GENDER IN THE 2009 SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS



BY COLLEEN LOWE MORNA, KUBI RAMA AND LOWANI MTONGA

© Copyright 2010

Gender Links Head Office:

9 Derrick Avenue, Cyrildene, 2198

Johannesburg, South Africa

Phone: 27 (11) 622 2877.

Fax: 27 (11) 622 4732.

Email: admin@genderlinks.org.za

Website: www.genderlinks.org.za

GEMSA Head Office:

28 Marcia Avenue, Cyrildene, 2198

Johannesburg, South Africa

Phone: 27 (11) 622 6597/7986.

Fax: 27 (11) 622 8674.

Email: carework@gemsa.org.za

Website: www.gemsa.org.za

Editors: Colleen Lowe Morna,

Kubi Rama & Lowani Mtonga

Cover Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Cover Design: Haidy Lee du Toit

Design: haidy@geminiconcepts.co.za

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Overview	3
Strategic interventions	11
Gender audit of the elections	19
Conclusions and recommendations	45

Annexes

A.	Programme for gender, media and elections for community media	47
B.	List of community media participants	48
C.	Independent newspaper - Cape Town participants	49
D.	Independent newspaper - Durban participants	49
E.	University of Stellenbosch participants	50
F.	Summary of evaluations	50
G.	Gender aware leadership checklist	51
H.	Comments	55

Figure one: Who speaks on what in the South African media	5
Figure two: Women in political decision-making in SADC	7
Figure three: Key gender and election indicators in the 2009 SA elections	7
Figure four: Women and men on party lists in the 2009 elections	26
Figure five: Representation of women by political party	27
Figure six: Placement of women candidates	27
Figure seven: Representation of women by party in the 2009 SA parliament	29
Figure eight: Comparative analysis of women by political party	30
Figure nine: Gender analysis of the NCOP by party	30
Figure 10: Gender analysis of the NCOP by province	31
Figure 11: Representation of women per political party at provincial level	33
Figure 12: Comparative analysis of women at provincial level	33
Figure 13: Gender composition of cabinet	34
Figure 14: Gender breakdown of deputy ministers	36
Figure 15: Gender breakdown of shadow cabinet	37
Figure 16: Women and men in provincial cabinets	38

Table one: GL ongoing engagement with the media during the elections	16
Table two: Women and men voters by province	21
Table three: Registered women and men per age group	21
Table four: Gender analysis of party manifestos	22
Table five: Women in party lists	26
Table six: Proportion of women per political party in the 2009 SA elections	29
Table seven: ANC and the 50/50 at provincial level in the 2009 elections	31
Table eight: Representation of women in the DA by province in the 2009 elections	32
Table nine: Representation of women in COPE by province in the 2009 elections	32

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

acknowledgements

GL wishes to thank UKaid through the Department for International Development for supporting the core training and media monitoring components of this project, as well as the publication of this report. Lowani Mtonga coordinated the training and wrote this section of the report. Saeanna Chingamuka organised the Gender and Leadership debates and wrote this section of the report. GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna and Deputy Director Kubi Rama carried out the analysis and edited the report assisted by Media Training Manager Sikhonzile Ndlovu. Special thanks to the community and mainstream media who participated in the training listed from Annex B to E.

1 OVERVIEW

overview



Zuma inauguration. *Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna*

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the gender, elections and media project run by Gender Links, in partnership with the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) and the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) in South Africa during the April 2009 elections.

The project forms part of a region-wide campaign to increase women's political representation and participation in line with the 2008 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development that aims to achieve gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015.

The project covers all the SADC countries which have had or will have elections in 2009/2010. These include: South Africa, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Mauritius and Tanzania.

Objectives

The main objective of these workshops has been to advance the gender awareness and skills of the media and women leaders in Southern Africa by running training courses on gender, elections and the media to:

- Assist the media in understanding how gender equality is integral to citizenship, democracy and freedom of expression.
- Gauge the extent to which the SADC Protocol targets of 50% by 2015 are being honoured.
- Improve media coverage of politics and elections.
- Enhance the capacity of women leaders to engage strategically with the media.
- Conduct a gender audit of the elections, including the performance of the media.

Background

As illustrated by the placard on Hilary Clinton carried by an American voter during the last elections there,



women politicians have a difficult relationship with the public and the media. This project therefore brings women politicians and the media to engage honestly and constructively on issues of mainstreaming gender in political coverage.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (signed in August 2008) which upped the SADC Declaration target to 50% has called for a concerted effort on the part of civil society to push relevant stakeholders to move towards parity.

GL in partnership with the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) undertook the Gender and Media Baseline Study in 2003 that formed the backdrop of the Gender and Media Summit in September 2004. This led to the formation of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, with GL and MISA as founding institutional members.

As part of a joint programme called "Making every voice count for gender equality" GL and GEMSA are recipients of funding from UKaid's Governance and Transparency Fund.

Gender Links has been the lead organisation in conceptualising the project including tracking countries that are conducting elections and organising training, while GEMSA has conducted media monitoring.

Country context

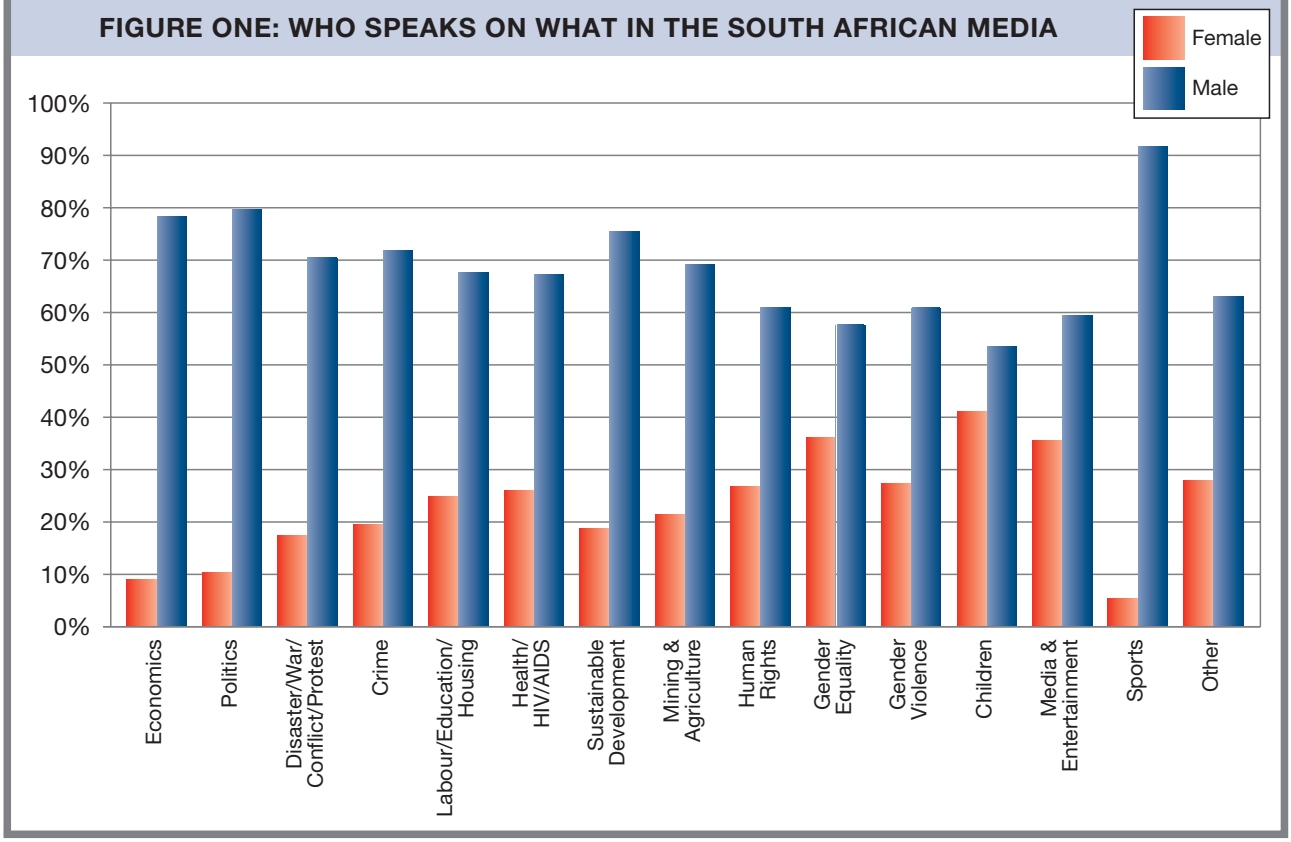
South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994 after a long period under the apartheid government. The post election period was characterised by euphoria as the previously marginalised group celebrated the birth of the rainbow nation. The country, situated on the Southern tip of the African continent has undergone a lot of transformation since the oppressive apartheid years. The country has grown to become Africa's business hub and a gateway to the international trade community. According to the UNDP the country's population stands at 49.2 million people as of 2009.

From 1976 to 1994 South Africa experienced a lot of political turmoil and economic downturn as it was ostracised by the international community. 1976 saw students revolting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. These uprisings gave birth to the black consciousness movement of the late 1970s.

1994 ushered in a new era as Nelson Mandela, just

released from 27 years imprisonment, became the country's first elected president. The country was then readmitted into the global family of nations. The post independent period was characterised by a stagnant economy after years of no growth under the apartheid government. Nelson Mandela served as president from 1994 to 1999 and was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki's leadership has been seen as the most progressive for gender equality. He was openly supportive of efforts by different stakeholders to bring women into decision making processes. Under Mbeki's leadership, South Africa saw its first female deputy president. Representation of women in parliament rose to 33% and women comprised almost half the cabinet.

FIGURE ONE: WHO SPEAKS ON WHAT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA



The media has, however, lagged behind. Figure one illustrates the break down of women sources in the Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) conducted by GL and MISA in 2003. Overall, women constituted 19% of sources, but only 10% of those in the political category, even though (at that point) women constituted one third of all members of parliament.

Key components of the project in South Africa

GL and GEMSA partnered with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to conduct training for community media (see programme at **Annex A** and list of participants at **Annex B**). Workshops were also held with mainstream media (see list of participants from Independent newspapers in Cape Town and Durban at **Annex C & D)** as well as students at the University of Stellenbosch (see **Annex E**). A summary of evaluations is given at **Annex F.**

There was also a media monitoring component to the project which was facilitated by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA). While Gender Links coordinated the monitoring and devised the methodology, MMA did a preliminary data analysis of the findings.

The change in leadership from Mbeki to Jacob Zuma, a polygamist earlier acquitted on a rape charge that raised many questions about his attitude to women, precipitated several debates in South Africa on gender and leadership. The Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC), the knowledge exchange partnership hosted by GL, organised a series of seminars, including one on polygamy and its role in a progressive democracy such as South Africa.

Key outputs

These may be summarised as:

- Eighty two media practitioners from print and electronic media (including Stellenbosch University journalism students) trained and are well versed with gender and political issues.
- Training material on gender, elections and the media contributed to the GL Virtual Resource Centre. Several examples of media clippings and case studies were collected and written up during the period.
- Increased debate on gender and politics such as issues of transformative leadership.
- Story ideas for elections that mainstream gender.

Outcomes

Outcomes that can be directly attributed to the project include:

- Awareness of the role of community media in the elections.
- Community media empowered to design gender aware programmes and news broadcasts.
- Media practitioners empowered to mainstream gender in election coverage.
- Creation of debate and centring gender issues in election discourse.

Generating debate

One of the major outcomes of the Great Debates was that they were well attended by participants from different organisations including researchers, policy makers, NGO activists, feminists, journalists and politicians. The fact that they came from diverse backgrounds enriched the discussions that took place.



Opposition parties at the Great Debate on gender and leadership. ***Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna***

Further, GL managed to establish partnerships with strategic organisations. The *Mail and Guardian*, a leading South African newspaper which is distributed all over Africa came on the board and would place an upcoming debate advert in the newspaper a week before the actual debate. Citizens responded through the *Mail and Guardian* and some through GL. It was also a strategic partnership in that the newspaper would also publish some of the discussions, for example the comments from the debate "Is the personal political?" Colleen Lowe Morna commented on polygamy and wrote an open letter to Jacob Zuma the new president of South Africa. Both articles were published in the *Mail and Guardian*. Interestingly, citizens used the *Mail and Guardian* comment forum and were able to respond to Morna's articles. To this end, the *Mail and Guardian* increased the debate base for the seminars.

GL also became a partner of South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) News International. SABC News International (identified on satellite as SANI) is an African News channel dedicated to reporting domestic & international news from an African perspective. The channel has a Pan-African focus and has been set up to support the African Renaissance and NEPAD initiatives. Live panel discussions were held at their television studios in Auckland Park and broadcast to Sub Sahara in Africa and parts of Europe. This went a long way in publicising GL as a leading organisation in gender equality and justice issues in Southern Africa. The relationship was also strengthened in other ways for instance if there were pertinent gender issues, GL would be called to brief television - discussion or comment, for example, the gender dimensions of the South African elections and the Caster Semenya issue. This is a testimony on the importance of partnerships and how they can work.

The debates gave GL a new approach to conducting its seminars. Unlike in the past when GL used to have once off seminars, the gender and leadership debate became a series on one theme where the outcomes of one fed into the next. This gave an opportunity to citizens to discuss the theme gender and leadership at length in different forums. This helped to "kick off" (pun intended!) the Gender and Soccer 2010 debates on how mega-events like this should provide opportunities for women.

Whilst the media dwelled on which of Zuma's wives would make it to the state house, the GMDC raised the stakes by asking if polygamy still has a place in modern day Africa. One of the recommendations was that GL get perspectives from people in polygamous relationships. This led to a groundbreaking series of "I" stories or personal accounts of experiences in polygamous relationships.

The gender and leadership debates also led to the checklist at **Annex G.** This score card is being used as a citizen monitoring and evaluation tool by the organisation.

Upping the numbers

The work of advocacy organisations, particularly in getting the ANC to adopt a 50/50 quota during the 2010 elections, is a key achievement.

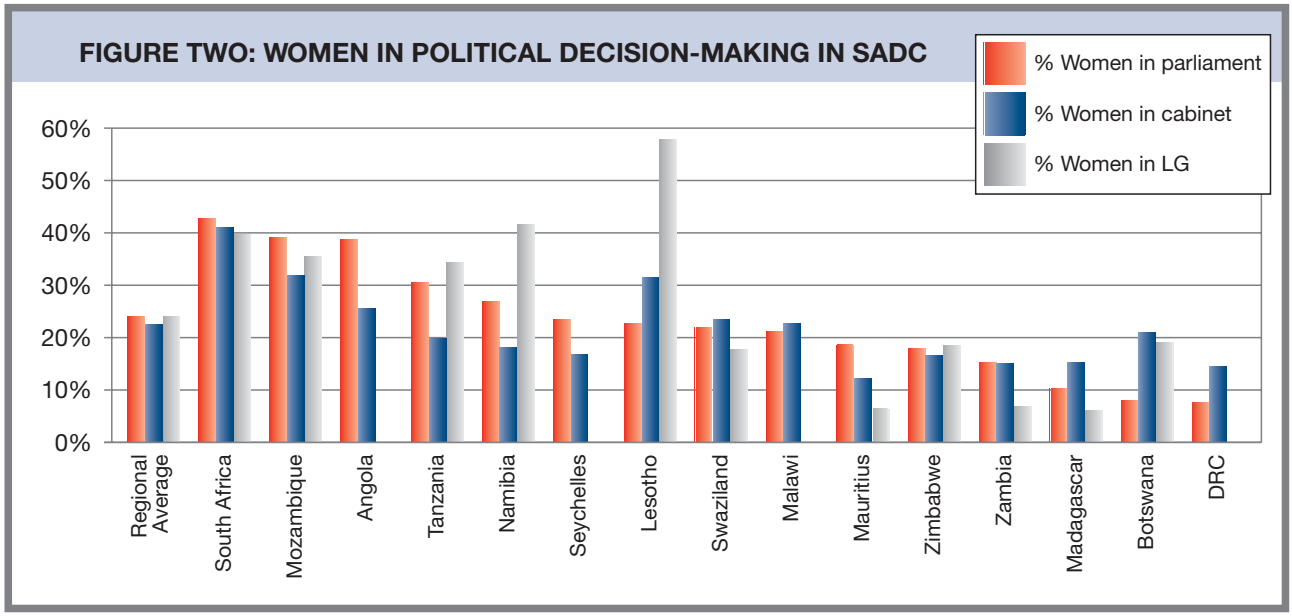


Figure two shows that South Africa now has the highest representation of women in parliament and cabinet in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and among the highest in local government, well above the regional average.

South Africa is the one country in the region that now gives SADC the confidence that with the right political will the 50/50 objective can be achieved – at least in political decision-making.

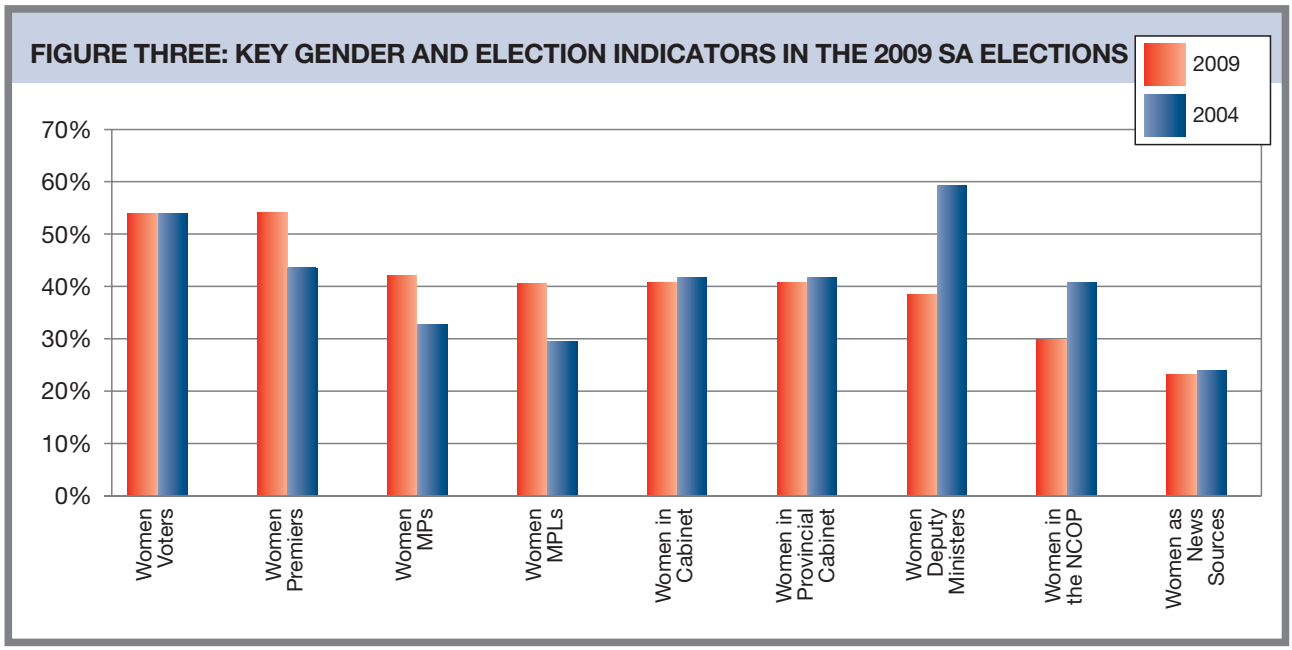


Figure three summarising key gender and election indicators in South Africa shows that:

- Women comprised 55% of those registered to vote. This shows that contrary to prevailing views, women are interested in politics and in being active citizens.
- Representation of women in parliament has increased from 33% to between 43-44%[1] of the total.
- Representation of women Members of the Provincial Legislature (MPL's) has increased from 30% to 41%.

