BEYOND NUMBERS:

GENDER AUDIT OF THE MAY 2019 SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS



Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

GENDER LINKS
FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

African Women's Development Fund

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ACRONYMS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AIC	African Independent Congress
AL JAMA-AH	Al Jama-ah
ANC	African National Congress
ATM	African Transformation Movement
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FFP/VFP	Freedom Front Plus/Vryheidsfront Plus
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GL	Gender Links
GOOD	GOOD
IEC	Electoral Commission of South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
LGBTI+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, other sexuality, sex and gender diverse
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NFP	National Freedom Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PR	Proportional Representation
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
UDM	United Democratic Front

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

South Africa broke new ground in the 2019 elections with 46% women in the House of Assembly and provincial legislatures and 50% women in cabinet. All the speakers in the national and provincial legislatures are women. Women voters continued to predominate. Yet the goal of gender parity remained elusive in political party leadership; the upper house and among women premiers. President Cyril Ramaphosa missed a golden opportunity to appoint a woman Vice President. A glaring indicator in women's lack of voice in public affairs is the decline in women sources in the media, from 25% in the 2014 elections to 20% in the 2019 elections. These are the key findings of the Gender Links (GL) Gender Audit of the 2019 South Africa elections, where we probe the numbers but also ask: beyond numbers, how far have we come in creating a more gender responsive state?

Table one: Women in politics in South Africa, 2004 - 2019

	2004	2009	2014	2019	Comment
Women MPs	33%	43%	40%	46%	Highest proportion of women in Parliament in 2019.
Women in the NCOP	41%	30%	28%	36%	Proportion of women in the NCOP, need substantial increases moving forward.
Women MPLs	30%	41%	37%	46%	Highest proportion of women in 2019.
Women in cabinet	42%	41%	41%	50%	Highest proportion in 2019, 50% cabinet for the first time.
Women deputy ministers	60%	39%	44%	46%	Falls short of the 50% mark.
Women premiers	44%	55%	22%	22%	Dropped from 2004 and 2009, 22% in the last two elections, needs urgent action to achieve the 50% mark.
Women voters	55%	55%	56%	55%	Consistently at around 55%.
Women as news sources	22%	24%	25%	20%	Lowest proportion of female sources in the last four elections.

Source: Gender Links.

Prior to the election Gender Links accurately predicted using available data that the proportion of women in the House of Assembly would increase from 40% in 2014 to 44% in 2019. Since the election several members of parliament have resigned leading to an even higher proportion of women MPs. South Africa has a Proportional Representation (PR) or "list" representation system. Ironically the developments post elections (more women coming in on the list as those who "made it" resigned) shows that women candidates are more numerous lower down on the lists.

The 46% women's representation in Parliament puts South Africa in eighth position in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) rankings for women's representation in lower houses or National Assembly. Currently, Rwanda, Cuba and Bolivia have surpassed the 50% mark for women's representation in national parliaments.

The proportion of women in the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) is 36%, this is an eight-percentage point increase since 2014 but still well below the 50% mark.

For the first time the 2019 South Cabinet reached gender parity. There are equal numbers of female and male Ministers. This represents a nine-percentage point increase from 2014. This trend, however, did not extend to deputy ministers: there is 46% female deputy ministers. The president and deputy president are both men.

Of the 48 political parties the contested the 2019 national and provincial election, women lead only six (12.5%). These included GOOD, the National Freedom Party (NFP), Women Forward, Better Resident's Association, Minority Front and the South African Maintenance and Estate Beneficiaries Association. Only GOOD and the NFP acquired sufficient votes to be part of South Africa's sixth parliament.



Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng swearing in Patricia de Lille as Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure. *Photo: REUTERS/Siphiwe Sibeko*

The representation of women in provincial legislatures mirrors the national level at 46%: a thirteen-percentage

point increase from 2014. This is the highest proportion of women since 2004.

Sparking an outcry from its own women's league, the ANC appointed two female provincial premiers out of eight, with the Western Cape (the ninth province, led by the DA), following suit. Thus only 22% of provincial premiers are women. The proportion of female premiers is the same as 2014 and much lower than the highs of 2004 and 2009.

The highest proportion of voters across all age groups is between ages 30 and 39. The 2019 election had the lowest voter turn-out (66%) since 1994. This speaks to growing apathy amongst voters as well as a lack of confidence in the performance of the current political parties. Of note, however, is the fact that over the last 15 years, the proportion of female voters has remained consistent at around 55%. This shows that contrary to some popular perceptions, women are interested in politics!

