570
Independents	690	667	748
Total candidates	30,477	45,179	53,596
Gender breakdown	Male 66%	Male 65%	Male 63%
	Female 34%	Female 35%	Female 37%
Uncontested Wards	75	11	7

Compiled by GL with data from the IEC

Table 4 provides key comparative data on the last three municipal elections in South Africa. The 2011 elections witnessed a record number of political parties participating, with a total of 121 contesting political parties, up from 79 in 2000 and 97 in 2006. According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) women comprised 19 731 of the 53 000 candidates; 37% of the total, up just two percent compared to 2006.



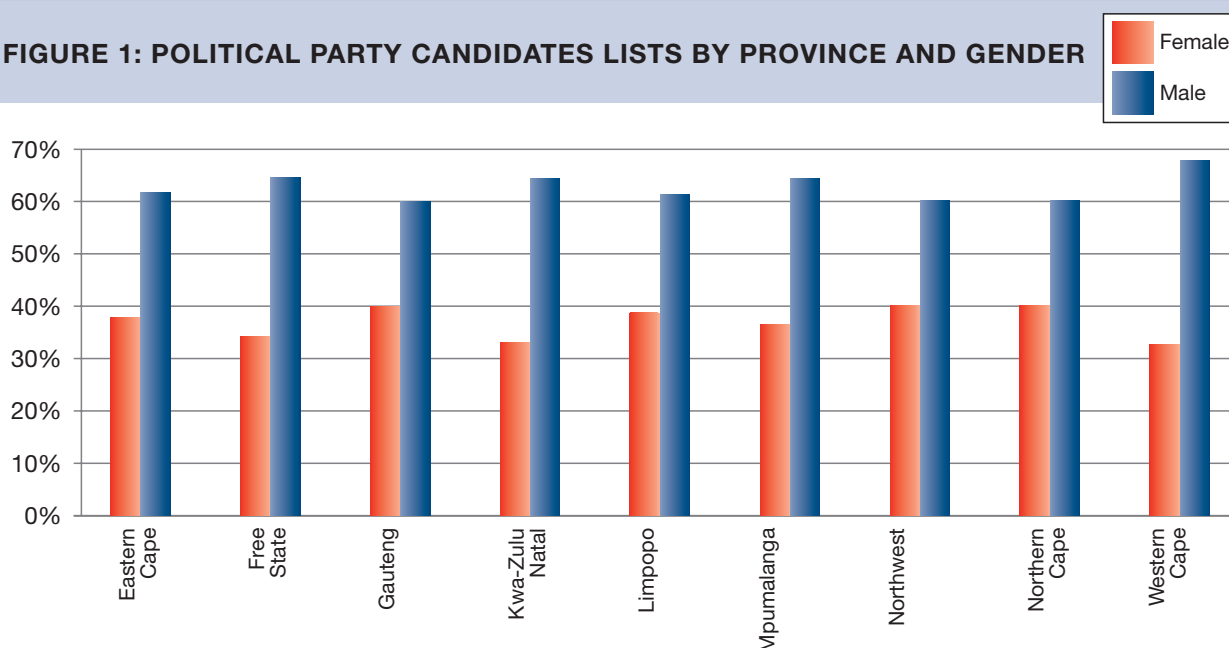
TABLE 5: GENDER ANALYSIS OF CANDIDATES BY PROVINCE

Province	Female	%	Male	%	Total
Eastern Cape	2,743	38	4,477	62	7,220
Free State	1,167	35	2,115	65	3,282
Gauteng	3,571	40	5,483	60	9,054
Kwa Zulu-Natal	3,554	34	6,836	66	10,390
Limpopo	2,593	39	4,095	61	6,688
Mpumalanga	1,571	36	2,797	64	4,368
Northwest	1,608	40	2,428	60	4,036
Northern Cape	649	40	951	60	1,600
Western Cape	2275	33	4,683	67	6,958
Total	19,731	37.2%	33,865	62.8%	53,596

Source: Independent Electoral Commission

Table 5 and the accompanying graph indicate that the proportion of female candidates varied per province, with gender parity not achieved in any one of the provinces. Gauteng (40%), Northwest (40%), and the Northern Cape (40%) had the highest proportion of women candidates. The DA dominated Western Cape which had the lowest proportion of female candidates (33%) despite being led by a female premier, Hellen Zille, and her partner, Patricia de Lille formerly leader of the Independent Democrats (ID).