- 14 out of 34, or 41%, of the new ministers announced by President Jacob Zuma on 10 May are women. This is roughly consistent with the 42% women in cabinet under President Thabo Mbeki and 43% under the seven month caretaker administration of President Kgalema Motlanthe.
- Of the 14 ministries headed by women, at least eight are in non-traditional areas like correctional services; defence; home affairs; international relations and co-operation; mining; public enterprises; science and technology. This underscores a maturing of our democracy.
- Women deputy ministers are well represented in the economic cluster, including the new ministry of economic development and the two deputy ministers of trade and industry. Women are still highly under-represented in economic decision-making.
- While the principle of a women's ministry is problematic, the appointment of former National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) President Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya, one of the most powerful and influential women in the trade union movement, to this post is a positive sign. Mayende-Sibiya also serves as a co-convener for the Progressive Women's movement of South Africa. She brings a keen appreciation of the role of women in economic development and is an advocate for the recognition and remuneration of the unwaged work of women.
- Women now comprise five out of the nine provincial premiers or 55%, up from 44% before.
- Women comprise 41% of provincial cabinet ministers, going as high as 64% in Gauteng, which is headed by a woman premier.
- Although the proportion of women sources in the media is still low (see below) the election promoted unprecedented debate on some previously no-go areas such as to what extent the personal is political; whether or not polygamy is unconstitutional; what is meant by gender aware leadership and how leaders should be held accountable.
- Gender activists played a key role in "pushing the envelope" and ensuring that these debates were placed on the agenda. Women's Net and the Tshwaranag Legal Advocacy Centre invited representatives of political parties to come and account for how their policies would address gender violence. Gender Links, GEMSA and partners in the Gender and Media Diversity Centre (GMDC) formed a strategic alliance with the *Mail and Guardian's* Critical Thinking Forum; Constitution Hill; the Human Rights



Elections campaign posters.
Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Commission and SABC TV International to mount a series of election debates on "The personal is political"; "Polygamy has no place in South Africa" and one on Gender, Elections and the Media. As the analysis of election coverage shows, activists used TV debates, radio talk shows, and leader pages to challenge South Africa's leaders and hold them accountable. Held under the broader rubric of Gender and Leadership, the debates yielded a checklist on gender aware leadership.

Beyond the obvious numbers, and beyond numbers

Concerns raised in this report include:

- The 50/50 principle has not been carried to the highest levels of government as South Africa no longer has a woman deputy president.
- While President Thabo Mbeki had 60% women in deputy ministerial posts, this declined to 38% under President Motlanthe, and 11 out of 28 or 39% under President Zuma. Deputy presidential positions are often a training ground for ministers. This decline is therefore regrettable at a time when the ANC has committed itself to gender parity in all areas of decision-making.
- Of the 17 (or half) of the cabinet who are completely new, six are women. While new blood is to be welcomed, the credentials of some of the new women ministers are worrying. For example, the new minister of International Relations and Co-operation Maite Nkoana-Mashabane (formerly high commissioner to India and housing MEC in Limpopo) openly supported her husband Norman Mashabane against sexual harassment charges. Mashabane, who died in a car accident last year, was found guilty of sexually harassing an employee, Lara Swart, by the Pretoria High Court.
- The leadership in parliament is now heavily male dominated, with the Speaker, chairman of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and almost all the chief whips and leaders of parties, except for the Independent Democrat's Patricia de Lille, and the Democratic Alliance's Hellen Zille, being men.
- Representation of women in the NCOP has dropped from 40% to 30%, with only two out of the 16 women (12.5%) in this structure coming from opposition parties, even though they constitute 35% of the members. This again underscores the extent to which the progress towards women's equal representation and participation in decision-making in South Africa rests on the ruling ANC. It underscores the need for renewed vigour in advocating for a legislated 50% quota that binds all parties.
- The main opposition Democratic Alliance (DA), despite being led by a woman, remains averse to quotas stating that it is only interested in "fitness for purpose." It is appalling that Helen Zille's new cabinet in the Western Cape is 75% white and has no women other than herself. To suggest that these are the only people "fit for the purpose" in the Western Cape is not only out of keeping with the march of history but may indeed be unconstitutional. The action taken by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to raise this matter with the Human Rights Commission and the Equality Court is to be commended.
- None of the opposition parties support quotas. Some argue that the ANC has had a snowball effect on them. This is most noticeable in the case of the Congress of the People (COPE), which mostly comprises former ANC members, and has 48% women in parliament, despite not supporting quotas. But the declines in other parties, and the one step forwards, two steps backwards approach to gender parity is likely to call for more obligatory measures to ensure that SADC targets are met.
- The use of sexist slurs by both parties for cheap political point scoring, commented upon extensively in this report, after the elections dealt a blow to democracy and women's rights, and threatened to derail the serious challenges that South Africa continues to face on this front.
- Results of media monitoring conducted by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) show that women constituted a mere 24% of news sources in election coverage; up from 10% in 1999, but similar to the 23% achieved in 2004. This shows that women's views and voices are still marginalised in elections - the most public and participative of all national events.

A particular concern going forward is the weak state of the National Gender Machinery. Previously the Office of the Status of Women resided in the presidency, where it could perform a cross cutting function. President Jacob Zuma has announced a Ministry of Women, Youth, Children and Disability, on par with other line functions. Combining women and children in the same

ministry is especially problematic. Women are adults who should be empowered to exercise their agency while children need to be cared for by both women and men. This new structure has not been well canvassed or debated and requires clear conceptualisation to be effective in advancing women's rights.



Zuma Inauguration.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

The report calls on DA leader Helen Zille to honour constitutional commitments to gender equality in her appointments and to understand that having men speak on behalf of women is a patronising and outmoded way of thinking. It further calls on President Zuma to show his commitment to the principles of gender equality enshrined in the Constitution by:

- Repudiating those who mocked and vilified his rape accuser outside the Johannesburg High Court.
- Creating a conducive climate for his rape accuser, who lives in exile as a result of the threats on her life, to reclaim her citizenship by returning home.
- Encouraging debates that promote women's rights, including the debate that started during this election on whether or not polygamy has a place in a constitutional state with gender equality as a cornerstone of its democracy.
- Establishing and supporting strong, independent and fearless structures for promoting gender equality, including addressing the current dysfunctional status of the Commission on Gender Equality.
- Ensuring that the government of South Africa is at the forefront of the struggle to ensure that all 28 targets set by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development are met. These include halving gender violence by 2015; ensuring women's equal participation in all areas of economic life; and recognising and remunerating the work of care givers.

1. The national assembly lists have still not been entirely finalised due to the resignation of some members like Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge and Baleka Mbete. A few others have still not yet been sworn in.

2 STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS

strategic interventions



Nana Ngobese, leader of the only women's only party, makes a point during the Great Debates. ***Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna***

This chapter summarises the main activities undertaken as part of the project including training of community and mainstream media, as well as ongoing engagement with the media throughout the elections, and the Great Debate on Gender and Leadership.

Gender, elections and media workshop

The first workshop was for media practitioners from community radio stations on 14 January 2009 in Cape Town. Participants included journalists, managers and board members. The workshop was part of IEC training for community radio.

Four in-house newsroom training sessions were conducted at mainstream media houses and at Stellenbosch University's Department of Journalism, with student journalists, between 9-13 February 2009.

Community media occupy a strategic position to empower and give voice to communities, promote democracy and improve access to information on vital matters such as election information in their respective areas. It contributes to local democracy by promoting an informed citizenship, facilitating dialogue between communities and elected representatives, and enabling meaningful participation in electoral processes.

For community media to fulfil this important role it needs to cater for the diverse views and voices of the people in the respective communities, including those of women.

Gender Links (GL), in partnership with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the Nation Community Radio Forum (NCRF), conducted a two and a half day workshop in Worcester, Western Cape on Civic and Voter Education for community media. The workshop focused on the promotion of a culture of democracy and human rights by creating and emphasising awareness of civil responsibilities, and promoting and increasing knowledge and understanding of the electoral processes. Thirty-six participants attended the workshop and were drawn from community media, NGOs and political parties.

GL presented a module on Gender, Media and Elections with an aim to raise the media's awareness about key gender issues in the upcoming elections, as well as provide contacts, tools and resources for covering this dimension of the elections.

Discussion on gender issues in elections and political parties' experiences with the media

Four political parties: the African National Congress (ANC), the Independent Democrats (ID), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Congress of the People (COPE), were invited to form a panel on the topic "Gender issues in elections and experiences with the media." However, only the ANC made it to the workshop. Nonetheless the discussion was highly informative and interactive.

Provincial ANC Executive Mayor Charmaine Manuel said women in the ANC had a good chance of making it to parliament because of the 50/50 decision taken at the ANC conference in Polokwane in 2007. She said the 50/50 policy applied to all ANC structures from the grassroots to local, provincial and government level. She said time had come for women in other political parties to demand 50/50 in their structures. She noted that women are suffering a lot and it is appropriate that they should be included in decision making structures so they can articulate their own issues.

She noted that since 1994 the media had made great strides in empowering women, but was still biased against them. Women bear the brunt of social ills, yet compared to men their voices are not heard in the media. She said women work in many areas such as hospice, nutrition, agriculture (farms), but their voices go unheard.

She added that at the gender caucus at local government level, the Council often discuss a lot of gender issues, but they are not covered by community media. This should be addressed and the media should do a lot more to unearth problems affecting women.



Community media, Cape Town. ***Photo: Lowani Mtonga***

Participants said community media organisations are constrained by lack of resources and are unable to carry out their own programme content. It is difficult to get people to do production because most of the people who work on community media are volunteers. Furthermore, they have to compete for advertising with public media, such as SABC, and commercial radio stations.

They confessed that the issue of gender was not taken seriously by community media. Hence, most gender issues at community level were ignored. They said the issue of gender was misunderstood and local people need to be sensitised. Furthermore, they observed that women have the power and they need to be sensitised about this because they do not realise it.

However, others observed that money was there, but was misdirected. Both government and advertisers do not want to channel money into community radio stations for unknown reasons. An example was given of one municipality which was supporting community radio through sponsoring a programme. When people started criticising the municipality for poor service delivery the sponsorship was withdrawn and the programme was discontinued.

In summary participants noted that:

- Politicians need to know what goes on in their respective communities. Community media should give politicians stories about the community so that they can better invest their time, policies and services in the people whom they serve.
- Community media was playing a good role in reporting, but should go beyond just highlighting the issues, the voices of women should be included in all spheres of life.
- During an election period media should ask politicians about service delivery in their areas.
- Both female and male journalists can report sensitively and insensitively about gender.

Presentation of video At the Coalface: Gender and Governance in Southern Africa

The discussion on the presentation ***At the Coalface*** centered on what could be done to emancipate great women from male domination. It was realised that in South Africa great strides have taken place since 1994 because of the legislation which recognised the rights of women and enshrined gender equality between men and women. However, participants noted that it was difficult for men to give power to women because men, for many years, have been socialised that the girl has a subservient role compared to the boy. It is therefore incumbent upon women to sensitise their fellow women about their rights since many of them, especially those in the rural areas. are not aware of their rights.

Others observed that it was difficult for women to sensitise fellow women because some women are not supportive of gender issues. Hence, this was where the media can break cultural and racial barriers to bring about change. It was also emphasised that electoral systems such as proportional representation, zebra and party quotas also played a significant role in having more representation of women in parliament. Rwanda was now leading in women in parliament in Africa with 56%.

There is need for deliberate efforts to bring about greater women's participation in politics rather than leave it to chance. President Mbeki appointed more women to his cabinet. However, this slightly shifted under Acting President Kgalema Motlanthe. Community media can play a big role in holding parties to account. For example, a party may have 50/50 representation in its manifesto, but community media should ask the party what it was doing to make the policy work or to realise that goal.

Women bring different perspectives to politics and work better in parliamentary committees rather than in the parliamentary chamber. They discuss national issues such as service delivery and security because many times women are the most affected and vulnerable.

Analysing stories in the media

Participants were asked to analyse the Top 100 personalities page from *The Star* Newspaper of 23 December 2008 from a gender angle.



Community media, Cape Town. ***Photo: Lowani Mtonga***

They noted that:

- Women are missing in business stories because editors think business belongs to men.
- In sports, there are no women. This was strange because swimmer Natalie du Toit won a gold medal at the Paralympics.
- The editors racially stereotype about what it means to be beautiful.
- Men got more recognition than women.
- We are still living in male dominated world. The editors are men whose news values about what makes news were influenced by their sex.
- One woman under the Newsmakers was there for negative reasons.
- There are few women under the heroes category.
- More men than women were making news, yet there are more newsworthy stories about women.
- Beauty is seen in the eyes of the advertiser rather than the people.

South Africa 2009 elections: Key gender issues

Several issues were discussed in relation to the 2009 South African elections.

- Reaching 50/50 will be a challenge for South Africa because 2015 is not far. The increase in women's representation for each election has been marginal. There is a firm position from the ANC, but not other political parties. The media should challenge other political parties such as DA, ID, COPE and IFP about how they will achieve 50/50.
- Some parties are calling for legislated quotas while others feel that quotas are undemocratic.
- It is important for community media to ask various political parties their position on various political issues. For example, their stand on issues affecting women (such as gender friendly budgets, housing, domestic violence, community safety and opportunities for women in business.)
- Asking individual party candidates where they stand on gender issues.
- During voter registration, is there an Obama effect? The youth are more likely to vote for diverse candidates, including women, more than older candidates.
- Women are more likely to be put off from voting in the elections in a climate of violence. The media's role should be to help ensure that the elections are peaceful. The media should therefore be very tolerant of diverse views, encourage people's participation and give people from diverse backgrounds a platform to speak.

Finding and developing gender angles

- Community media should look at structure and programming, in particular at the audience, taking into consideration the hour when doing their programmes (i.e. their broadcasting cycle). Community media should choose time when women are free. For example, it is difficult for women to listen to the radio or watch TV in the morning because they are busy with chores, so choose time when they relax.
- It was also important that the programme format should be such that people should listen to the programme and follow it through. Hence, time should be consistent.
- Community media should balance their programmes. For example, if there is a panel discussion both male and female experts should be invited. The people who are experts should also be defined because a lot of people who are at the end of service delivery are also experts. For example, a discussion on maternity service delivery should have a woman, or women, on the panel.
- Programme content is also important. Community media should be looking at issues or questions that women will be interested in and those they see as priorities. A lot of issues that concern women, like sanitary products, can lead to debate. Community policing is also likely to interest women because they are a soft target for gender violence and would like to see security beefed up for their personal security. The community media must fully represent their community so that people can speak for themselves.

Group work on strategies and story ideas

Participants were divided into four groups and each brainstormed on story / programme ideas for the coming elections. Below were their responses:

Phone-in programme to debate on issues such as:

- Why should we vote for women?
- Why should men vote for women?
- Can women stand their ground in a male-dominated world?
- Quotas - should we window dress?
- Are women or men better politicians?
- Would you vote for a man with more than one wife?
- Is it the right time for women in 2009? (Discuss the promotion of women to take up decision making positions).
- Do women support fellow women in politics?

- Have your final say for 2009 elections.
- Do a documentary on previous elections and the role women played in them.
- Do a youth programme, motivating young women / girls to register and vote.
- Do live debates on women in politics.
- Do live programmes with community members / voters, NGOs, businesses and religious groups on their expectations of the election (and have a political analyst in every programme).

Newsroom training

The newsroom training was conducted at *Independent* Newspapers Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch on 10 February 2009; at the *Independent* newspapers Durban on the 12 February and with SANEF Durban on 13 February.

Key issues raised:

- There are major economic crises in media houses and journalists are demoralised.
- Editors do not always see the value of addressing issues of gender; it is seen as a soft issue.
- Gender issues are very important and journalists should be aware of all the angles in a story, it is fair.
- The women leaders in opposition parties do not promote women's issues, why?
- Some media houses are threatened when you speak about gender.
- Stories sell better when there are newsworthy prominent people in the story.
- Isn't the journalist's responsibility to tell all sides of the story?
- Should journalists not tell all sides of the story?
- How much interference, overt or covert, do politicians exercise over the media?
- Why should the media report on gender, does the media not reflect reality?
- The media has an important role to play in transformation of society.

Story ideas

Journalists discussed what story ideas they can come up with during elections. Suggestions included:

- Interviewing women leaders to ask about how they support women's empowerment, and if not, why?
- Analysis of lists, voters rolls and predictions based on numbers of women.
- Profiling of women candidates.
- Does South Africa need legislated quotas?
- Is polygamy fair?
- Why did the ANC Women's League not nominate a women candidate?
- How are political parties ensuring that women are on their lists?
- How are ordinary citizens feeling about the elections?
- Do political parties target women voters?

General engagement with the media

GL realised that engaging with the media in workshops alone is not sufficient. The way to keep media engaged is to scout out strategic moments at which to raise issues and debates that will be of interest to the media (see table one for examples of media coverage).

A good example of prompting media coverage is the analytical work that we did ahead of the elections, forecasting that women in parliament are set to increase to 44%. Another topical issue concerned what a Zuma leadership would mean for gender discourse in South Africa.

Such discussions were linked to the 'Polygamy debate'. Gender Links made a call to the incumbent president to make the voice of women heard in politics. Other opinion and commentary pieces called on Zuma to commit to gender equality.



ITICS

WEDNESDAY APRIL 29 2009 The Star

Gender Links calls on Zuma to give women equal voice

Watchdog seeks parity in cabinet

SAPA

A WOMEN'S rights watchdog has called on president-elect Jacob Zuma to apply gender parity to his cabinet.