Yes, according to Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), women comprised only 20% or about one fifth of those whose views and voices were heard in the elections. Despite being one of the most pressing social justice issues of our time, gender equality received much less than one percent of media coverage. Citizens comprised a mere 14% of sources in media coverage.

QUOTAS AND PARTY LISTS

South Africa follows the Proportional Representation or PR representation system. This means that each party submits a prioritised list to parliament, and is awarded seats in accordance with the percentage vote in garners, using the order of the submitted list. In essence voters vote for a party, not a candidate. So what matters is 1) what proportion of votes the party gets and 2) where candidates (in this case women) are placed on the list.

Table two: Quotas and positioning of women in the party lists 2019

PARTY	QUOTAS[1]						
	Policy	Women in top five		Women in top 25		Women overall	
EFF	Voluntary 'zebra stripe' system in place, not implemented in top five or 25 of 2019 candidate list. Does not support a legislated quota.	1	20%	11	44%	100	50%
ANC	Voluntary 'zebra stripe' system in place, not implemented in top five or top 25 in the 2019 candidate list; does not support a voluntary quota.	1	20%	9	36%	98	49%
IFP	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%			6	40%
DA	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	1	20%	8	32%	73	37%
COPE	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%	11	44%	44	37%
NFP	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%	8	32%	8	32%
UDM	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%	7	28%	32	32%
FFP	No voluntary quota in place, supports legislated quota.	0	0%	8	32%	70	35%
ACDP	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	1	20%	9	36%	42	32%
ATM	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	1	20%	14	54%	94	48%
GOOD	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%	7	28%	74	40%
NFP	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%	8	32%	18	32%
AIC	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	1	20%			8	40%
PAC	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	1	20%	4	16%	27	23%
Al JAMA -AH	No voluntary quota, does not support legislated quota.	2	40%			5	33%

Sourc:, IEC and Gender Links, 2019.

Table two shows that:

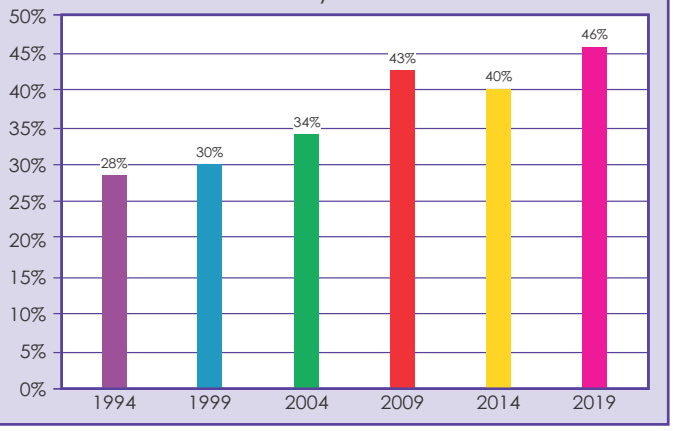
- No political party in South Africa supports a legislated quota. Only two, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Economic Freedom Front (EFF) support a voluntary quota.
- While both the ANC and the EFF achieved or came close to achieving parity in their lists overall (50% and 49%) they fell short of this target in their top five, and top 25 of their lists. This shows that men still dominate decision-making in these parties.
- The main opposition DA, which does not support quotas of any kind, has only 37% women in its list.
- All the smaller parties, which like the DA do not support quotas, had 40% or less women on their lists; in the top five and top 25.

[1] https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/25396/

- The two women led parties, GOOD and the NFP, do not have voluntary quotas and have 40 and 32% women on their lists respectively.
- The PAC has the lowest proportion of women on their party list at 23%.

WOMEN'S PERFORMANCE IN PARLIAMENT

Figure one: Proportion of women in the house of assembly from 1994 to 2019



Source: Gender Links, 2019.

As reflected in figure one, the 2019 South African election is a milestone for women's representation in parliament. While the 50/50 remains elusive this election resulted in the highest proportion of women in parliament since the 1994 election. Based on the three main parties, ANC, DA and EFF receiving 58%, 21% and 11% of the vote and other parties receiving between 0,2 and 3% of the vote the proportion of women increased from 40% in 2014 to 46% in 2019; a six-percentage point increase.