FIGURE 1: POLITICAL PARTY CANDIDATES LISTS BY PROVINCE AND GENDER



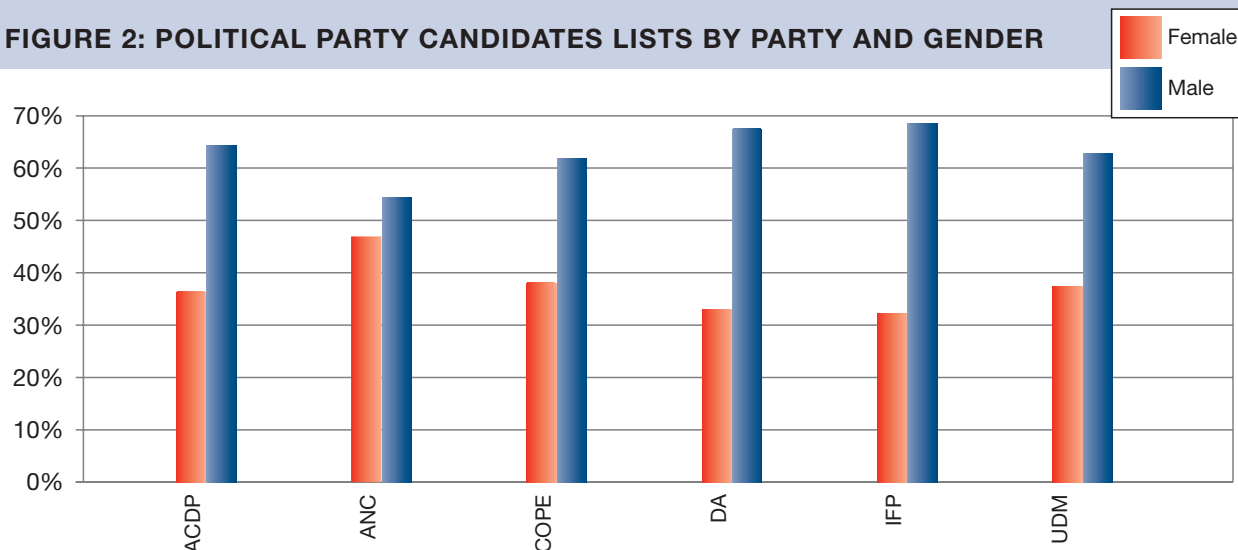
Source: Independent Electoral Commission

TABLE 6: WOMEN IN PR PARTY LISTS FOR THE 2011 SA LOCAL ELECTIONS

Party	Women	Men
ACDP	36%	64%
ANC	47%	53%
COPE	38%	62%
DA	33%	67%
IFP	32%	68%
UDM	37%	63%

Table six and the accompanying graph show the proportion of women and men on the PR lists of the six political parties analysed. The ANC had the highest proportion of women (47%) followed by COPE (38%). The UDM came in third at 37%; the ACDP next at 36%, followed by the DA (33%) and the IFP last at 32%. Only the ANC came close to meeting the 50/50 quota by having the largest proportion of women on their party lists. COPE, the ACDP and the UDM also came close to achieving parity without quotas.

FIGURE 2: POLITICAL PARTY CANDIDATES LISTS BY PARTY AND GENDER



Source: Independent Electoral Commission



Love your South Africa billboard.

Photo: skawara.com



Citizens need service delivery.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

4

ELECTION OUTCOMES

election
outcomes



Photo: capetowndailyphoto.com



Casting a vote at the local elections.

Photo: wordpress.com

South Africa experienced a calm pre-election period, with the exception of Kwa Zulu-Natal where the ANC and the IFP clashed periodically during campaigns and at rallies, though not to the same degree as previously.