Gender Links also called on Zuma to appoint an equal number of men and women when appointing premiers in the eight provinces where the ANC obtained the majority of votes. This would show his commitment to gender equality, it said.

"Predictions for the new cabinet that Jacob Zuma will announce after his inauguration on 9 May suggest that women will constitute only 11 out of 30 - or 36 percent - of the new cabinet, compared to 42 percent under former president Thabo Mbeki.

"It seems doubtful whether South Africa will continue to have a woman deputy president (at best this position is likely to be shared with a man)," Gender Links said.

'We hope this will set a precedent for other parties'

Zuma should further "create a conducive climate for his rape accuser, who lives in exile as a result of the threats on her life" to return to South Africa.

"Gender Links calls on president-elect Jacob Zuma to show his commitment to the principles of gender equality enshrined in the constitution by... encouraging debates that promote women's rights, including the debate that started during this election on

tion should ensure that South Africa led the struggle to meet all 28 targets set by the SA Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development.

"These include halving gender violence by 2015; ensuring women's equal participation in all areas of economic life; recognising and remunerating the work of caregivers.

"Gender Links congratulates the ANC and Cope for being the only parties in (the) SADC to date to have heeded the targets set by the region.

"We hope that this will set a precedent for other parties and other elections, notably those soon to take place in Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique," said Gender Links, as both political parties had applied gender parity when nominating candidates for Parliament.

The organisation, however, added that there were still many challenges regarding gender equality.

"Of the 26 parties that registered to vote, only four had women leaders. The DA, Cope and other parties did not field many women at the top of the national and provincial lists.

"Indeed, even the ANC fielded two men as number one and two on the national list," Gender Links said.

It said despite Zuma's being acquitted of rape, he expressed "highly worrisome views on women's rights in his rape trial"

struggle hero Gert Sibande. PICTURE: SUPPLIED

ghly educational

impacted on all South Africans, not just the black community.

"The country's economy was dealt a huge blow as people all over the world boycotted potatoes (exported from South Africa)," he said.

"This musical helps us to acknowledge the past but also encourages us not to get stuck there. As a nation, we are inspired to recognise the gains we have made and to move towards a brighter future."

Chiwayo said the municipality supported the musical because it would "unlock a culture of theatre, not just in Nelspruit, but in the entire Lowveld and the province".

"About 90 percent of the cast members are from Mpumalanga. We auditioned them and trained them for eight months. They worked 15 hours a day to get to where they are now," said the playwright.

Lead actress, stage and TV performer Hlubekile Dlamini moved some of the audience to tears singing one of the protest songs.

"She sang with so much conviction you could have sworn she was a gospel minister," said Grace Malele, one of Dlamini's fans. – African Eye News Service

"A women's rights watchdog on Tuesday called on president-elect Jacob Zuma to apply gender parity to his Cabinet.

Gender Links also called on Zuma to appoint an equal number of men and women when appointing premiers in the eight provinces where the African National Congress obtained the majority of the votes.

"These include halving gender violence by 2015; ensuring women's equal participation in all areas of economic life; recognising and remunerating the work of care givers." Gender Links congratulates the ANC and Cope [Congress of the People] for being the only parties in SADC to date to have heeded the targets set by the region.

"We hope that this will set a precedent for other parties and other elections, notably those soon to take place in Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique" Gender Links said as both political parties had applied gender parity when nominating candidates for Parliament.

The organisation, however, added that there were still many challenges regarding gender equality. "Of the 26 parties that registered to vote, only four had women leaders." The DA, Cope and other parties did not field many women at the top of the national and provincial lists.

"Indeed even the national ANC fielded two men as number one and two on the national list," it said. It said despite Zuma being acquitted of rape, he expressed "highly worrisome views on women's rights in his rape trial."

"He is a polygamist; a practice that, although not outlawed, is self evidently patriarchal, unfair and in all likelihood unconstitutional. It also took issue with comments made by ANC Youth League President Julius Malema that women who were raped did not ask for taxi money in the morning, saying these statements diminished the ANC's standing on women's rights." – South African Press Agency.

TABLE ONE: GL ONGOING ENGAGEMENT WITH THE MEDIA DURING THE ELECTIONS

Date	Publication	Country	Page/Link	Article	Writer/Interview
01 April 2009	Mott Foundation	USA		Leadership in light of South Africa's upcoming elections	Colleen Lowe Morna (GL)
15 April 2009	Africa News website	South Africa	http://www.africanews.com/site/S_A_Women_in_parliament_to_rise_to_45/list_messages/24305	SA: Women in parliament to rise to 45%	Colleen Lowe Morna
16 April 2009	Channel Africa Radio	South Africa	1100hrs	Women's representation in the forthcoming SA elections	Colleen Lowe Morna
17-23 April 2009	Lavoix Kreol	Mauritius	18	Gender in the 2009 South African Elections	GL report
17-23 April 2009	Lavoix Kreol	Mauritius	15	Where will women vote in the next elections?	Kubi Rama (GL Opinion and Commentary service)
19 April 2009	Sunday Independent	South Africa	10	Gender parity in politics is a far cry from equal rights for women	Colleen Lowe Morna
21 April 2009	SABC News International	South Africa	2100hrs	Pre-election analysis	Colleen Lowe Morna
23 April 2009	SABC News International	South Africa	2100hrs	Election results	Kubi Rama
28 Apr 2009	Jacaranda 94.2.	South Africa	1300hrs	Gender Links calling on president elect Zuma to ensure gender parity when he selects his new cabinet	Colleen Lowe Morna
29 April 2009	SABC Radio	South Africa		The increase of 45% of women in parliament SA	Susan Tolmay

Gender and transformative leadership debates

The GMDC held seven debates on gender and leadership. The debates, which were conducted across the region, had a running theme of accountable and transformative leadership. Debates were held in Botswana, South Africa and Zambia. The majority of South Africa's debates were regional in nature because regional participants who were in South Africa for different reasons at different stages were able to participate. For example, the two debates on "Polygamy" and "Transformative Leadership" were regional in nature.

The objectives of these debates were:

- To create a space for participatory discussion and debate on leadership, governance and elections in Southern Africa.
- To develop a body of knowledge on how leadership qualities can enhance democracy.
- To develop a leadership checklist that can be used by civil society to demand accountability and responsiveness from male and female leaders, including promoting the targets and outcomes of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Topics debated included:

- "Men have failed to show visionary leadership in SADC: It is time for women to take over because they have better leadership qualities" – during two gender and local government strategy workshops in Botswana and Zambia in February.
- "Is the personal political?" convened by the GMDC, Gender Links, Constitution Hill, the South African Human Rights Commission and the Critical Thinking Forum of the *Mail and Guardian* Newspaper to commemorate International Women's Day on 8 March 2009. The question was posed to all the major political parties contesting the 2009 South African elections and sparked a spirited debate on sex and politics.
- "Quotas for women in politics: Malaise or progress for the women's movement?" – held during a meeting of the Southern African Protocol Alliance on 19 March with a panel of politicians and academics both for and against.
- "Does polygamy have a place in Africa?" – hosted by the international arm of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) with one man and one woman for and a man and women against the motion. The live audience included citizens of five Southern African countries, and several others phoned in from across Africa.



Sign up sheet at a Gender and Leadership debate at Constitution Hill.

Photo: Susan Tolmay

At the end of the debates there was consensus that:

- Women need to start challenging the restrictive patriarchal systems, and these systems have to be transformed by progressive leaders.
- Progressive leadership comes with responsibilities for those who seek power, who ultimately are role models in society.
- In order to achieve the 50% target by 2015, political parties should adopt the quota system and ensure that quantity and quality become a norm.
- The media should give women an equal voice.

GL ran an E-Forum on its the website about what makes a good leader and it attracted views from various people in different countries. Also, at the end of each debate, participants were called to comment on the qualities of a good leader. Using the example of Barack Obama (see below) participants were reminded that gender-aware leadership is not only about women.

Comments from the website and the sign up sheets were consolidated and the information culminated in a "Gender Aware Leadership Checklist" (see Annex G).

Obama:
Towards a model of gender aware leadership?

Much has been made of US President Barack Obama's absent Kenyan father. Yet as he points out in his autobiography, *Dreams from My Father*, he owes the "best" in him to his late American mother and grandmother as well as the women who now surround him: his wife Michelle and daughters Malia and Sasha.

While no leader is perfect, Obama has emerged as the symbol of hope in a world wallowing in political and economic despair. He is also a good example of the fact that male leaders can be as gender aware, if not more so, than some women leaders.

In his own life, Obama constantly refers to his wife as his best friend and chief confidante. The night before his inauguration he took time to write a letter to his daughters about why he had decided to run for the highest office in the land despite the personal costs and to plead for their understanding.



Obama had a higher rating among women voters than Hilary Clinton, and certainly a far more progressive agenda than the Republican Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin. Although Obama has not succeeded in achieving gender parity in his cabinet, he has appointed powerful women, including Clinton, to key posts. Among his first acts as president was to repeal laws that permitted discriminatory employment practices against women, as well as those that curtailed women's reproductive rights.

Although it is early days, it's hard to imagine Obama being involved in or seeking to cover up sordid sex scandals in his personal life, which he conducts with integrity. So far, Obama gets a thumbs up for showing us that good governance begins at home.

3 GENDER AUDIT OF THE ELECTIONS

gender audit of the elections



Politicians participate in workshops. ***Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna***

The 2009 elections witnessed South Africa edge closer to the target set by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development for achieving gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015.

The elections which were conducted on 22 April 2009 saw women's representation in parliament go up to 43.4%, the highest in Southern Africa. This success could be partly attributed to the massive gender advocacy efforts by civil society. Gender Links, for example, held training workshops on Gender, Media and Elections during the run up to the elections which some political parties attended.

There were also debates conducted in collaboration with the Gender and Media Diversity Centre on topical issues such as Polygamy and Leadership. These debates opened up space for dialogue on transformative leadership. Questions of what makes a good leader were also raised with participants to the seminars completing the Gender and Leadership score card.

Political parties' position on gender also came under scrutiny during the campaign period, with the ruling African National Congress (ANC) coming out clear on its 50/50 quota. The other political parties were not as committed, with Congress of the People (COPE), regarded as the main opposition, failing to adopt the quota.

But the fact that the 43.4% has largely been achieved as a result of only the commitment by the ruling African National Congress to the 50/50 principle is worth noting, especially with the glaring gaps and regression in some areas; and the sexist mudslinging that took place during the elections. Still a source of serious concern.

These give grist to the argument that South Africa should not rely on voluntary party quotas, and should instead follow the route taken by other countries in the region to legislate quotas. The concerns also point to the fact that gender equality goes beyond women's equal participation in decision-making. Campaigns must address the patriarchal underpinnings of society that affect the way that both women and men behave.

The pre-election period was characterised by a highly successful registration exercise as exemplified by massive voter turnout against a background of mudslinging and rising political temperature among political parties across the country. The worst incidents occurred in the politically-volatile province of KwaZulu Natal, where supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom party (IFP) clashed during rallies.

The election was fiercely contested among the various political parties. Commentators and political analysts believed that opposition parties, including the new Congress of the People (COPE), offered a real challenge to the ANC.

The election results illustrate a clear three-way race for the national ballot by the ANC; DA and COPE. While it was clear that the ANC would win the election, the critical question was whether or not the party would achieve a two thirds majority. It was also very difficult to predict how much of the electorate would support COPE and the DA.

The ANC did not achieve a two thirds majority, coming close with 65.9% of the national vote. The DA performed slightly better than the predicted 15% with 16.66% of the vote. COPE began very strongly late last year and predictions were that the party would provide the DA with serious competition. The year began with in-fighting for the leadership of COPE and an inward focus rather than an intensification of their election campaign in the crucial first quarter of this year. These internal crises affected COPE's performance in the election and resulted in a low showing at 7.42%.

The real losers in this election have been the smaller parties. The increased support for the DA and support for COPE has taken support away from the ID, African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), UDM and others, each of which captured less than one percent of the vote. The IFP lost its traditional stronghold KwaZulu Natal to a resounding victory by the ANC.

From a gender perspective the ANC's strong performance delivered a substantial increase in women's representation as the party's list comprised 50% women.

Women as voters

The IEC began voter registration in November 2008 and opened more than 19,000 polling centres and more than 59, 000 officials were trained for the exercise. Initially, the IEC targeted a total of 22 million voters at the cost of nearly R200 million. By the time the registration process closed in February, a total of 23,174, 279 had registered as voters for both national and provincial elections representing an increase of 12% from the 2004 national and provincial elections when there were 20 674 926 verified voters on the roll.[2]

Voter registration statistics released by the IEC showed that in all the provinces more women than men registered. Overall, women constituted 55% of all registered voters; this runs as high as 58% in the Eastern Cape.

TABLE TWO: WOMEN AND MEN VOTERS BY PROVINCE					
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
Eastern Cape	1,772,489	1,283,166	3,055,655	58%	42%
Free State	755,370	630,206	1,385,576	55%	45%
Gauteng	2,782,162	2,676,688	5,458,850	51%	49%
KwaZulu-Natal	2,548,839	1,926,378	4,475,217	57%	43%
Limpopo	1,360,851	895,222	2,256,073	60%	40%
Mpumalanga	923,818	772,207	1,696,025	54%	46%
North West	858,354	799,190	1,657,544.00	52%	48%
Northern Cape	298,018	256,882	554,900.00	54%	46%
Western Cape	1,418,474	1,215,965	2,634,439.00	54%	46%
National	12,718,375	10,455,904	3,174,279.00	55%	45%

Another notable feature was the "Obama effect" in South Africa. The elections attracted a lot of young people. Some 12 million, or more than half of those who registered to vote were between the ages of 18-39. Of these, 6.4 million or 53% were young women and 5.6 million (47%) were young men. This is by far the largest age group of voters. See illustration below.

TABLE THREE: REGISTERED WOMEN AND MEN PER AGE GROUP		
Female	**Age Group**	**Male**
375,339	18 - 19	322,426
3,008,626	20 - 29	2,643,048
2,980,095	30 - 39	2,711,183
2,490,406	40 - 49	2,064,824
1,765,338	50 - 59	1,444,271
1,083,329	60 - 69	772,622
672,699	70 - 79	347,529
342,543	80 - 89	150,001
12,718,375	**Total**	**10,455,904**
	23,174,279	

The upsurge in voter registration can be attributed to the aggressive advertising campaign carried out by the IEC, through radio, newspapers, television and billboards, urging people to vote, as well as the formation of COPE and the generally more dynamic election landscape compared to 2004.

While the ANC was out rallying in full force for Jacob Zuma, who had charges of corruption (for political meddling) against him dropped - and who was also acquitted of rape charges - opposition parties had mobilised support against the controversial ANC leader.

In and amongst all the political wrangling one important fact was ignored. Women voters constituted 5% more than men voters. Neither the media nor political parties picked up on this or emphasised this as a key election issue.

Gender analysis of party manifestos

Political parties release their political manifestos during an election period to sell their policies and programmes to the electorate. Invariably, all manifestos promise to improve the lives of the people in the field of health, security, agriculture, infrastructure, education, housing, and justice. They also promise to combat crime.

However, the manifestos fell short of mainstreaming gender and the promotion of gender equality and enhancing the status of women. There was little reference to the promotion of gender equality and participation of women in leadership positions. Political parties that mentioned gender did so in a vague way. Some parties did not feature gender at all in their manifestos nor did they mention it. Below is a detailed analysis of gender in party manifestos.

TABLE FOUR: GENDER ANALYSIS OF PARTY MANIFESTOS

PARTY	QUOTA	GENDER SPECIFIC REFENCES OR INFERENCES IN MANIFESTOS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
African National Congress (ANC)	• Committed to 50% women in the list, parliament and government	• Upscaling the Prevention for Mother to Child transmission of HIV to 95% in all districts. • Combat violence and crimes against women and children by increasing the capacity of the criminal justice system to deal with such violence. • Vigorously implement broad based economic empowerment and affirmative action policies and adjust them to ensure that they benefit more broad sections of our people, especially the workers, youth, women and people with disabilities.	• Non-sexism a guiding principle throughout the manifesto. Contradictory in light of the history of the leader of the ANC and comments made by Malema about rape. • Massive expanded public works programme linked to home-based care, crèches, school cleaning and renovation, tree planting and school feeding.
Congress of the People (COPE)	• No quota	• Clause 7: Respect for the values and the principles of the South African people. (respect for the dignity of women, protect the innocence of children.) • Clause 12: Broadening people's participation in the Economy put measures to strengthen the implementation of the **Employment Equity Act (Affirmative Action) and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment.** • Establish a **Women's Development Fund.** Focus on funding and assisting women to engage in productive economic activity.	• Not mainstreamed
Democratic Alliance (DA)	• No quota	• No specific women's projects. • Only mentions women in its introduction. …..men, women and children living anywhere in the country are able to go about their daily business in their communities knowing that they are safe from criminals; that their local government provides basic services quickly, efficiently and affordably; that the public transport system allows them to move around quickly and safely;	• Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto. • The manifesto is issue based, but is not specific about the beneficiaries. It dwells on the detail of how the DA will run government rather giving a broad picture of issues.
Independent Democrats (ID)	• No quota	**Guiding vision** ID is determined to build an inclusive nation, where every South African is given the skills, resources and prospects to meaningfully contribute to the shared prosperity of our nation.	• The manifesto is issue based but does not mainstream gender within the issues.
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	• No quota	**Moral Challenge (Crime)** Most morally repugnant crimes such as murder, rape, violent assault and crimes against children, women and the aged.	• Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto under any thematic area.
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	• No quota	**Creating jobs for all South Africans, quality education for all South Africans, safety and justice for all South Africans** (Violent crimes, as well as crimes against women and children, are of particular concern to us)	• Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto. • It talks in general terms about creating jobs, offering quality, safety and justice, and safety for all South Africans.