The 2019 South African election surfaced several important lessons for the contesting parties. The declining popularity in the ruling ANC and official opposition DA resulted in decreased support for both parties and increases in votes for the EFF's radical left as well as the IFP and Freedom Front Plus (FFP) conservative ideologies.

Table three: Women's performance in the house of assembly in 2019 elections

Political party	Proportion of votes 2019	No. of seats	% Difference from 2014	Loss or gain in seats	No. of women 2014	No. of women 2019	Loss or gain in women seats	Proportion women 2019
ANC	57,50%	230	-4,65	-19	115	119	4	52%
DA	20,77%	81	-1,46	-5	27	31	4	38%
EFF	10,79%	44	4,46	18	9	23	14	52%
IFP	3,38%	13	0,98	4	2	3	1	23%
FFP	2,38%	9	1,48	6	0	1	1	11%
ACDP	0,84%	4	0,27	1	1	1	0	25%
UDM	0,45%	2	-0,55	-1	1	0	-1	0%
ATM	0,44%	2	-	-	-	1	1	50%
GOOD	0,40%	2	-	-	-	1	1	50%
NFP	0,35%	2	-1,22	-4	2	1	-1	50%
AIC	0,28%	2	-0,25	-1	0	0	0	0%
COPE	0,27%	2	-0,4	-1	1	0	-1	0%
PAC	0,19%	1	-0,02	0	0	0	0	0%
AL JAMA-AH	0,18%	1	0,04	1	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL		**395**			**158**	**181**	**23**	**46%**

Source: Gender Links, 2019.

The table shows that:

- Women gained 23 seats across all parties. Based on the current composition of the National Assembly, the proportion of women is 46%. This is largely due to the 4.46-percentage point increase in support for the Economic Freedom Front (EFF).
- The EFF and ANC fielded 50% and 49% women candidates but have 23 and 119 women respectively (52% of their totals) in parliament.
- Although the ANC lost 19 seats overall the number of seats for women increased by four, the number of men will go down by 23.

- The EFF gained 18 seats and will fill more than three-quarters of those with women, 14 out 18.
- The ANC and EFF have 52% women in Parliament. This is the first time that the ANC or any other party has surpassed the 50% mark for women's representation in the National Assembly.
- While the DA lost five seats the number of women in parliament will increase by four from 27 in 2014 to 31 in 2019.
- The IFP has one more woman in Parliament compared to 2014, this is 23% of the total number representatives in Parliament.
- The FFP had no women in parliament in 2014, only four men. The party gained six seats in the 2019 elections, sadly only one of these is filled by a woman brining their overall proportion of women to 11%.
- Women led parties the NFP and GOOD, and new party ATM will send one woman each to Parliament after securing two seats in the election.
- The UDM lost one seat in the 2019 election and will now send two representatives to parliament. The party will send three men opting to take away the one seat that had been allocated to a woman in 2014.
- The AIC lost one seat in the 2019 election and will send two men to parliament. In 2014, the party did not have any women representatives in parliament and continues this trend in 2019.
- The PAC and Al Jama-Ah secured one seat each in the 2019 election. Both parties will send men to parliament.

What accounts for the substantial increase women's representation? The ANC has a voluntary quota in place and have maintained a 49% representation of women. While the party has lost 19 seats this will not affect the proportion of women the party has fielded. The ANC fielded 199 candidates in its national list, the party selected 119 or 52% women from the national and provincial lists to fill a proportion of the 230 seats.

The proportion of women in the EFF is largely due to a voluntary quota that the party employs for women's representation. This is a legacy of the EFF's roots, the party is an offshoot of the ANC. Both the ANC and EFF employ a "zebra system" which means the list should have one woman and one man following across the entire list. The proportion of women in both parties fall just short of the 50%. The "zebra system" was not adhered to in either party. In both party lists there is only one woman in the top five candidates. However, the EFF has now exceeded the 50% representation of women in Parliament.

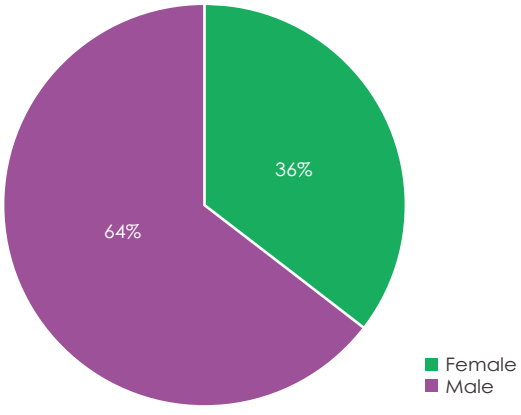
The DA's proportion of women on the candidate list is well below the 50% mark at 38%. DA leader, Mmusi Maimane, has repeatedly emphasised that the party does not believe in any form of quotas. The argument has been that party selects candidates on merit. The criteria used for selection is not publicly available. In the 25th year of South Africa's democracy the DA posits that only 38% of women within the party structures are capable of being members of parliament.