The dominant ANC was widely expected to lose some ground in the elections as a result of service delivery protests. In the end this loss (from 66.3% in 2006 to 63.65% in 2011) was not as wide as expected as the ANC picked up support in the IFP stronghold of Kwa Zulu Natal. IFP support declined from 8.1% in 2006 to 3.94% in 2011. KwaZulu Natal is the only province in which the ANC picked up support, losing ground elsewhere to the DA.

The main opposition DA aimed to achieve greater stability in marginal municipalities and

to retain the Western Cape as its stronghold, as well as make inroads in other provinces especially the Northern Cape, the only other province without a black majority. It is also targeted other provinces such as the Eastern Cape and the Free State. The DA registered the strongest gains in the elections, from 14.8% in 2006 to 21.97% in 2011.

Following the national elections in 2009 the Congress of the People (COPE) lost considerable ground, with many of its cadres crossing over to the ANC. The party garnered a mere 2.33% of the vote. The new twist in the elections concerned the formation of the National Freedom Party (NFP) by Zanele ka Mgwaza Msibi, a woman leader who broke away from the IFP and whose new party unexpectedly garnered 2.58% of the vote

TABLE 7: OVERVIEW OF THE GENDER OUTCOMES OF THE 2011 SA LOCAL ELECTIONS

	Female	Male	Total	% women
PR	2086	2727	4813	43%
WARD	1408	2869	4277	33%
TOTAL	3494	5596	9090	38%

Source: Independent Electoral Commission

Table 7 provides a snapshot of the outcomes of the 2011 election results, with women constituting 43% of those who won the 4813 PR seats, and 33% of the 4277 ward seats.



PR seats

Table 8 is a detailed analysis of the PR seats by party and province. It shows that the ANC has the highest proportion of women who would occupy these seats - 55%, or over half, showing that the ANC actually exceeded its 50/50 quota with regard to PR seats. The IFP at (34%) is followed by the NFP (31%); COPE (29%) and the DA (27%).

These results clearly demonstrate the impact of voluntary party quotas in a PR system in which parties determine where women are on the lists. The ANC came close to parity in its PR lists and had more women than men in the upper levels of the list, resulting in more women than men PR councilors. Where parties had no quota, and did not place women in winning positions on their PR lists, they did not fare as well as men. The DA's poor performance with regard to women in PR lists is a classic example of what happens when parties fail to adopt quotas of their own and where they are under no legal obligation to do so.



Youth at Zuma's inauguration.

Photo: Gender Links

TABLE 8: GENDER ANALYSIS OF PR SEATS IN THE 2011 SA LOCAL ELECTIONS

Province	Seats	ANC		COPE		DA		IFP		NFP		OTHER		M		F	TOTAL	% Women
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
Eastern Cape	799	257	264	521	38	23	61	86	34	120						349	799	44%
Free State	359	84	122	206	20	9	29	78	19	97				17	10	160	359	43%
Gauteng	537	135	159	294	9	4	13	139	47	186	8	8	5	30	6	216	537	45%
Kwa-Zulu Natal	937	160	243	403	2		2	68	25	93	147	80	227	20	5	412	937	44%
Limpopo	628	211	243	454	38	9	47	49	13	62				57	8	273	628	43%
Mpumalanga	466	119	201	320	8	1	9	71	20	91	1	1	2	31	8	232	466	50%
North-West	449	126	164	290	18	8	26	64	25	89				28	15	213	449	47%
Northern Cape	215	43	51	94	32	17	49	47	18	65				5	2	88	215	41%
Western Cape	418	88	72	160	16	3	19	127	62	189				44	6	143	418	34%
TOTAL		1223	1519	2742	181	74	255	729	263	992	156	81	237	300	87	2086	4813	
			55%			29%			27%			34%			22%	43%		