PARTY	QUOTA	GENDER SPECIFIC REFENCES OR INFERENCES IN MANIFESTOS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	• No quota	• Extending the roll-out of antiretroviral treatment and the prevention of mother to child transmission programmes • The role of women as mothers of our country's children is an essential building block for healthy families and a healthy society). • Supports the measures which are aimed at protecting women and children as vulnerable citizens against abuse).	• Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto. Manifesto only talks about issues in general terms without specifically mentioning who the beneficiaries will be. For example, under housing ACDP says "will incrementally provide access to adequate housing for all."
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	• No quota	• Does recognise the need for gender equality by adopting South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. • Giving access to employment to all women. • Ensuring equality to all mankind. • Putting in place a strong gender commission that will effectively implement gender equality policies. Women will be actively involved in the definition, design, development, implementation, and gender-impact evaluation of policies related to economic and social changes. • Special courts dealing with sexual offences against women will be established countrywide.	• Although the manifesto has a gender clause, gender is not mainstreamed. It hardly mentions promoting women in leadership positions or allowing men and women to participate in all spheres of life.
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	• No quota	• Legislating for mandatory life sentences for serious crimes such as rape, murder, child abuse and women abuse.	• Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto. • Dwells on problems facing South Africa and blames ANC for them. PAC offers solutions to the problems but does not say who the beneficiaries of the reforms will be or who will drive these programmes.
Freedom Front Plus (FFP)	• No quota	• Only mentions Women's and Children's rights in broad terms. Appreciates the role which women fulfil in public life and civil society on every possible terrain. Supports women's rights, but knows that it can only be realised in practice through the empowerment of women through the creation of opportunities and training.	• Gender is not main-streamed in the manifesto. • Gives prominence to championing the cause of Afrikaners and promoting individual languages. It subscribes to parochial interests rather than broad issues affecting South Africa.
African People's Convention	Manifesto not yet available.	Manifesto not yet available.	Manifesto not yet available.

The analysis shows that only the ANC made any real effort to mainstream gender in its manifesto. It translated the 50% party quota in its party constitution into the party list. The ANC asserts that "it has been 15 years of struggle for gender-equality, 30% of all our parliamentarians, provincial legislature members and councillors are women and 43% in cabinet. ANC policies will further increase women representation in parliament and government to 50% by 2009."

While the ID lists exceeded the 50% representation of women in the party list the manifesto was disappointingly deficient of gender content. The manifesto dwelled on providing solutions to the problems for the environment, building houses and homes, sustainable energy etc. Similarly, the PAC made no mention of the meaningful participation of women in decision-making positions.

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) did not mention the participation of women in politics or decision-making positions. The party talked about creating jobs, providing quality education, quality of health care, safety and justice for all South Africans, as though women and men are the same and are affected equally by these policies.

The DA believed that all South Africans should have the capacity to influence the way the country is run and pledged to create a constituency-based electoral system which would make public representatives directly accountable and responsive to their voters. The gender implications of this were not explored, even though it is undisputable that the PR system that pertains in South Africa has played a major role in promoting women's participation in politics.

Several parties, including the UCDP, ACDP, IFP, FFP and UDM referred to women and children as vulnerable people in society and as victims. This assumes that women have the same needs as children. Children require protection – women need to be empowered to protect themselves.

It is unfortunate that few parties made the link between women being the majority of voters and the need to craft messages that specifically address their concerns. The power of the women's vote, keenly watched and courted in older democracies (for example in the recent US election) is one that political parties in South Africa are yet to grasp. As the excerpt below from the Gender Links Opinion and Commentary Service shows, political parties particularly failed to address the issue of gender violence in their campaigns:

Political parties sidestep violence against women
By Lisa Vetten and Sally Shackleton



There are too many gaps in your current thinking around violence against women: This was the message to political party representatives at a debate organised by Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre, Women'sNet and the Political Studies Department of Wits University on 2 April 2009 in Johannesburg.

Attended by some 120 people, the debate challenged political parties to explain to voters ahead of the 22 April elections what concrete measures they plan to implement to combat rape and domestic violence - both significant challenges to the country's development.

While each party representative flourished much of the right rhetoric, the insubstantial and largely simplistic nature of their parties' positions rapidly became apparent once the floor opened for questions. For example, asked how they would address the economic and material deprivation that pushes some women into sex work, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) proposed the introduction of sewing groups as the antidote.

For their part, the African National Congress (ANC) sidestepped the question of why they had dismantled the specialist Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences (FCS) Unit, while simultaneously pronouncing such crimes a priority. Both the Freedom Front Plus and the ACDP were

in favour of reintroducing the death penalty for certain rapes - which drew a mixed response from the audience.

Still other proposals included establishing women's courts staffed only by women and ensuring that abusive men, rather than women and children, are forced to leave the home. There are critiques for every single one of these positions, but for the sake of brevity, let's look at the last one, since it exemplifies the lack of forethought present in many party responses to the issues.

Obviously, it would be ideal to evict the abuser from the home - but courts are reluctant to do so, particularly when the woman concerned is co-habiting with her partner and the house registered in his name. For this proposal to become reality, parties would need to prioritise the finalisation of legislation around domestic partnerships. Not one party manifesto proposes such legislative reforms.

Further, in some instances it is simply too dangerous for women to remain at known addresses; for the sake of their safety they need to disappear. An audience member resident at the shelter where the debate took place attested that this means that shelters remain a necessity. Recounting her story of domestic violence, she challenged parties to ensure support for women's shelters, and to make them accessible to women forced to flee their homes.

Only the Congress of the People's (COPE) manifesto recognised the need to increase the number of "special care" facilities for women in abusive relationships. However, in the course of the debate, the United Democratic Movement (UDM) did commit itself to examining laws around property rights that prevent the eviction of abusive men, while the Independent Democrats (ID) committed itself to examining ways of funding service organisations and shelters.

First-time women voters, however, met these promises with some skepticism. Observed a 20-year-old who identified herself as Maninas, "They only talked about how they could change things if we vote for them. Why don't they start now with those changes?"

Sarah, another young first-time voter, was very clear about where the changes needed to begin. "All I can say to the parties is that if they want our political system to be strong, then they should at least start by drafting down properly all the stuff that they are going to address in public. 'Cause the promises they make will determine the future of their party."

Change therefore begins at party level. Indeed, with the exception of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the ANC, party representatives were largely unfamiliar with the issues and out of their depth. In addition, no party manifesto adopted a multi-dimensional response to violence against women that went beyond the parameters of the criminal justice system alone.

While almost all parties responded to the legal dimensions of violence in a more or less inadequate fashion, responses to the societal, economic and material dimensions were almost entirely absent from their manifestoes. Not one party recognised the unique circumstances and needs of marginalised groups of women experiencing violence, including sex workers, undocumented female migrants and refugees, women with disabilities or lesbians (to name a few).

Considering that Southern African Development Community (SADC) Heads of State committed themselves to halving gender violence by 2015 when they signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development last August, the lack of planning at the national level on the issue is concerning. Encouragingly, party representatives invited the audience to challenge and hold them accountable. They proposed regular debates, not only at election time, where they could engage with civil society on the issues.

Whether this is anything more than a promise made in the heat of electioneering remains to be seen. Such engagement is crucial on at least two counts: it is a test of parties' commitment to the creation of substantive policy to prevent and combat violence against women, as well as an indication of whether women are more than mere voting fodder at election time.

Lisa Vetten is a researcher and policy analyst at Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre to End Violence Against Women and Sally Shackleton is Executive Director at Women'sNet. To obtain a copy of the review of party manifestoes, please visit www.tlac.org.za

Gender analysis of party lists

A total of 42 political parties submitted their candidates' lists to the Independent Electoral commission (IEC) by 2 March for the 2009 national and provincial elections. However, participation varied considerably. Some political parties contested for the national assembly and provincial legislatures while others contested in national assembly elections only; and still others contested in provincial legislatures only.

Only 11 political parties contested the elections for the national assembly and all nine provincial legislatures.

TABLE FIVE: WOMEN IN PARTY LISTS

Party	Women	Men
ACDP	36%	64%
ANC	50%	50%
APC	48%	52%
COPE	42%	58%
DA	36%	74%
FFP	21%	79%
ID	52%	48%
IFP	29%	71%
PAC	36%	64%
UCDP	48%	52%
UDM	26%	74%

These were the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), African National Congress (ANC), African Peoples Convention (APC), Congress of the People (COPE), Democratic Alliance (DA), Freedom Front Plus (FFP), Independent Democrats (ID), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), United Democratic Movement (UDM), Pan African Congress of Azania (PAC), United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP). Three parties registered to compete in the national assembly only. Fourteen parties contested the elections for the national assembly and one or more of the provincial legislatures, while 14 contested in one or more provincial legislatures only.

Women in party lists

Figure four shows the proportion of women and men on the national lists for the 11 parties that contested the election nationally and in all nine provinces. The table and graph shows that the Independent Democrats (ID) had the highest proportion of women on their list (52%), followed by the ANC (50%). The APC has come close to parity with 48% women on the list. The FFP (21%) and UDM (26%) had the lowest proportion of women on their lists. The ANC met the 50/50 quota that was adopted at the ANC National Congress in Polokwane in November 2007. The ID and APC achieved or came close to achieving parity without quotas. COPE, DA, ACDP and UCDP had between 30-40% women on their lists. The five remaining parties had 25% or below representation of women on their lists. The FFP came in last with only 21% women on the list.

FIGURE FOUR: WOMEN AND MEN ON PARTY LISTS IN THE 2009 ELECTIONS

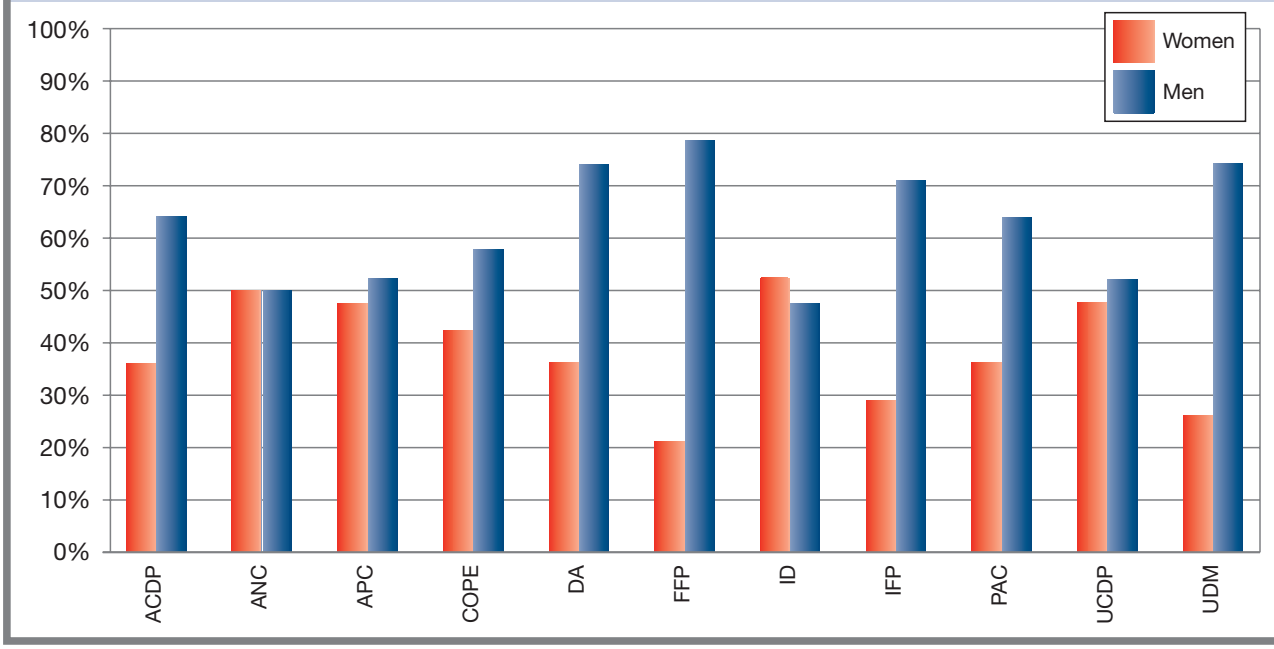
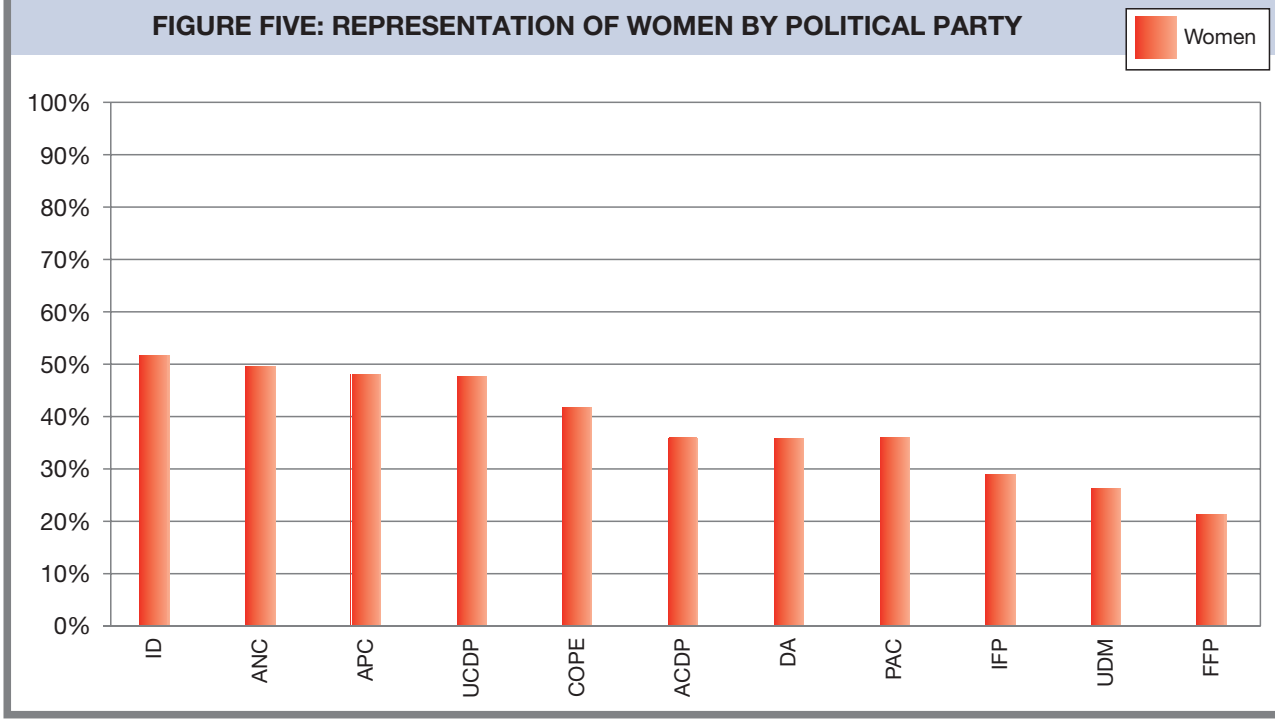


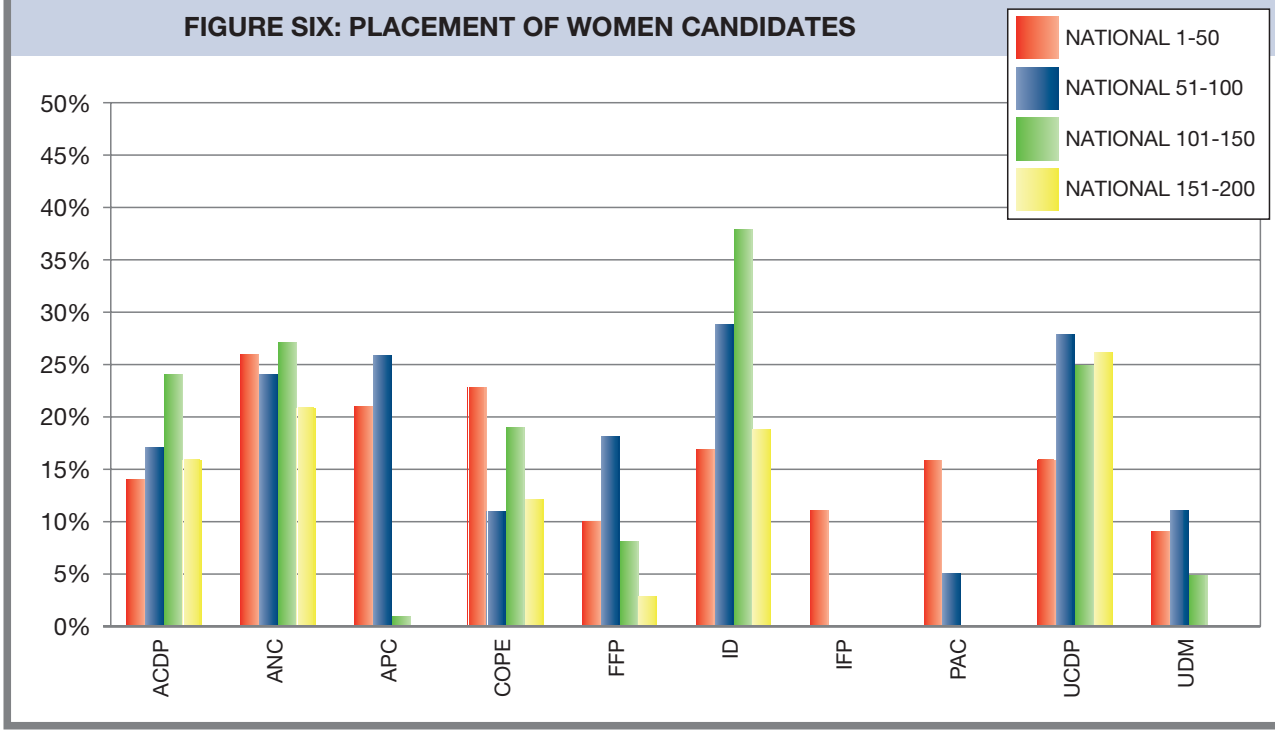
FIGURE FIVE: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN BY POLITICAL PARTY



Numbers only tell part of this story. It is crucial to look at where women were located on the lists. If women were located low down on the lists even if the party had a high proportion of women, it is likely that they would not be elected into parliament.

An analysis of women in the first 50, second 50, third 50 and fourth 50 candidates revealed interesting trends.

FIGURE SIX: PLACEMENT OF WOMEN CANDIDATES



NB. The DA is not included because their party's not ranked in a hierarchy but per province.

As is illustrated in Figure six the ANC had most of the women candidates in the first 150 candidates on the party list. It was therefore likely that the ANC would again take a very high representation of women to parliament.

All the opposition parties, if indeed they were serious

about including 50% women in their delegations to the national assembly, should have had at least 25 women in the top 50 candidates. This would have ensured that they were able to take 50% women to the National Assembly. None of the opposition parties have 25 women in their first 50 candidates. COPE and the APC come closest with 23 and 21 women respectively.

Campaigning and conduct of the poll

Although the registration process proceeded without any hitches, the campaign was characterised by name-calling, hate-speeches, mudslinging, intimidation and rising political temperature across the country.

ANC Youth leader Julius Malema was at the centre of controversy for his insolent remarks and inflammatory language. He branded the Democratic Alliance leader Helen Zille a "colonialist" and an "imperialist" and Zille hit back calling Malema an "inkwenkwe" (uncircumcised man). Malema infuriated the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) when he said "we are not afraid of the IFP. We must campaign everywhere in KwaZulu, even at Mangosuthu Buthelezi's backyard. We must recruit his children."