In contrast to this position, the DA lost five seats in the 2019 election, but the number of women will go up by four in the national assembly. The proportion of women in DA candidate list increased from 37% to 38% but their position in the party's list has improved guaranteeing that the loss of seats will not result in fewer women from the DA in parliament. This is an important entry point to start the discussion on quotas with the DA.

Gains by smaller parties bolstered the increase in women's representation in the National Assembly. Surprise performer, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), resulted in the party sending three women of their 14 candidates to parliament. New comer, GOOD secured two parliamentary seats. GOOD's performance saw veteran politician, Patricia de Lille returning to Parliament and becoming the Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure (the only non-ANC minister).

The National Council of Provinces or upper house

Figure two: Breakdown of the NCOP by sex



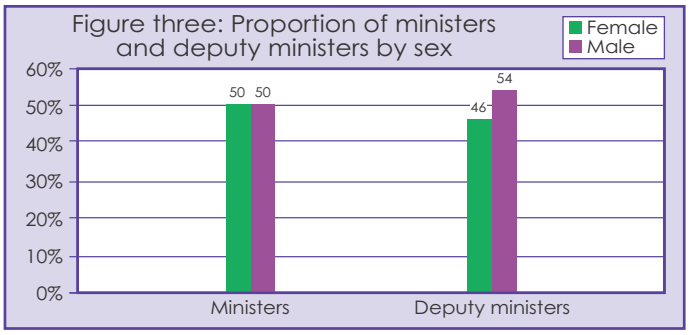
Source: Gender Links, 2019.

The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) is comprised of ten representatives from each province resulting in a total of 90 members. The ten members from each province are broken down as follows:

- Six permanent members from each province selected from party lists resulting in a total of 54 members.
- The premier from each province.
- Three additional special members selected on the basis of expertise.

The analysis is based on the six permanent members and premiers from each province. The three additional members from each province have not been finalised. The proportion of women in the NCOP based on the total of 63 members as 25 June 2019 is 36%.

Cabinet



Source: Gender Links, 2019.

The President appoints the deputy president, ministers, and deputy ministers; assigns their powers and functions, and may dismiss them. In the announcement the President said that he will be signing performance agreements with all Ministers and monitor progress.

The 2019 South Cabinet made history as the first that has 50% women and men ministerial positions. The proportion of women as deputy ministers is lower at 46%.

South Africa's first 50/50 cabinet won President Cyril Ramaphosa many accolades at home and abroad. Justin Trudeau, the Canadian Prime Minister praised President Ramaphosa's actions: *"Appointing a gender-balanced cabinet isn't just the right thing to do, it's the smart thing to do. South Africa joined the growing list of countries who are making this smart choice. Congratulations @CyrilRamaphosa - looking forward to continue working with you & your government."*

Continuing with a growing tradition in South Africa of women being appointed to non-traditional posts, the Ministries of International Relations and Cooperation and Defence and Military Veterans have women ministers.

However, key ministries such as Public Enterprises, Employment and Labour; Minerals and Energy; and Higher Education, Science and Technology are in the hands of male ministers. The Ministry of Finance, has never had a woman minister. The portfolio is responsible for implementing the country's financial plans and vision.

The President reappointed David Mabuza, who has been mired in controversy, as his Deputy President. South Africa waited with bated breath for the announcement of the Deputy President. Former Deputy President now Executive Director of UN Women Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka expressed the hope in an interview with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) that the President would seize the opportunity to appoint a woman to the second highest post in the land, bringing South Africa closer to the elusive dream of a woman president.



Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Social media abounded with possible candidates - former Chair of the African Union Commission Nkosozana Dhlamini-Zuma; human settlements minister Lindiwe Sizulu; then higher education minister Naledi Pandor. The litmus test was holding together the old boys network in the ANC or taking a plunge into the future. In the event, even his soaring personal popularity did not give the President sufficient confidence to make this clean break with the past.