TABLE 9: GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE WARD SEATS IN THE 2011 SA LOCAL ELECTIONS

Province	Seats	ANC		COPE		DA		IFP		NFP		OTHER		M		F	TOTAL	% Women
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
Eastern Cape	715	383	260	643	38	20	58					13	1	14	434	281	715	39%
Free State	317	199	82	281	22	12	34					2		2	223	94	317	29%
Gauteng	508	217	136	353	91	63	154	1							309	199	508	39%
Kwa-Zulu Natal	828	464	115	579	44	10	54	128	14	36	4	12	1	13	684	144	828	17%
Limpopo	543	292	218	510	9	8	17					16		16	317	226	543	42%
Mpumalanga	402	244	118	362	20	16	36					4		4	268	134	402	34%
North-West	383	217	120	337	1	12	39			1		5		5	251	132	383	34%
Northern Cape	194	100	64	164	3	6	26						1	1	124	70	194	36%
Western Cape	387	90	33	123	2	93	251					9	2	11	259	128	387	33%
TOTAL	4277	2206	1146	3352	6	0	669	129	14	37	4	61	5	66	2869	1408	4277	
			34%			0%			10%		10%		8%			33%		

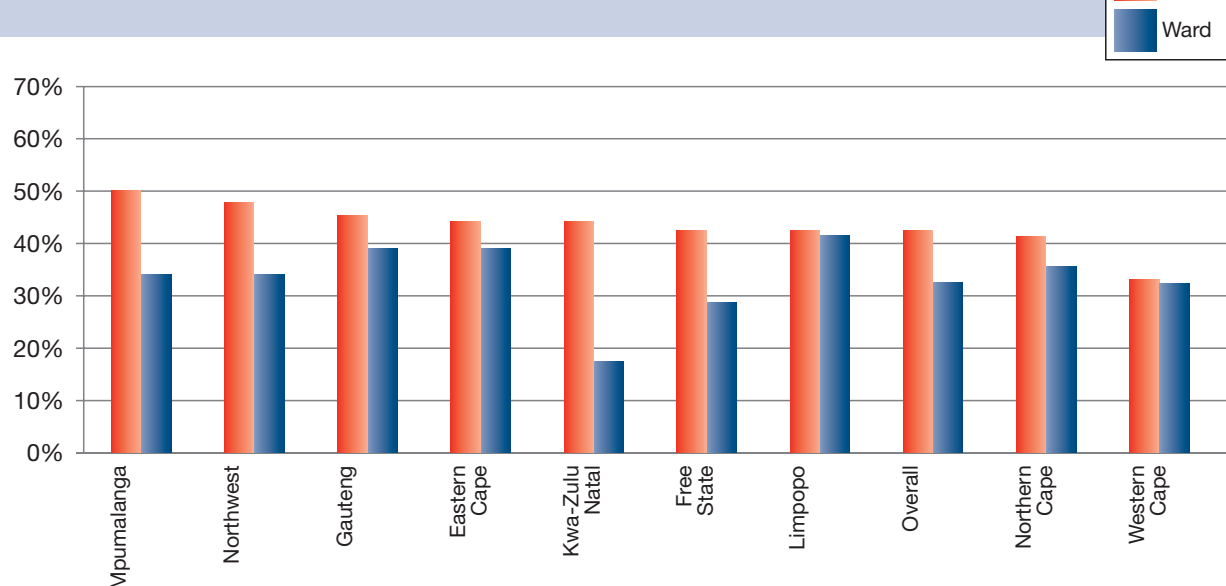


Ward seats

Table 9 shows how in all provinces women's representation in the ward seats is lower than in the PR seats, and is 33% overall (lower than the 37% achieved in the 2006 elections). What is interesting, and in keeping with the DA's argument that women in the party are accorded seats on merit rather than through quotas is that the DA achieved a higher proportion (36%) women in ward seats than the ANC (34%).

The showing of women in ward seats in other parties, at ten percent or less, is shameful and calls for serious introspection. Four elections later, women at the local level in South Africa should be able to contest elections in ward seats with confidence. This is especially true of the dominant ANC party that made steady gains in the last elections with fielding women in ward seats. That women should constitute more than half in the ANC's PR seats (55%) and substantially less than half (34%) in ward seats should be a serious cause for concern in the ruling party.