The ANC was forced to issue an apology to IFP over Malema's remarks as a means to diffuse political tension which had been rising between the two parties in KwaZulu-Natal and to avert what many saw as a return to the political violence of the 1994 and 1999 elections.

Nonetheless, IFP and ANC supporters were engaged in political violence in KwaZulu-Natal with each side blaming the other for inciting violence. Some ANC members were shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in northern KwaZulu-Natal during a rally.



Zuma inauguration.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morne

In early March scores of women and children were injured during a stampede at an ANC rally at the Chatsworth Stadium in Durban, addressed by party president Jacob Zuma. The incident was a result of the failure by the party and law enforcement agents to take precautionary measures to provide safety to supporters. In East London, COPE members were attacked by ANC supporters and a woman was severely beaten.

These kinds of incidents make it very difficult for citizens to make informed decisions about how they will, and indeed whether they are safe to, vote in some areas. The political parties were responsible for their own behaviour as well the messages they were putting in the public sphere. Such behaviour was unacceptable. Sexist comment crept into political speeches and commentary. The most blatant example was the comments made by Malema (in an oblique reference to the Zuma rape case) that women who are raped do not ask for taxi money to go home in the morning.

Malema suggested that the woman who accused ANC president Jacob Zuma of rape had a "nice time" with him and said, "when a woman didn't enjoy it, she leaves early in the morning. Those who had a nice time will wait until the sun comes out, request breakfast and ask for taxi money."[3]

Tokyo Sexwale, speaking about COPE on behalf of the ANC added: "Our mothers are taken, house to house, they are also paraded on TV, these people are performing witchcraft with our mothers ... They are liars. You can't have respect for people who use older people in that fashion."[4]

Despite the volatile atmosphere that prevailed prior to the elections, the 22 April polls were conducted peacefully by the female-led IEC. Bar a few technical glitches, all observers have certified the elections as free and fair and praised the IEC for its management of a clean, transparent election in which all citizens exercised their democratic right and made their choice. Compared to some elections in the region (for example the last election in Zimbabwe) where political violence is often accompanied by gender violence, this is a significant achievement. Gender Links applauds the fact that women and men were able to exercise their democratic rights.

South Africa's next local government elections will be held in November 2011.

Outcome of the election

Representation of women in the national parliament

The 2009 South African election results show that the representation of women in the national parliament has gone up to 43% from 34% in the 2004 election. The table below gives the proportion of votes garnered by each party. As South Africa has a Proportional Representation (PR) system, these percentages determine how many seats each party will get in parliament. After the immediate post-election report on 30 April, the IEC put out official lists of the new Members of Parliament (MPs) and the new Members of the Provincial Legislatures (MPLs). Where their sex could not be determined from their names, GL has verified these to give the following gender disaggregated breakdown[5]:

Table six shows that, as predicted by GL on 15 April, there would be a substantial increase in women's representation in the new parliament (43%). This is a 9% increase from the 2004 election. It is the most significant increase in women's representation since the 1994 election. Increases in women's representation have averaged at three percent between the 1994, 1999 and 2004 elections.

TABLE SIX: PROPORTION OF WOMEN PER POLITICAL PARTY IN THE 2009 SA ELECTIONS

National	Election result (%)	No. of seats	No of women	% Women 2009	% Women 2004	Difference
COPE	7.42	30	15	50	0	50
UCDP	0.37	2	1	50		
ANC	65.90	264	130	49.2	37	12
DA	16.66	67	20	29.9	21	9
ACDP	0.81	3	1	30.9	25	6
ID	0.92	4	1	25	25	0
IFP	4.55	18	4	22.2	35	-13
UDM	0.85	4	0	0	33	-33
FFP	0.83	4	0	0	0	0
Other	2.00	4	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**100**	**400**	**172**	**43**	**34**	**9**

Figure seven shows that COPE, the third largest party with 30 seats, leads the way with 50% women followed by the United Christian Democratic Party (which has only two candidates; one of whom is a woman). At 49.2% the ANC is just shy of the 50% target, but it has by far the largest number of women, accounting for 130 out of the 172 or 75% of the women who sit in parliament.

The IFP and the DA, which do not believe in quotas for women are expected to send 29.9% and 22.2%, respectfully, women to the national legislature. The UDM and FFP have attained four seats in the national legislature and neither party features any women in the top four candidates on their lists. The ID too has achieved four seats with only one woman in the top four candidates.

FIGURE SEVEN: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN BY PARTY IN THE 2009 SA PARLIAMENT

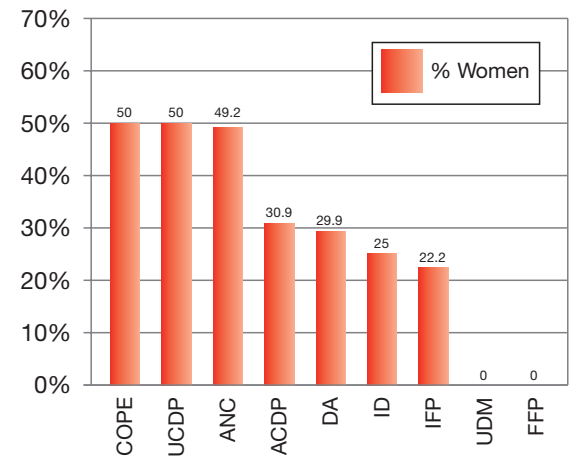
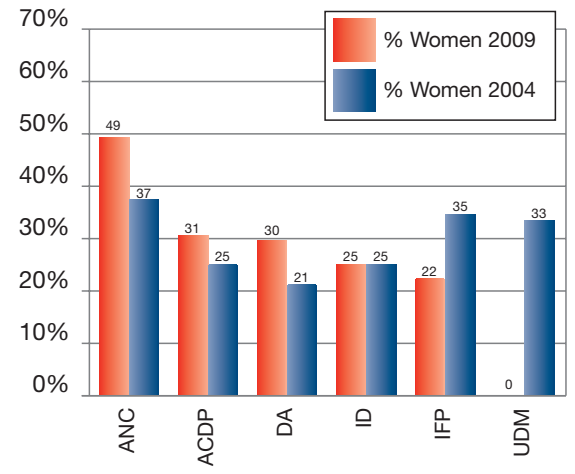


FIGURE EIGHT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN BY POLITICAL PARTY



A comparative analysis between the representation of women in the 2004 and 2009 election shows that the ANC has made a substantial shift from 37% to 49.2% (see Figure eight). The DA has also moved from 21% to 30%. The IFP has dropped from 35% to 22%, but its overall presence in the new parliament has also reduced substantially.

With one more election to go before 2015, the deadline set by SADC for "endeavouring to ensure" women's equal representation in all areas of decision-making, South Africa is firmly on course to achieve this target in parliament by 2015.

This achievement has come about as a result of voluntary party quotas as opposed to the legislated quotas adopted in many other countries that have produced a rapid increase in women's political representation across the globe.

Still of concern though is the dependence on the ANC. Much of the increase in women's participation is attributed to the ANC's 50/50 quota. At 30% the DA, as the official opposition party, is still well below the 50% mark. Short of a legislated quota, the only way that the 50/50 can be achieved in the next election is for all parties to commit to the 50/50 principle.

National Council of Provinces

The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) came into existence with the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996. It replaced the Senate, which had been the other House of Parliament since 1994.

The NCOP not only provides provinces with a forum in which to engage with the national government on matters concerning areas of shared national and provincial legislative powers, but also oversees the programmes and activities. The NCOP is constituted to ensure that provinces are given an effective voice in the national legislative process.

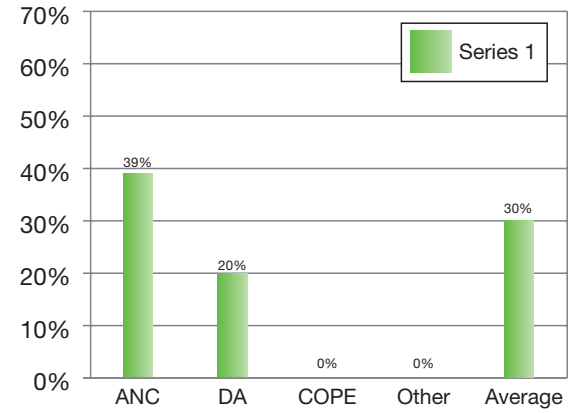
It consists of nine provincial delegations, i.e. a delegation for each of the nine provinces. A delegation consists of six permanent delegates and four special delegates. The premier of a province is the head of that province's delegation, but he or she can select any other member to lead the delegation in his or her absence.

The permanent delegates are members of parliament, while the special delegates are selected by each province from members of the provincial legislature and will change as and when is required by the province.

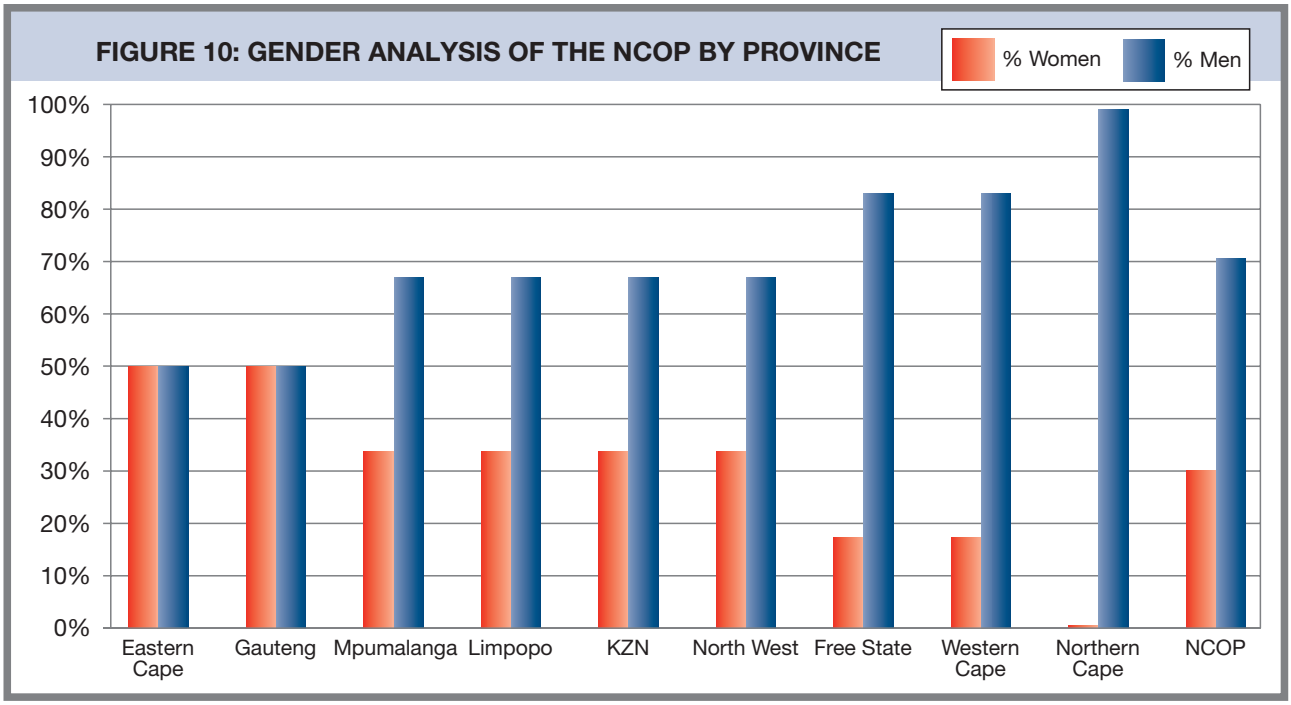
Organised local government is also represented in the NCOP through the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). SALGA is entitled to 10 representatives who may participate in the debates and other activities of the NCOP, but they may not vote.

The analysis that follows concerns the six permanent delegates from each of the nine provinces, that is the 54 permanent members of the NCOP.

FIGURE NINE: GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE NCOP BY PARTY



A disappointing outcome of the 2009 elections is that the proportion of women in the NCOP has dropped from 40.7% in the previous parliament to 16 out 54 in the current NCOP, or 30%. Party performance has been especially disappointing. As figure nine shows, with 39% women, the ANC failed to live up to its parity principle in the NCOP. The opposition parties performed dismally, with only the DA putting forward any women candidates at all. These two women constituted 20% of the DA's total allocation of ten seats.



Performance by province (see Figure ten) varies greatly, from gender balance in the candidates put forward by the Northern Cape and Gauteng, to no women at all from the Northern Cape.

Leadership of parliament

Another disappointing area concerns the leadership of parliament. The past two speakers were women. There is now (for the first time) a male speaker, Max Sizulu, who joked that he is likely to be referred to from time to time as Madame Speaker! The ANC has retained the chairman of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) Mniwa Mahlangu, a man, took over from a long line of women leaders. All the leaders of the 13 parties that secured seats in parliament, except for the Independent Democrat's Patricia de Lille, and the DA's Helen Zille, are men. This leaves Deputy Speaker Nomaindia Mfeketo as the only woman in the top hierarchy of parliament. It also places challenges on this key institution to be mindful of gender parity considerations in the choice of leadership for portfolio committees.

Provincial results

The ANC commitment to the 50/50 principle in elected leadership is reflected at provincial level. With gender parity in five provinces (Eastern Cape, Free State, Limpopo, Northern Cape and Western Cape) and an overall average of 48%, the ANC came close to achieving its target. The table below shows the representation of women from the ANC in provincial legislatures.

TABLE SEVEN: ANC AND THE 50/50 AT PROVINCIAL LEVEL IN THE 2009 ELECTIONS

ANC	Percentage of Vote	Total no. of seats	No. of seats	No of women	% of Women
E Cape	69.70	63	44	23	52
Free State	71.90	30	22	11	50
Gauteng	64.76	73	47	22	47
KZN	63.97	80	51	24	47
Limpopo	85.27	49	43	22	51
Mpumalanga	85.81	30	27	11	41
North West	73.84	33	25	12	48
Northern Cape	61.10	30	19	9	50
Western Cape	32.86	42	14	7	50
		430	**292**	**141**	**48**

At 22% the provincial showing of the DA, South Africa's second largest political party, is disappointing. In the Western Cape where the DA has achieved the majority, the representation of women is 27%. In Mpumalanga, the DA has no women representatives. Table eight shows the representation of women from the DA in provincial legislatures.

TABLE EIGHT: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE DA BY PROVINCE IN THE 2009 ELECTIONS

DA	Percentage of Vote	Total no. of seats	No. of seats	No of women	% of Women
E Cape	9.97	63	6	1	16
Free State	12.1	30	3	0	0
Gauteng	21.27	73	16	4	25
KZN	10.33	80	7	1	15
Limpopo	3.71	49	2	1	50
Mpumalanga	7.6	30	2	0	0
North West	8.7	33	3	0	0
Northern Cape	13.08	30	4	1	25
Western Cape	48.78	42	22	6	27
		430	**65**	**14**	**22**

The average provincial representation of women in COPE is 39%; highest in North West and Gauteng and lowest in KZN and Mpumalanga.

TABLE NINE: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN COPE BY PROVINCE IN THE 2009 ELECTIONS

COPE	Percentage of Vote	Total no. of seats	No. of seats	No of women	% of Women
E Cape	13.31	63	9	4	44
Free State	11.11	30	4	1	25
Gauteng	7.78	73	6	3	50
KZN	1.55	80	1	0	0
Limpopo	7.21	49	4	1	25
Mpumalanga	2.89	30	1	0	0
North West	8.43	33	3	2	67
Northern Cape	15.94	30	5	2	40
Western Cape	9.06	42	3	1	33
		430	**36**	**14**	**39**

The average representation of women at provincial level is 41%; just two percent lower than the national average of 43% and 11% higher than 2004 when women's representation at provincial level averaged 30%.

FIGURE 11: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN PER POLITICAL PARTY AT PROVINCIAL LEVEL

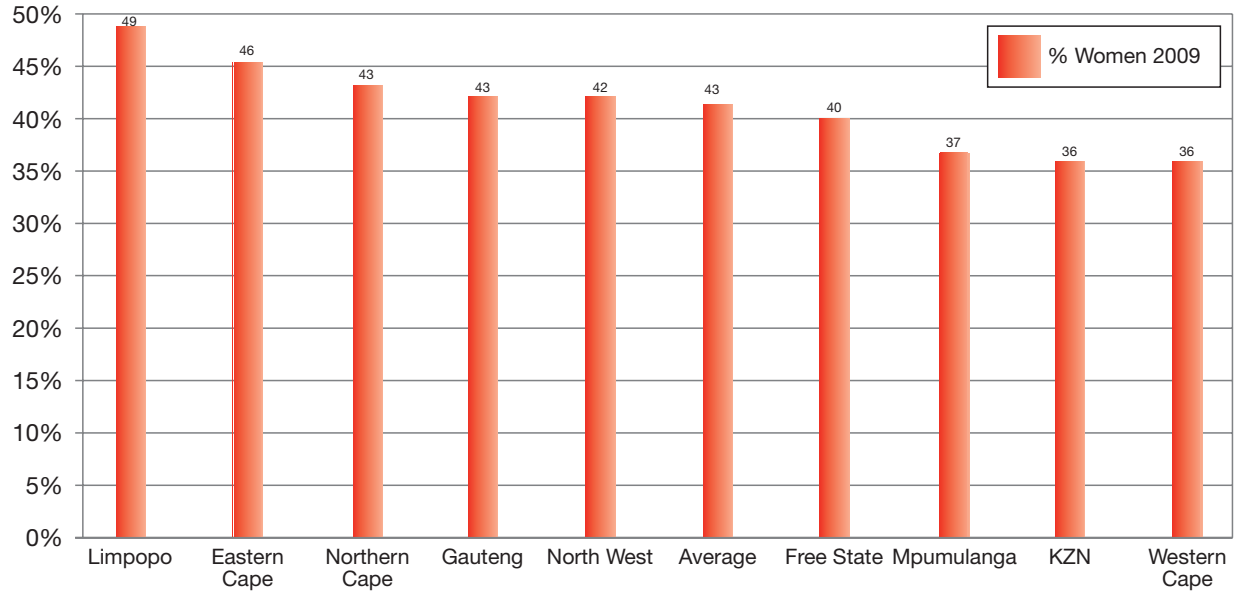
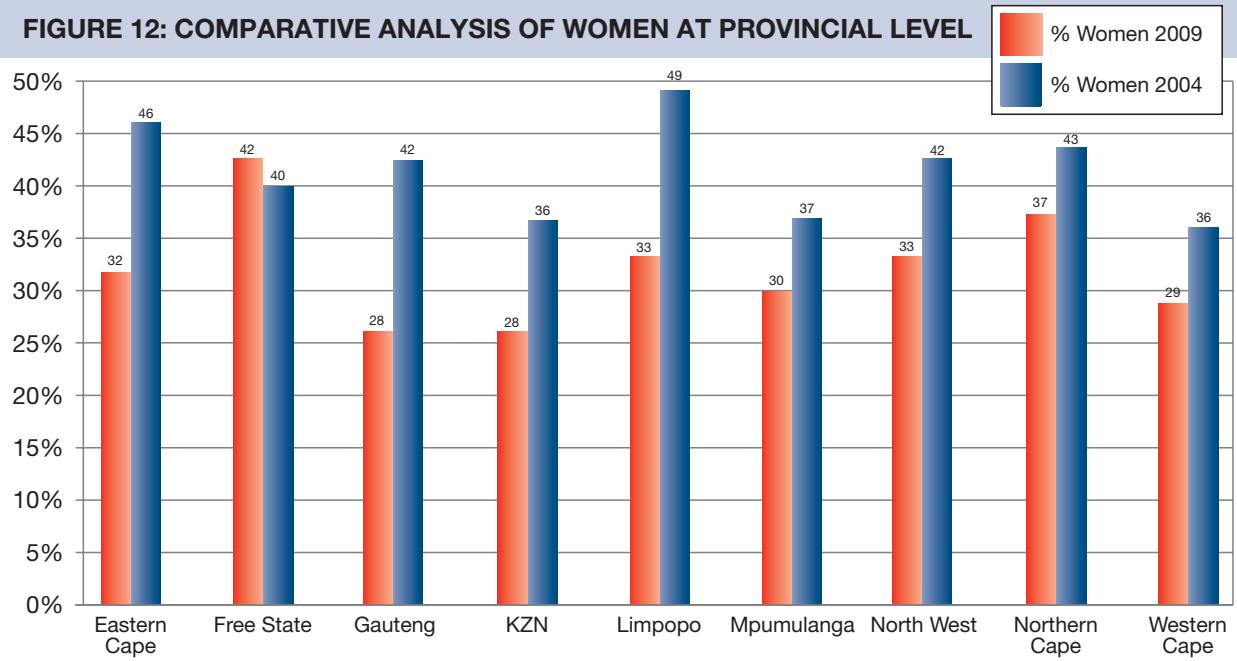


Figure 11 shows the representation of women per province across all political parties. Four provinces: Free State, Mpumalanga, KZN and the Western Cape are at 40% or below.

FIGURE 12: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN AT PROVINCIAL LEVEL



A comparison between the representation of women in the 2004 and 2009 provincial elections (see figure 12) shows that there has been an increase in women's representation in all provinces except the Free State where there has been a slight decline from 42% to 40%. In Limpopo a 16% increase and in Gauteng there has been 14% increase.

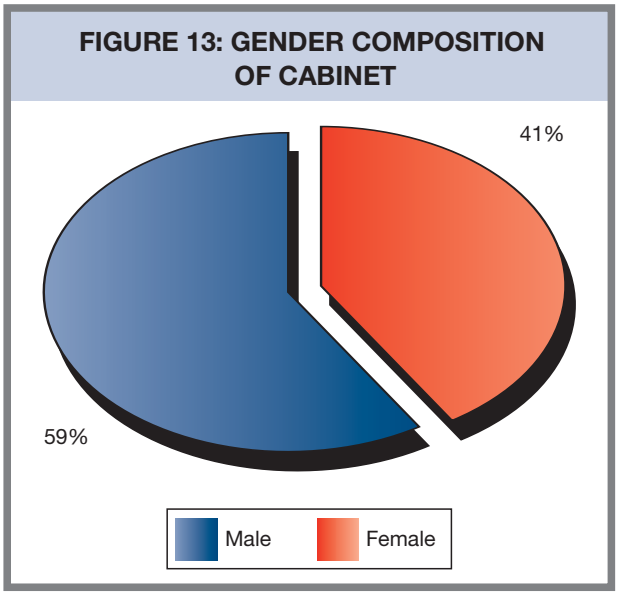
Gender analysis of cabinet

Cabinet is the highest decision-making body of any country and the announcement of cabinet is watched closely by all sectors of society. Following his inauguration on 9 May, President Jacob Zuma lost little time in announcing a new cabinet the following day and one that increased the number of portfolios from 28 to 34.

Some 17 ministers (including six women) are completely new. The cabinet has been praised as a careful balancing act between retaining old expertise while bringing in Zuma's inner circle. While some have frowned on increasing the size of government, others have seen the splits in some portfolios such as education (into higher and lower) and energy and mining into two separate ministries as essential given their previous size.

Viewed from a gender perspective, there is a clear attempt to continue in the Mbeki tradition of increasing the representation of women at the highest levels of government.

FIGURE 13: GENDER COMPOSITION OF CABINET



Women constitute 14 out of 34 or 41% of cabinet, compared to 42% under Mbeki and 43% during the caretaker administration of President Kgalema Motlanthe.

It is noteworthy that women continue to be deployed to non-traditional ministries, a practice also started under Mbeki.

Of the 14 women ministers, at least eight head ministries which are generally male dominated in other parts of the world. These include correctional services; defence and military veterans; energy; home affairs; international relations and co-operation; mining;



Zuma inauguration.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morne

Zuma has retained some talented and experienced women ministers. These include former minister of foreign affairs Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (now heading home affairs) and former minister of education Naledi Pandor (now heading science and technology). The retention of former minister of health Barbara Hogan after she publicly criticised the government from barring the Dalai Lama from visiting South Africa (although she later apologised internally) is a welcome sign that ministers of her calibre have a place in the new dispensation. While she will be missed in health, where, in a few months, she restored confidence after the disastrous policies of her predecessor, Manto Thsabalala-Msimang, her deployment to the troubled public enterprises portfolio, in need of "action skills" has been welcomed by the business community. As former chair of the finance portfolio committee, Hogan is well placed to tackle this challenge, which is a good example of women entering the mainstream in South Africa.

While the formation of a women's ministry is problematic, the appointment of former National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) President Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya, one of the most powerful and influential women in the trade union movement, to this post is commendable. Mayende-Sibiya also serves as a co-convener for the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa. She has a clear understanding of the need to bring women into the mainstream of the South African economy and national life, as reflected in the following excerpts from a speech that she made during Women's Month in August:

Let me first clarify very clearly and very simply, as I always do in these kind of occasions, what we mean by **progressive women's movement**.

By **"progressive"**, we mean a commitment to fundamental social change in the lives of women, we mean commitment to fundamentally overcome patriarchy (i.e. domination of women by men); exploitation of women as workers (i.e. the fruits of our own labour – the wealth of this country which we contribute to – taken away from us) and as black women (in which we were are discriminated against). It is sometimes called triple oppression. Progressiveness of our movement seeks to abolish this, once and for all.

For those of us who have working class backgrounds, in our participation in the national democratic revolution, we have come to appreciate the fundamental importance of combining critiquing and challenge both patriarchy and capitalism. We grew up in and are products of patriarchal and black working class households. The convergence of race, gender and class issues were obvious in such households. We became aware of the class we belong to, on the limited imposed on us by gender and racial oppression.

By **"women"** we mean all women, majority of whom are poor, black and working class. We cannot be progressive if social change is only for few black or white women who enjoy privilege, wealth and power. The immense poor majority, their needs, their interests, is what we should be concerned about.

By **"movement"** we do not mean an organisation in a narrow sense of the word. We better say a forum of independent organisations, in which different independent organisations of women, with different ideological backgrounds, come together around common values, common principles, common goals to change the lives and status of women for the better. This "movement" is then a space created by women to share information, to share our own struggles, to assess where these struggles are heading and make proper assessment of how we go forward as a united force in the face of our enemy – patriarchy, racism and capitalism.

The first thing that I want to put forward is that today we are witnessing the **growth of gender consciousness**, by which I mean an awareness of the inequality of women and a determination to resist it, that now exists in the country. This itself is an accomplishment of the women's struggles. It is accomplishment that is very much linked with our struggle traditions in the 1950s and the 1980s in particular. In celebrating the widespread of gender consciousness we must, as I pointed above, not forget the memory of historical struggles of women, which should become source of inspiration to today's struggle of women. But we do not just what to see gender consciousness being just a cultural current, where everyone sphere of society speaks of addressing gender equality. We need to transform gender consciousness into a movement for progressive social change. How do we do that?

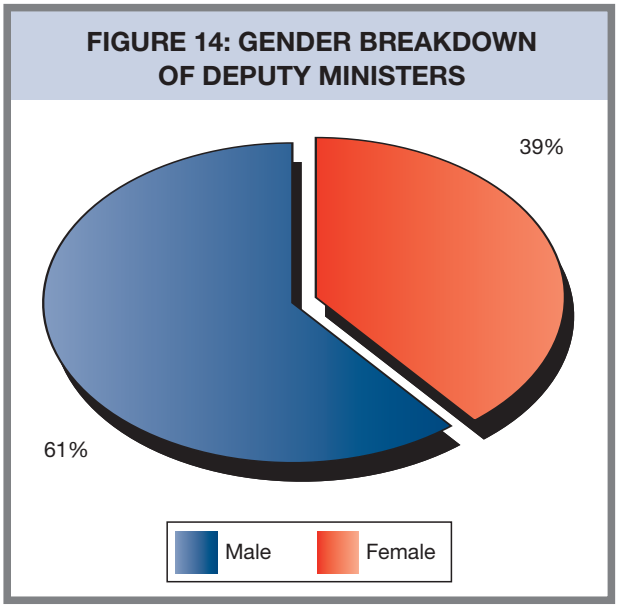
The first issue is that which concerns the majority of working class women, especially black working class women, whose labour is unrecognised, unsalaried or unpaid. Yet this unpaid labour partly contributes to the capitalist profits and creation of social wealth. It is labour that is performed in the family home that ensure that the capitalist class has a workforce from generation to generation. It is the labour of women that reproduces the workforce itself, both physically through childbirth and culturally through the raising of children, and on a day-today basis. Women's labour also "reproduces" the workers (majority of whom are husbands) in the family, making them fit for work the following day.

If women did not perform this unpaid labour inside the working-class family, then, in order to ensure the reproduction of its workforce, capitalism would either have to pay higher wages or provide consider ably more social wage to replace the services now provided by housewives.

Excerpts from a speech by Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya to the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa, August 2007

There are, however, a number of concerns about the new cabinet. While President Thabo Mbeki had more women than men as deputy ministers (60%) arguing that this is an important training ground for women ministers, this proportion declined to 38% under President Motlanthe.

FIGURE 14: GENDER BREAKDOWN OF DEPUTY MINISTERS



Under Zuma, women constitute 11 of the 28 deputy ministers (or 39% of the total). While it is commendable that a number of these are in non-traditional sectors such as economic development, trade and industry, the fact that the parity principle has not been carried through at this level is a concern.

The parity principle has also not been carried through to the presidency, the pinnacle of power. While South Africa had women deputy presidents under Mbeki and Motlanthe, the former caretaker president is now deputy president. Former Deputy President Baleka Mbete has resigned amid much media hype about her "cashing in" and opting for her deputy presidential pension rather than being demoted to a minister. These are fair questions to ask of a public official, but it is highly unlikely that they would have been posed in the same way had she been a man.

The bigger issue, that has not been raised, is the ANC reneging on the 50/50 principle at this level. This is not necessarily an argument for Mbete to have been retained (the deputy president is appointed by the president) but for the party and its president to honour the decisions taken at the Polokwane conference. It comes as a shock for us to learn that some women, including the new premier of Gauteng, Nomvula Mokonyane, opposed the 50/50 principle at the top level during the party congress. This must cause us to question the calibre and commitment of some women leaders and to constantly hold then accountable.

While the new cabinet has some well known, tried and tested women leaders, some are a concern when viewed from a gender perspective. In particular, the new Minister of International Relations and Co-operation Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, the former high commissioner to India and MEC for housing in Limpopo, is an unknown quantity in her new portfolio and has made comments that raise concerns for gender activists. These were made during the trials of her late husband Norman Mashabane, former ambassador to Indonesia, whom she stood by in the face of a conviction of sexual harassment.

The new Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga, former provincial minister of education and head of gender in the now defunct Reconstruction and Development (RDP) Programme, has been an uncritical supporter of Zuma through his rape and corruption trials and a lacklustre performer in her former portfolios.

Another ominous sign is the resignation from parliament of Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge. High up on the ANC's election list yet nowhere in cabinet or parliament, Madlala-Routledge now appears to be in the political wilderness. A veteran women's rights activist who raised the ire of Mbeki for her stance on HIV and AIDS as deputy minister of health and went on to serve as deputy speaker, Madlala-Routledge has close links with civil society and is always principled in her stance despite hailing from the same traditional KwaZulu-Natal province as Zuma.

The conversion of the ministry of local government and provincial affairs to co-operative governance and traditional affairs is worrisome. Never before has "traditional affairs" enjoyed cabinet status in South Africa. While the Constitution respects all traditions and cultures, it is also clear that where these are in violation of the Bill of Rights, the latter takes precedence.

The elevation of traditional affairs to such a level by a president who is openly defensive of his polygamous lifestyle is a threat and worry for women's rights. A recent survey showed that 80% of black women are opposed to this practice, compared to 55% of black men. The vast majority of other racial groups also opposed the practice, which they cited as contradicting the constitutional principles of gender equality.

The creation of a Ministry of Women, Youth, Children and Disability is worrisome. There has been much debate globally where structures for advancing the rights of women, that cut across all sectors, should

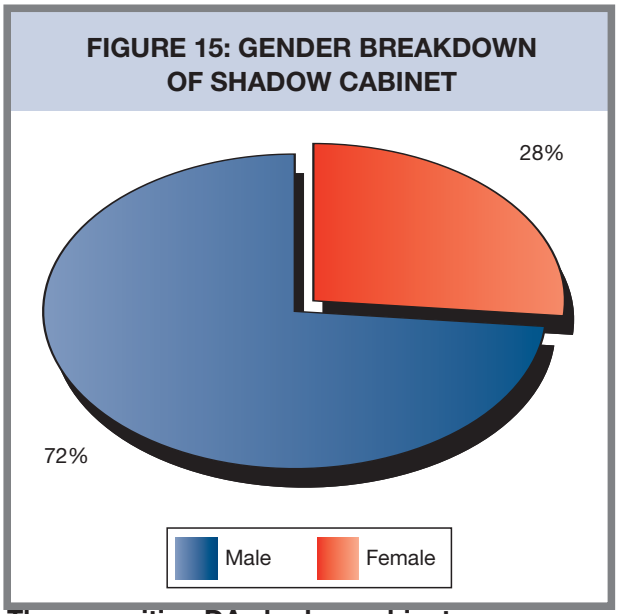
ideally be placed. International best practice (which South Africa followed in the establishment of the former Office of the Status of Women (OSW) in the presidency) is to place gender in a high level, cross-cutting location. This is now being reversed, with minimal debate among stakeholders compared to the consultations that preceded the establishment of the OSW.

The clustering of issues of women, youth, disability and children in one ministry is equally problematic. This has long been a sore point between the government and gender activists, particularly in conceptualising the Sixteen Days of Activism on Gender Violence campaigns. Placing women and children in the same governance structure is patronising to women, who need to be empowered to claim their rights, while children should be defended and protected by adults: men and women.

A related concern is the dysfunctional status of the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), an independent body established by the constitution to "promote and protect" the attainment of gender equality with wide powers to take up cases of discrimination and promote debate on tough issues like polygamy, gay rights and sex work.

With a president whose credentials on women's rights are already sorely in question, the South African cabinet, and women ministers in particular, will need to work exceptionally hard to convince skeptics that what we have witnessed is not just a case of jobs for the girls rather than gender equality for the nation.

FIGURE 15: GENDER BREAKDOWN OF SHADOW CABINET



The opposition DA shadow cabinet

Following the storm over her provincial cabinet (see below) the DA's Helen Zille announced a shadow cabinet comprising nine out of 32 or 28% women with a similar proportion of shadow deputy ministers. Five of the nine women shadow ministers are in non-traditional areas including home affairs; justice and constitutional development; police; public enterprises; science and technology. The overall proportion of women in the shadow cabinet is, however, considerably below parity.

Provincial premiers and cabinets

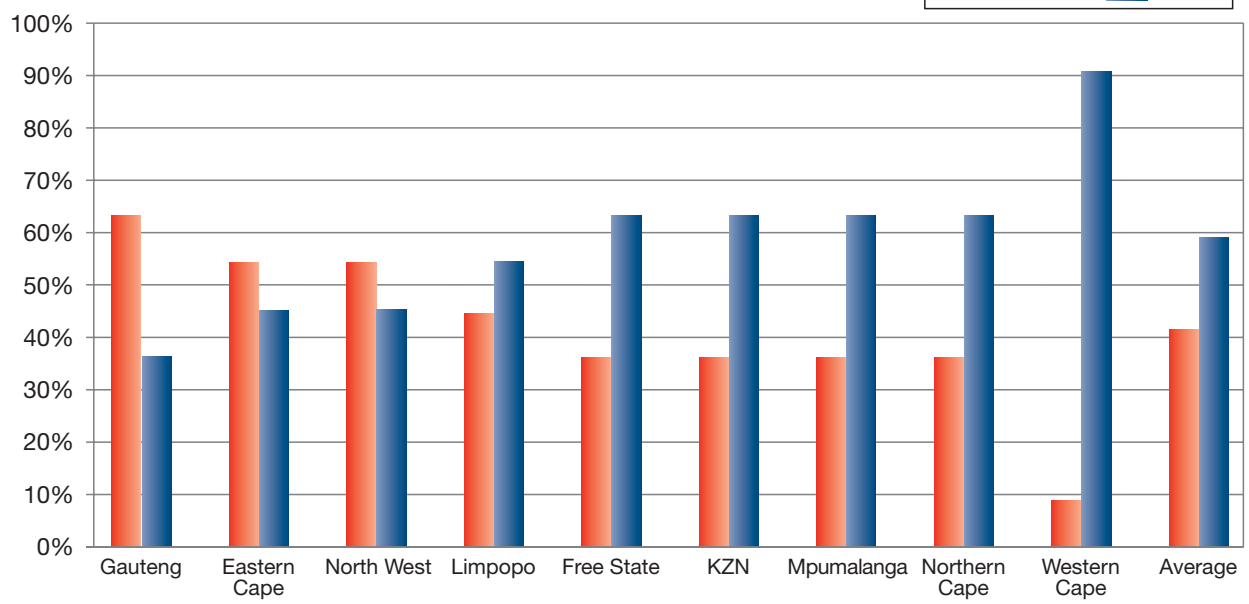
A first major test of the ANC's 50/50 principle came with the appointment of provincial premiers. Only one woman, Thandi Dibakoane, headed the ANC's provincial list in Mpumalanga. Guided by the resolution at its Polokwane Congress in December 2007 that the 50/50 principle be observed in all areas of decision-making, the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC), which decides on premiers, discarded the party lists altogether.