FIGURE 3: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA



The graph summarises the representation of women in local government by PR/ward seat, by province following the 2011 elections. It shows that:

- The proportion of women in PR seats is higher than in ward seats overall and in all provinces.
- The province with the lowest proportion of women in ward seats (17%) is Kwa Zulu Natal, a largely rural and traditional province, where support is split between the ANC and the IFP.
- Overall the ANC dominated provinces have the highest proportion of women.
- The provinces with the lowest proportion of women overall are Kwa Zulu Natal and the DA-dominated Western Cape.
- What is however interesting about the Western Cape is that it has the narrowest difference between the proportion of women in ward and PR seats. This is one positive aspect of the DA's argument that women must get into politics on their own steam. The down side is that this evolutionary approach can take a long time and has resulted in the province lagging behind with regard to women's political participation.



TABLE 10: GENDER AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SA BY POLITICAL PARTY

Political party	2006				2011			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
ANC	2400	2852	5252	46%	2665	3429	6094	44%
DA	299	700	999	30%	503	1158	1661	30%
IFP	196	480	676	29%	95	285	380	25%
COPE					74	187	261	28%
NFP					66	175	241	27%
NP								
ID	41	106	147	28%				
UDM	22	68	90	24%				
ACDP	22	65	87	25%				
PAC	13	78	91	14%				
VFP	9	62	71	13%				
AZAPO	2	20	22	9%				
Others	65	198	263	25%	92	361	453	20
TOTAL	3069	4629	7698	40%	3495	5595	9090	38%

Source: Gender Links 2011

Table 10 is a comparative analysis of women per political party following the 2006 and 2011 local elections in South Africa. The table shows that overall, as a result of the decline of women in ward seats, the proportion of women councilors in the ANC has dropped from 46% in 2006 to 44% in 2011. The proportion of DA women councilors has remained constant at 30%. The proportion of women councilors in the IFP dropped from 29% to 25%. Newcomers COPE and the NFP (a woman led party) had an unimpressive showing, with women constituting 28% and 27% of their total candidates in the 2011 elections.



Photo: © Craig Strachan - www.notesfromthecape.com

Women as mayoral candidates

Two additional metropolitan municipalities came into being during the elections: Buffalo City, and Mangauang. The previous six metropolitan councils have remained the same. They are:

- City of Cape Town
- City of Tshwane
- City of Johannesburg
- eThekweni
- Nelson Mandela Bay
- Ekurhuleni

Of these eight metros, only two have women mayors, Patricia de Lille of the DA in Cape Town and Zukiswa Ncitha of the ANC in Buffalo City. Tshwane and Ekurhuleni have lost women mayors. The ANC Women's League complained vocally about the absence of women mayoral candidates in the ANC, but these cries appear to have fallen on deaf ears.