Despite rumblings of dissent from provincial structures, four of the eight premiers to be announced by the ANC in the provinces in which it has a majority are women. These are Hazel Jenkins in the Northern Cape; Noxolo Kiviet in the Eastern Cape; Maureen Modiselle in the North West and Nomvula Mokonyane in Gauteng.

The latter is a particularly telling case in point of the gender parity principle being applied, as incumbent Paul Mashatile, who heads the ANC provincial list, clearly expected to be reappointed to his position. He will now be succeeded by the former MEC for Safety and Security dubbed "Mama Action" by the media.

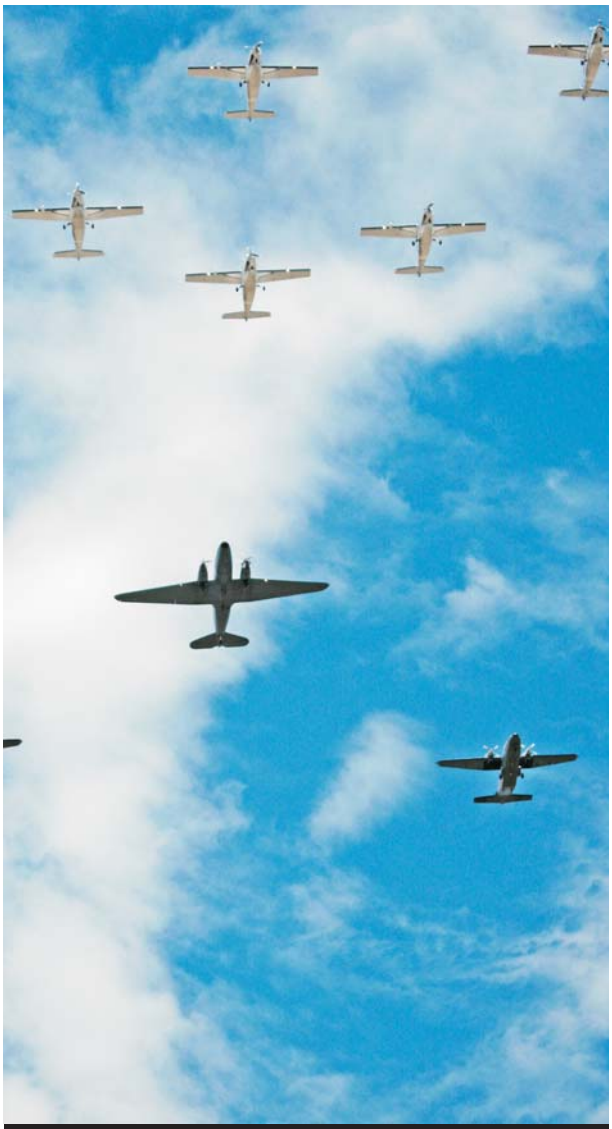
Mokonyane comes with strong credentials and fewer questionmarks over her tenure than Mashatile. She also testified during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on abuses against women during the apartheid era and has taken a strong stance against gender violence in the province of Gauteng. However, as noted earlier, we are disappointed to learn that she did not support the principle of gender parity in the presidency during the ANC's Polokwane Congress.

Figure 16: Women and men in provincial cabinets



During the first two weeks of May, the provincial premiers announced their cabinets. As in the case of the national cabinet, women in provincial cabinets average 41% (see figure 16). Gauteng (64%); Eastern Cape and North West with 55% - all three led by ANC women – lead the way. The other woman premier in the Northern Cape (36%) did not do so well.

But the real shock that sparked off an unprecedented war of words came from Helen Zille, the fifth woman premier who announced a cabinet comprising 75% whites and no female MEC's. The sexist mudslinging match that followed between the ANC Youth League and Zille was an especially low point in the elections, as explained in the article below:



Zuma inauguration.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morne

Sexist slurs mar the real issues
By Colleen Lowe Morna


SA's dirtiest gutter fight

17 OCT 2009

Zille and Youth League rade sex nsults

ZILLE:

YOUTH LEAGU

GLOVES ARE OFF: DA leader Helen Zille has moved from being the opposition to being the enemy, according to the ANC after her attack on Zuma

There is an African saying that when elephants fight it is the grass that suffers. In South Africa this week the elephants have been the two biggest winners in the April elections- the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA). The grass is democracy and women's rights.

The Star hit the nail on the head when it called the sexist slurs that have been traded across parties as "South Africa's dirtiest gutter fight." After President Jacob Zuma's conciliatory remarks at his inauguration on 9 May, the DA sunk from a robust but loyal opposition to – in the ANC's words - "enemy number one."

While the underlying issues no doubt concern power, its loss or gain in the Western Cape, the political football that is being tossed around and the real victim in all this is women's rights.

At the centre of the storm is Helen Zille's appointment of an all male, 75% white cabinet in the province, the only one out of nine where the ANC is not in control.

While it is true that Zuma behaved in a highly irresponsible manner by having unprotected sex with an HIV positive woman and claiming that he could not leave a woman in a kanga "in that state" during the rape case against him in 2006, using attack as a form of defence for her cabinet as Zille did is lame and inexcusable.

Zille is correct that jobs for the girls do not, on their own equate gender equality. But she is wrong that having a cabinet so out of step with current day realities in South Africa is acceptable.

One woman at the top of the party means little when only 29% of the members of parliament from the DA are female (down from 35% in the last parliament led by Tony Leon). The numbers are even more paltry for the DA's representation in the National Council of Provinces (20%) and a mere 9% (Zille herself) in the Western Cape cabinet, compared to 64% in Gauteng; 55% in Limpopo and North West (led by ANC women).

Indeed, the overall impressive figures of 44% women in parliament; 41% in the national and provincial cabinets; and 38% in the NCOP have come about almost entirely as a result of the ANC's 50/50 quota. The question that needs to be asked is whether South Africa can or should be edging towards gender parity in decision-making, as required by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development by 2015, on the back of one political party.

The DA's performance gives grist to the 50/50 campaigners who have been calling for a legislated quota that would oblige all parties, including the DA that is vehemently opposed to quotas, to shape up or ship out. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) should indeed be adding this to its arsenal of arguments before the Equality Court and Human Rights Commission.

The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), the specific body established by the Constitution for "promoting and protecting gender equality" should be at the forefront of such a campaign instead of being mired in petty politics.

The fact that as a woman Zille argues so belligerently in favour of her all male cabinet has already led to the term "the Zille effect" being coined in gender circles to denote "women who behave worse

than men" in political decision-making. Other than the lack of specific qualifications by the men appointed by Zille for their tasks that has already extensively been commented upon, one wonders how qualified these men are to address the kinds of issues that Zille says are her priorities such as drugs and teenage pregnancies.

The argument for gender balance in decision-making goes beyond numbers. It is premised on volumes of research that show that having all interest groups represented in decision-making is critical for transparency, responsiveness and good governance. The most basic demographic of any society, the Western Cape included, is that society comprises women and men. Following on from the "who feels it knows it" principle, one must ask Zille what her all male cabinet knows about the experiences of women, especially poor back women, in the Western Cape and how "fit they are for the purpose" of addressing the needs of half the population.

Zille's cabinet opens her to accusations of racism and sexism, in exactly the same way as she is now accusing Zuma of being "a self confessed womaniser with deeply sexist views." It should also be remembered that she opened the sexist slinging match with ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema by calling him an uncircumcised man.

It is, however, equally unacceptable for the ANC Youth League to refer to Zille as a "girl" who "appointed an all male cabinet of useless people, the majority of whom are her boyfriends and concubines so that she can continue to sleep around with them."

Umkhontho we Sizwe Military Veterans Association has now also entered the fray, accusing Zille of "sleeping with more than her fair share of white males." In all the mudslinging that takes place between male politicians, one has never heard these men being accused of sleeping around with other women. It's precisely this kind of "gutter" language applied to women politicians that results, the world over, in women shying away from politics.

Fortunately, Luthuli House has distanced itself from utterances that make a mockery of the Constitution and of the ANC's proud history of fighting racism and sexism. The DA is apparently similarly calling Zille into line, and needs to do so more vocally and vigorously.

Both parties need to get back to the real issues, which are that women constitute the majority of the poor; the dispossessed and the unemployed; they are not yet equally represented in politics and they are heavily under represented in other spheres of decision-making including the private sector; the judiciary; the media; academia and law enforcement agencies.

The majority of women in this country are governed by a dual legal system that gives them rights through the Constitution and takes them away through customary law. The net effect is that many women remain minors all their lives: under their fathers, husbands, brothers-in-laws and even their sons.

South Africa has among the highest levels of gender violence in the world. This is exacerbated by the high levels of HIV and AIDS that are both a cause and consequence of gender violence. It is estimated that one in nine women never report these violations for fear of reprisals by family and because the legal system is at best unresponsive, at worst dismissive of their suffering.

It does not help matters that Zuma failed to silence those who bayed for the blood of his rape accuser and that, after losing her case, she now lives in exile, stripped of her citizenship because she chose to exercise her rights. Nor is it encouraging that the Office on the Status of Women that used to reside in the President's Office has been relegated to a Ministry of Women, Youth, Children and Disability; and that the CGE is in such a toothless tiger.

While the DA needs to understand that you cannot have gender equality without having jobs for the girls the ANC needs to understand that gender equality is a lot more than jobs for the girls. These are the real issues. Let's get back to them.

(Colleen Lowe Morna is Executive Director of Gender Links. This article is part of the GL Opinion and Commentary Service that offers fresh views on every day news. A full analysis on gender and the 2009 elections can be found on www.genderlinks.org.za).

Gender and the media

GL, in partnership with Media Monitoring Africa, monitored media election coverage until 15 May and some of the findings were discussed with key editors and stakeholders on the live television show Africa Views. The following are some of the observations:

Monitoring by the MMA showed that women comprised 24% of media sources in election coverage and that gender as a topic only received 2.4% of media attention (compared, for example with 22% for election logistics). Among those that featured gender as a topic and issue in the election were ETV in a 7pm news bulletin; SABC morning and evening news in hour long debates; SABC International in two panel discussions at the IEC election headquarters and the *Mail and Guardian* in a special supplement.

The male dominance of politics has been underscored by several articles bearing the headline "All the President's Men" (for example the 28 August cover of *Financial Times*; an article in *The Star* on 7 April). By contrast articles referring to "All the president's women" were about former



President Kgalema Motlanthe's estranged wife and former girlfriend.

An interesting feature of election coverage this time is that several newspapers ran lengthy profiles of prominent women in politics, including new and emerging leaders in opposition parties. Examples include "Copes eager new girl on the block (Lynda Odendaal) in the *Sunday Independent* on 21 December; "Woman with her heals on the ground" (Wendy Luhabe) in the *Sunday Independent* of 9 November; "The love of my country has guided me" (COPE's Lyndal



Shope) in the *Star* 7 November; "On the campaign with superwoman" (Helen Zille) in the *Saturday Star* of 18 April and "Die-hard had to eat her words" (former Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka) in the *Sunday Independent* of 29 April. The *Sunday Independent's* "Hot Seat" did an especially commendable job of running half-page, in-depth profiles of women politicians of all hues.


NEWS

Sunday

Zille admits to getting a little help from Botox

How Cape Town's mayor said goodbye to frown lines and hello to a fresh new look

defence

Qualitative monitoring conducted by GL and GEMSA has yielded several examples of blatant gender stereotypes such as the prominent coverage given to the DA's Helen Zille admitting that she used Botox (*Sunday Times* 28 December); references to Zille as the "poster girl" and references to COPE leader Mbhazima Shilowa's wife Wendy Luhabe as the "Sugar behind Shikota" (*Mail and Guardian* October 31). During the swearing in ceremony, the new Minister of Defence Lindiwe Sisulu was said to have added "a touch of glamour to the proceedings."

Media watchdogs, such as the Freedom of Expression Institute, have bemoaned the lack of depth and issue coverage in the elections; this also reflects in the coverage of gender issues. For example, much of the media focus on President-elect Jacob Zuma's polygamous lifestyle centred on who would be the first lady and what it would cost tax payers to have such an extensive first family rather than what this reflects about his


STAR 12 MAY

Sisulu adds glamorous touch to defence

IGHT AND BOLD: Lindiwe Sisulu talks to Naledi

ortly after she has been sworn in as Minister of Defence and Military Veterans.

PICTURE: JENNIFER BRU





views on the Constitution and women's rights. To its credit the *Mail and Guardian* ran an opinion piece by Gender Links on the subject that prompted several on-line responses. SABC International hosted a debate on the subject with two for and two against, in front of a regional audience and with questions phoned in by viewers across Africa. On 17 May, ETV also had a "Great Debate" on polygamy.



Sexist comments like Malema's offside on women who are raped not asking for taxi money in the morning prompted spirited debate and a well positioned piece in the *Mail and Guardian* (30 January). Several articles questioned whether the sexual conduct of politicians is relevant to their political performance. This included a series on former President Kgalema Motlanthe's alleged affair with a young woman; COPE suspending a senior official accused of sex abuse (*The Times* 8 January) and questions regarding "Zille's sex pest safety minister" in the *Mail and Guardian* of 15 to 21 May. While these articles all have a sensationalist tone, the fact that

leaders are being called to account for the way they conduct their private life is positive.





This in turn prompted a debate on whether or not the personal is political. The *Mail and Guardian* Critical Thinking Forum partnered with Gender Links, the Human Rights Commission and Constitution Hill in posing this question to a panel of all the political parties, providing the substance for a special supplement on Gender and the Elections by the *Mail and Guardian* (March 20).

Throughout the period GL, GEMSA and the GMDC ran Gender and Leadership debates that resulted in a checklist of transformative leadership found at **Annex F** of this report. The letters to Zuma and Zille from GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna and Deputy Director Kubi Rama underscored a new emphasis on gender accountability by South African leaders.

While white male commentators and analysts predominated in all media, The *Mail and Guardian* is to be congratulated for its frequent use of black female experts and opinion shapers like Nikiwe Bikitsha and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela who shed refreshing views on the issues (like the Sunday lunch disputes in Bikitsha's home over whether to vote COPE or ANC). The *Mail and Guardian* also consistently consulted "ordinary" women and men in equal numbers for their views on the elections. The newspaper's election cover, showing Zuma and Zille, and flagging a supplement on women's economic empowerment, is an example of the gender balance that gender and media NGOs see as their ultimate goal.

The use of humour also proved to be a highly successful tool for diffusing tension and advancing gender discourse. Zapiro, the cartoonist, was constantly bringing out topical issues about Jacob Zuma's stand on gender issues and moral values. As such the "shower" image was popular in his cartoons throughout the election period.

2. Source: IEC
3. http://www.tac.org.za/community/node/2477
4. http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-01-26-cope-takes-issue-with-sexwale-malema-comments.
5. Mashabane, who died in a car accident last year, was recalled from Indonesia following sexual harassment charges against him and served as an adviser to the provincial premier for a short time before his death. He lost his post as ambassador when he was found guilty by the department of foreign affairs in 2001 on charges of sexually harassing Lara Swart, a 21 year old employee. Then foreign affairs minister Nkosozana Dlamini-Zuma reinstated him pending the outcome of the appeal that the minister upheld but was thrown out in the Pretoria High Court. Mashabane then resigned.

4 CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

conclusions & recommendations



Community media participants at the Gender media Elections, Cape Town. ***Photo: Lowani Mtonga***

The South African elections, as the first in the series under this project, provided many encouraging signals, as well as concerns and learning points. The adoption of the 50/50 quota by the ANC showed that change is possible. South Africa is the one country in the region that has demonstrated that the 50/50 ideal can be achieved. It has helped to give meaning to the "2015: Yes we can" slogan being adopted by advocates of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

On the other hand the change of leadership in South Africa underscores the fact that activists need to probe beyond numbers. Having many women in power who line up behind a leader of questionable gender credentials poses a real danger to the fragile gains for gender equality since 1994.

The media in South Africa are currently dealing with several challenges. The economic crisis has hit media houses very hard. It is important to keep gender on the agenda. In these times gender becomes "a nice to do" not "a have to do." It is particularly important to keep gender on the agenda during elections. Participants found the sessions informative and engaging: See summary of evaluations annexed to this report.

Way forward

- Following lessons learned in South Africa, where GL and GEMSA forged an ongoing relationship with the media, projects in subsequent countries have included strategic communications training for civil society. This covers, among others, election forecasting from a gender perspective.


INSIDE 17

Enigmatic leader, ambivalent legacy

- Whilst the majority of work has been with media, the results of the election media monitoring show that there is still a lot of work before equal access to women and men can be achieved. For example, even though the elections brought in a legacy that included the biggest promotion of women in South African history, a debate at Wits University soon after the elections had only male panelists. This underscores the fact that it is still "a man's world."
- The state has a role to play to ensure that quotas are introduced at national level. At the moment, this has been left to political parties good will. Commendably parties such as the ANC have adopted a 50/50 quota whilst the smaller parties and the opposition have been noncommittal.
- The module on Gender, Media and Elections added an important dimension to the IEC Civic and Voter Education strategy. While the IEC presented the various electoral systems, the gender, media and elections went beyond and showed participants the impact of the various electoral systems on women's representation. They learnt that the PR System which South Africa follows is gender-friendly and a key factor in ensuring more women's representation in parliament.
- Community media can play an important role in championing the 50/50 agenda by scrutinising the manifestos of political parties and what they say on gender and how they intend to increase the number of women in parliament. For example, when announcing statistical data on voter registration they should remember to disaggregate data so that listeners know how many voters are women and how many are men. Similarly, they should be producing balanced programmes and stories by including the voices of women and not men only.
- This was the first workshop on Gender, Media and Elections for community media. Many participants expressed interest in gender training. Previous training initiatives have concentrated on print and private or commercial radio stations and not community media. This is an area which GL should explore. One participant remarked in the evaluation that: "Let's work beyond the elections, sustain the initiative." Another said: "There is a lot that Gender Links can offer to community media." This is an area which GL has a niche and would make a lot of impact.

ANNEXES

annexes

ANNEX A:
PROGRAMME FOR GENDER, MEDIA AND ELECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY MEDIA

DAY / TIME	ACTIVITY	WHO
14th January, 2009		
08.00 - 08.30	Registration	Lowani Mtonga
08.30 - 09.00	Introductions, workshop objectives & workshop expectations	Lowani Mtonga
09.00 - 10.30	Gender issues in elections and experiences with the media. (Discussion between panel of politicians and the media)	Politicians / Media
10.30-11.00	**Tea Break**	
11.00 - 11.30	Video: At the Coal Face: Gender and governance in Southern Africa	Trevor Davies
11.30 - 12.00	SA 2009 elections: Key gender issues presentation	Trevor Davies
12.00 - 13.00	Exercise	
13.00- 14.00	**Lunch Break**	
14.00 - 14.30	Finding and developing gender angles	Trevor Davies
14.30 - 15.30	Group work on strategies and story ideas	All
15.30-16.00	**Tea Break**	
16.00 - 17.00	Report back	All
16.00	Summary and closure	Trevor Davies

ANNEX B:
LIST OF COMMUNITY MEDIA PARTICIPANTS

NAME	SEX	ORGANISATION	PHONE	FAX	E-MAIL
Petrus Botha	M	Radio Tygerberg	021 936 8110	021 911 3811	petrus@102fm.org
Naomi Engelbrecht	F	Radio Tygerberg	0219368109	021 911 3811	Naomi@104.org.za
Selwyn Crotz	M	MFM 92.6	0218083098		admin@mfm.sun.ac.za
Ruenda. Odendaal	F	MFM 92.6	0218083098		community@mfm.sun.ac.za
Lesue. Zeeman	M	IEC	0128525502 0233428208		
George Williams	M	IEC	02334282208 0833447641		Williams@elections.org.za
Adrian Louw	M	Bush Radio	0214485450	0214485451	Adrian@bushraio.co.za
Cind Nitten	F	Bush Radio	0214485450	0214485451	news@bushradio.co.za
Nomonde Makhubalo	F	Eden FM	0448745085	0448745085	programmemanager@edenfm.co.za
Lynette Quimpo	F	Radio CCFM	0846218388	0217889492	telesales@ccfm.org.za
Imgrad. Garthoff	F	Radio CCFM	021788949	0178894932	imgard@cctm.org.za
Priscilla Abrahams	F	IEC	0233428208	0866748818	geweldtp@elections.org.za
Stephen Steinberg	F	IEC	02334288208	0866748818	steinburgs@elections.org.za
Latasha Van Rhtn	F	IEC	02334288208	0866748818	vanhyn@elections.org.za
Franklin Huzies	M	NCRF	0114034336	0114034314	ceo@ucr.org.za
Annette Smit	F	Radio Namakwaland	0272134208	0272135208	sales@radionamakwaland.rsa.za
Bernard Lamprecht	M	Radio Namakwaland	0272134208	0272135208	sales@radionamakwaland.rsa.za
John Mathew	M	Whale Coast	0828946397		john@whalecoastfm.co.za
Earl Sempter	M	Radio KC 107.7 FM	0765524040	0218711439	earlseptember@gmail.com
Sanet Hattingh	F	Radio West Coast	0730035711	0227133427	peterdahl@lantic.co.za
Esmeralda Meyer	F	Radio KC	0218711438	0218711439	Esmeralda.stationmanager@gmail.com
Ferdy Spandiel	M	Radio Atlantis	0767761525		
Judy Spandiel	F	Radio Atlantis	0739957177		
Granwill Pienaar	M	Gamka FM	0234151546	0866079116	info@gamkafm.co.za
Charmaine Manuel	F	ANC	0218623389	0218623389	charmaine@dakenstein.org.za
Bazil Jacobs	M	Franschhoek FM	0218763530	0866944262	Basil @fhfm.org.za
Tumelo Kaosimmele	F	Gender Advocacy Programme	0216850917	0216850087	tumi@gender.org.za
Phillip De Vities	M	Franschhoek FM	0734294800		Phillip.devrie@gmail.com
Catherine Wiese	F	Valley FM	0822117992	0233420610	admin@valleyfm .co.za
Martha Douman	F	Valley FM	0829273211	0227131376	marthad@telkomsa.net
Alexander Titus	M	Valley FM	0763748274	0233420610	news@valleyfm.co.za
G. Abrahams	M	IEC	0219445300	0866748819	
Sefora Masia Dr	M	IEC	0828811001		Sefora@telkomsa.org.za
Morne Pietersen	M	Eden FM	0824716253	0866718254	stationmanager@edenfm.co.za
Petho Ntaba	F	Radio Zibonele	0213617109	0782032200	pntaba@yahoo.com
Nzami Ngomana	M	Radio Zibonele	0213617109	0846026756	mngomana@webmail.co.za

ANNEX C:
INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER - CAPE TOWN PARTICIPANTS

NAME	SEX	ORGANISATION	PHONE	FAX	E-MAIL
Z. Petersen	F	Independent newspapers	0214884019		Zulfa.petersen@int.co.za
Lynnette Johns	F	Independent, Weekend Argus	024884549		Lynnette.johns@inl.co.za
Simoneh Debruin	F	Independent newspapers (CCN)	0214884626 0826914535	0214884615	Simoneh.debruin@inl.co.za
Karen Breytenbach	F	Cape Times	0214884728		Karen.breytenbach.inl.co.za
Shelee Geduld	M	Daily Voice	0214884722		Shellee.gedula@inl.co.za
Aziz Harley	M	Cape Times	0214884074	0214884717	Aziz.hartley@inl.co.za
Clayton Barnes	M	Cape Argus	0214884311		Clayton.barnes@inl.co.za
Jonathan Ancer	M	Independent newspapers	0214084517		Jonatha.aner@inl.co.za

ANNEX D:
INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER - DURBAN PARTICIPANTS

NAME	SEX	STAFF NUMBER	ORGANISATION	PHONE ext
Bronwyn Gerretsen	F	F033477	105 Editorial	2388
Matthew Saviade	M	FM033529	Mercury	2270
Noeleme Barbeau	F	F033411	Tribune	2383
Tasnim Lanry	F	F0332274	Post	2416
Meneesha Govender	F	F033631	Daily Times	2141
Bawimte Ngcobo	M	F033615	Isoleswe	2759
Phili Mjoli	F	F033615	Isolezwe Ngesonto	2746

SANEF - DURBAN PARTICIPANTS

NAME	SEX	ORGANISATION	PHONE	FAX	E-MAIL
Ela Gandhi	F	Satyagraha	0312102067	0312102067	egabdhi@gdt.org.za
Nomfundo Mayatsi	F	East Coast Radio	0315709496	-	nomfundo@ecr.co.za
Judy Sandison	F	SABC	07825713334	-	sandison@sabc.co.za
Alex Mthiyane	M	Gagasi 99.5 FM	0315845300	0315666801	alex@gagasi995.co.za
Zimhle Khumalo	F	Durban University of Technology	0730419335	-	Zinhlekay @yahoo.com
Mthob Shapi	M	Durban University of Technology	0792117060	-	mthobzn@yahoo.com
Brilliant Mkhathini	M	DVT	03135422669	-	brillvanspace@live .co.za
Dvijanda Myande	M	Durban University of Technology	0317720665	-	tressytress@quail.com
Diane McPherson	F	East coast Radio	0315709443	-	diane@ecr.co.za

ANNEX E:
UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH PARTICIPANTS

NAME	SEX	ORGANISATION	PHONE & FAX	E-MAIL
Alet J.V Rensburg	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0844567717	14866382@sn.ac.za
Charl du Plessis	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0835000308	15848888@sun.ac.za
Krsten Van Schie	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0766897761	158664432@sun.ac.za
Tarayn Harbour	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0760810780	1583361@sun.ac.za
Tracey-lee Davis	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0721984126	14126753@sun.ac.za
Nokuthula Ncala	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0739543001	15543757@sun.ac.za
Francois Hausbroek	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0832704819	14121808@sun.ac.za
Mia Calliers	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0722526694	14625067@sun.ac.za
Joe Warren	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department		Joe-king777@hotmail.co.uk
Roeline Daneel	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0827291367	14283107@sun.ac
Blanche' de Vnes	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	000279482138	
Anastasia de Vries	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0737990441	
Olebogend Molatnwa	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0824231334	
Colin Hendericks	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0711467776	
Pieter-Louis Muburgh	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0832952563	
Judy Nel	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0834648092	
Salette Cloete	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0731973517	Sl-cloete@mail.com
Rudolf Stehle	M	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0836635875	14882957@sun.ac.za
Martinette Louw	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0722966406	14530554@sun.ac.za
Annelie Mare	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0823942137	14610221@sun.ac.za
Samantha Steel	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0835670019 0123611136 (Fax)	shinestrella@gmail.com
Thinus Dippenaar		Stellenbosch Journalism Department		afrikaansbaytjie@gmail.com
Gerda-Marie Viviers	F	Stellenbosch Journalism Department	0845222766	Gerdamarie.viviers@gmail.com

ANNEX F:
SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	VERY POOR
1. PROGRAMME DESIGN	22	37	2		
2. PROGRAMME CONTENT	35	26	3		
3. FACILITATION	32	41	1	1	
4. GROUP WORK	30	25	7		
5. DOCUMENTATION	15	25	2	1	
6. LEARNING OPPORTUNITY	29	26	4		
7. NETWORKING OPPORTUNITY	30	34	8		
8. ADMINSTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS	25	33	6		

ANNEX G:
GENDER AWARE LEADERSHIP CHECKLIST

Please rank your leader on each of the following qualities where 1= very poor and 5= excellent.	SCORE OUT OF 5				
	1	2	3	4	5
1 **Vision** Good leaders take you to a place where you have never been. They are able to close their eyes and see way beyond time and place and then work towards achieving that dream. They are not bound by culture, tradition, religion, or "the way things are." They are interested in the way things could be. Only visionary leaders can, for example, see in their minds eye a society in which women and men are equal in every respect.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
2 **Empathy** Empathy goes beyond sympathy in that an empathetic person identifies with the problems or situations of people and tries to understand their thoughts and condition even if they are different to him or her. For example, a male leader will never have had an unwanted pregnancy, but can still be empathetic to those who argue for choice of termination of pregnancy by putting himself in the shoes of a woman who finds that she is carrying a baby she does not want or will not be able to care for.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
3 **The ability to inspire** To inspire is to call on the higher being and motivate people to act in a certain way. The best leaders are inspirational. They have high levels of emotional intelligence. They know how to win people; get people on board; earn trust; respect and loyalty. To this end, good leaders always consult women and men, boys and girls, to ensure that their ideas have a high level of buy in.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
4 **Personal integrity** Personal integrity is living in accord with the highest state of consciousness. It is about doing the right thing even when nobody is watching. The way a leader conducts his or her private life is an important indicator of personal integrity. For example, a male leader who beats his wife cannot claim to believe in gender equality, just as a corrupt woman leader cannot stand for the rights of the poor.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
5 **Humility** Good leaders readily acknowledge that they did not climb the ladder on their own but owe their success to others, especially the often invisible forces in their lives, like their mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. They celebrate their roots, however modest. In so doing, they connect easily with "ordinary" people, especially those who are most often marginalised in the corridors of power, like poor, black, rural, disabled women.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					

	1	2	3	4	5
6 **Principles** While there may be different interpretations of morality, every society has accepted standards of what is right and what is wrong. Good leaders have principles and values that they expound and live by. For example, leaders who believe in gender equality appoint equal numbers of women and men to work with them and treat them equally.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
7 **Respecting and promoting human rights for all** Good leaders strive to ensure a society in which both women and men enjoy their human rights. They are consistent in their understanding that rights are indivisible. They react equally strongly and decisively to any form of discrimination, whether is be based on race, sex, ethnicity, disability, foreigness or any other form of otherness.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
8. **Ensuring the empowerment of women** Good leaders understand that empowering women is an imperative that cuts across all forms of discrimination. As such, a good leader will allocate appropriate funds to programmes that are aimed at uplifting the status of women in society.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
9. **Leading by example** A good leader is worthy of imitation; respects the rights of women and men of all hues and classes; is not afraid of manual labour; conducts his or her life in an exemplary way; and would never propose a policy or a rule that he or she would not be willing to live by. For instance if a leader who has multiple concurrent relationships is not likely to be able to lead a campaign against HIV and AIDS.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
10. **Confidence** Being confident in oneself is having high self esteem- accepting your body, and your personality, and loving them. It is not thinking you are better than other people but being comfortable in your own skin. People who have high self esteem see the best in the women and men around them.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
11. **Diplomacy** Diplomacy has been defined as the "art of telling someone to go to hell in such a way that they enjoy the ride." A good leader must be able to take a position and argue his or her case with the courage of conviction, but win other people over to his or her side in the process. Issues of gender are often met with resistance. A good leader must be able to argue these issues convincingly, without alienating those around them. This should not be mistaken for being all things to all people. Arguments must be consistent and rooted in principle. Good leaders are able to "agree to disagree."					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					

	1	2	3	4	5
12. **Critical thinking** To be critical means purposeful and reflective judgment about what to believe or what to do in response to observations, experience and arguments. Good leaders approach issues with an open mind. For example, a woman leader should not believe that all men are bad just as male leaders should not believe that all women are good. They should approach every individual and situation with an open and objective mind.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
13. **Patriotism** While patriotism should never be blinding, it is a powerful anchor for good leadership. Being patriotic does not mean supporting all that is happening in a country. Indeed being patriotic may mean fighting the forces of patriarchy and or of undemocratic practices.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
14. **Honesty** Honesty means giving the actual and real facts; being truthful. Honesty comes with high levels of openness. By speaking the truth, one creates trust in minds of others. Good leaders should speak truth to power, even if this costs them their political careers. For example, a good leader should be willing to face up to the causes and consequences of HIV and AIDS, however poorly the government is addressing this pandemic.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
15. **Transparency** To be transparent means to be honest and to be easily understood. It also means the duty to account to those with a legitimate interest, for instance the electorate who are affected by your leadership. Being transparent implies that a leader is open about his or her take on women's empowerment in society.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
16. **Accountability** Accountability is the obligation to demonstrate and take responsibility for performance in light of agreed expectations. While responsibility is the obligation to act; accountability is the obligation to answer for an action. Good leaders for instance should be answerable when by 2015 we do not have 50 percent representation of women in cabinet, parliament and local government.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
17. **Responsiveness** Responsive leadership means taking responsibility for quality outcomes and being responsive to the needs of women and men. Such a leader shows profound awareness of existing problems and anticipates problems that are still emerging. To this end, a good leader should be responsive to the needs of women who are still oppressed and can barely access economic resources to bail them out of poverty. A good leader gives women the hope that their situation is not permanent.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					

	1	2	3	4	5
18. **Innovativeness** Innovative leadership is about finding new ways of doing things and being open to new ideas. When there is fatigue around issues of gender equality, a good leader should find and promote new ways of attaining this ideal.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
19. **Pragmatism** A pragmatic person is one who is sensible and is guided by experience and observation rather than theory; who believes that "experience is the best teacher." A pragmatic leader would not, for example, pass a law decreeing that there should be an equal number of women chiefs, knowing that this would cause a rebellion, but rather look at where and how female chieftaincies have succeeded, and how this can be replicated.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
20. **Responsibility** Being responsible means being answerable for an act performed or for its consequences whether good or bad; intended or unintended. A good leader owns up to making mistakes and is willing to bear the consequences, even if this means losing his or her job. One of the most critical tests of leadership is knowing when to step down or step aside because even though you have tried your best, your presence (for whatever reason) is causing more harm than good. Good leaders are those who are able to go forward by every now and again stepping back; reflecting and even stepping down when the situation requires.					
How do you rate your leader against this quality?					
TOTAL					
Please add up your total score out of 100: **TOTAL =**					**%**

ANNEX H:
COMMENTS

1. Which session did you find most useful? Why?

- Gender - In South Africa gender is still a very sensitive issue to discuss. It is very good to be sensitive to people about the issue.
- The At the Coalface video. It was very insightful and interesting; it tapped into that the challenges women face in Southern Africa; it was very useful to hear some women who have made it to the top (five people).
- Group work, participatory.
- That which spoke about criticisms leveled at women, but not equally applied towards men. The entire course just shed some light on circumstances which we, as media, often overlook..
- Discussion around media fatigue and HIV/AIDS.
- Issues about polygamy as I am doing a similar story that I didn't think was newsworthy and unfair to women.
- The concept of gender equality because as a women I find that the media has played a part in reinforcing ideology about where women belong in society. And by constantly placing women in certain role makes it difficult for gender equality to be realised.
- Representation of women, made me realise more my role as a female journalist and what I can do to change the situation.
- The session about polygamy and about the level of representation in parliament.
- The facts and statistics were useful and a true eye-opener.
- The section regarding gender and politics. It depicts the struggle for gender equality as is still very alive, even though well disguised.

2. Which session did you find least useful? Why?

- I am afraid that if the quota is implemented it will marginalise a great deal of women, especially those who are not well educated.
- None. Every detail was useful in the presentation. As a female it was useful in every aspect.
- The whole session was useful. Liked the informal tone which was great for engagement and debating issues.

3. How will you apply what you have gained from this engagement?

- I will be more critical of what and how certain news is reported, especially when gender is involved.
- It will help with all the stories that I write. A lot of questions were brought up that I would like to investigate.

- Write more stories about gender equality and quotas in general.
- I will do a little introspection and try to see where I stand and engage with my community.
- This will be of great use for coming up with new story ideas and it will help me to make changes for my community.
- It will be a struggle to fully apply this information gained, but it empowers my way of thinking.
- Good story ideas for future articles.
- Look more critical at political party manifestos.
- Report accurately.
- I will be more mindful of gender-equality issues when reporting.
- Help in finding different angles of covering the elections.
- To be more thoughtful about covering election stories.
- It raised my consciousness and will help me to approach future stories differently, hopefully better and more balanced.
- I will be far more aware of press and media items that are biased in gender reporting.
- I will be more aware of the fact that I'm reading men's opinion's in the press and this will probably alter my understanding of the their reports.
- More networking opportunities with Gender Links will assist in getting the team back in the newsroom to apply some of the ideas raised practically.

4. Any other comments

- Gender training should be done regularly, especially when it comes to community radio because CR's are there to create awareness.
- I learnt a lot about elections. Everything was important and useful.
- Even though it is important to look at the role of women in society, we mustn't forget about the men too.
- It was very useful and good to learn more about Gender Links.
- May your organisation grow in strength.
- A very good and energetic presentation.
- Hope to see follow ups.
- Let's works beyond the elections, sustain the initiative.
- If there is any programme or documentary on gender issues, please we would love to air them.



GENDER IN THE 2009 SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS

2324/1-SA GEMINI CONCEPTS: 083-306-3229



gender links

GEMSA
Gender and Media Southern Africa

Gender and Media Diversity Centre

UKaid
from the Department for International Development