Gender in election discourse

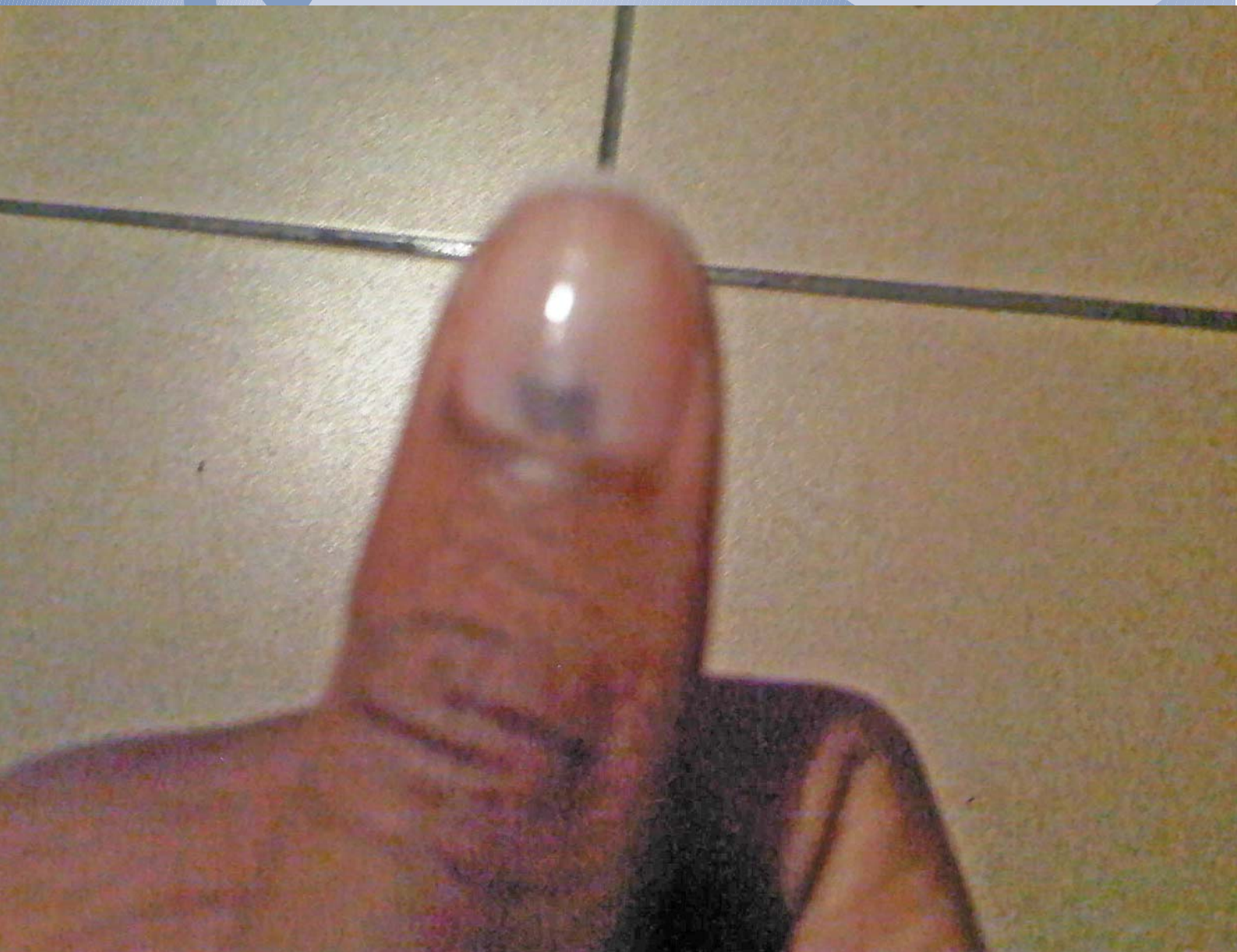
While gender did not feature prominently in the campaigns, it did feature in the mud slinging that followed the elections. Referring to the DA's female leadership but lack of women in the Western Cape provincial cabinet after de Lille became mayor of Cape Town the ANC said that the DA saw women as only fit to be "poster girls." Zille hit back by saying: "I am a woman, so is the mayor of Cape Town. So is the DA's national spokesperson. So are many of our top shadow ministers. So is half the mayoral committee in the City of Cape Town." She noted that the ANC had never had a woman leader and had failed to put up women mayoral candidates.



5

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

conclusions & recommendations



The sign of a voter.

photo: lungiswaz.wordpress.com



Although South Africa still scores third in the SADC region (after Lesotho, 58% and Namibia, 41%) with regard to women's representation in local government, the 2011 local elections proved to be a major disappointment. Rather than press home earlier gains, the ANC slid backwards with regards to women's representation in ward seats, and failed to champion a legislated quota that would have resulted in all parties fielding equal proportions of women and men candidates. Although the DA is to be commended for having a higher proportion of women in ward seats than the ANC, the party's staunch opposition to quotas and anomalies like an all male cabinet in the Western Cape give rise to cynicism about the example set by female led parties.

Urgent action is needed if South Africa is to honour the commitment that it has made by signing the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development that calls for gender parity at all levels and in all areas of decision making by 2015. At this stage South Africa's only hope of honouring this commitment is if the local and national elections are merged, and local elections held again in 2014 rather than 2016. Even then, as demonstrated clearly in this report, parity is unlikely to be achieved in the absence of a legislated gender quota. This would be in keeping with the Gender Equality Bill that is being championed by the government with a great deal of reference to the private sector. It is time to bring women's political representation into this conversation as well.