Another litmus test for the President's feminist convictions concerned the beleaguered Ministry of Women, Youth and People with Disability. Women's Rights Organisations welcomed the change of Minister from head of the ANC Women's League Bathabile Dlamini to Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, but raised fundamental questions about the ministry itself.

Dlamini came under fire for failing to usher in a new social grants distributor when the Cash Paymaster Services (CPS) contract ended. These grants play a crucial role in supporting women and families who remain on the fringes of the mainstream economy. It took the intervention of the Constitutional Court, which permitted the extension of the contract with CPS for another 12 months, to provide a way forward concerning the payment of millions of beneficiaries on 1 April 2017. She also oversaw the disastrous handling the Life Healthcare Esidimeni Scandal involved the deaths of 143 people at psychiatric facilities in Gauteng from causes including starvation and neglect.

GL noted in a statement that "Although Nkoana-Mashabane is not well-known in gender circles, she is a seasoned and senior minister." GL however raised critical questions about the retention of the ministry. The extensive restructuring of ministries undertaken by President Rampaphosa as part of overhauling the executive offered the opportunity to rethink this ministry altogether. "Given the cross cutting nature of gender, best practise is not to have a ministry at all, but rather a powerful office within the presidency that sets standards and requirements for all ministries on gender," GL noted.

Provincial legislatures

Table three: Gender audit of provincial legislatures

Provinces	Speakers	Premiers	Overall female representation	ANC Target female representation	ANC female representation	Variance
Eastern Cape	Female	Male	48%	60%	53%	-7%
Free State	Female	Female	47%	50%	47%	-3%
Gauteng	Female	Male	47%	60%	47%	-13%
KwaZulu Natal	Female	Male	43%	60%	43%	-17%
Limpopo	Female	Male	47%	60%	47%	-13%
Mpumalanga	Female	Female	47%	50%	52%	2%
Northern Cape	Female	Male	52%	60%	41%	-19%
North West	Female	Male	41%	60%	50%	-10%
Western Cape	Female	Male	40%	N/A	40%	N/A
Proportion women	**100%**	**22%**	**46%**		**50%**	

Source: Gender Links, 2019.

The ANC Women's League in North West forwarded the names of Pinky Moloi, Susana Dantjie or Meokgo Matuba to replace Job Mokgoro as premier of the platinum-mining province. League provincial secretary Bridgette Seakamo told Business Day that it had settled on the three names after analysing the political dynamics in the province, which was placed under administration in 2018. She described the three leaders as unifiers and "strong women" who are prepared to do the hard work. Despite the recommendations of the North West Women's League, the ANC appointed Job Mokgoro as provincial premier.

The overall representation of women in the provincial legislatures is 46%, a significant increase on 33% in the past, but still below the parity target. The 50% target for women in the provincial legislature has been exceeded in Mpumalanga. The ANC targets set for the other seven provinces have not been met. The Free State missed the 50% women in the provincial legislature by 3%.

In its very first act as the newly elected ruling party in 2019 the party appointed two women out of eight provincial premiers, despite calls from the ANC's Women's League for 50% women premiers in the provinces.

In an attempt to 'compensate' for flouting the principles of gender equality and the principle of 50/50 the ANC proposed that the five provinces with male premiers have 60% women in the executive council or the

provincial executive. The provinces led by women were to have 50% women in the executive council or the provincial executive.

As reflected in the variance column of Table three, the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu Natal, Limpopo, North West and Northern Cape fell substantially short of the 60% target for women's representation, (between 7% and 19%) below the target. The ANC needs to move beyond commitments to actions.

CGE decries male dominance of premierships

The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) believes the appointment of mainly male Premiers is a significant step in the wrong direction. Having made commitment to various international and regional conventions, protocols, treaties that seek to ensure that South Africa attains gender equality and parity, these appointments do not indicate that the country is abiding to instruments it ratified. While the CGE acknowledges the commitment of the ruling party to balance this reduction in the number of female Premiers by appointing female Speakers at the Provincial Legislatures, regardless of the Premier being male or female, is hardly an equivalent substitute or trade-off. The post of Speaker at the Provincial Legislature although important, does not bear the same constitutional, legislative and political authority as that of Provincial Premier.[2]

Speakers at national and provincial level

Partly as compensation for not following its own rules on gender parity among provincial premiers, the ANC appointed women speakers in all eight of the provinces that it rules. There is only one province led by the opposition - the Western Cape, ruled by the DA. This also has a woman speaker.



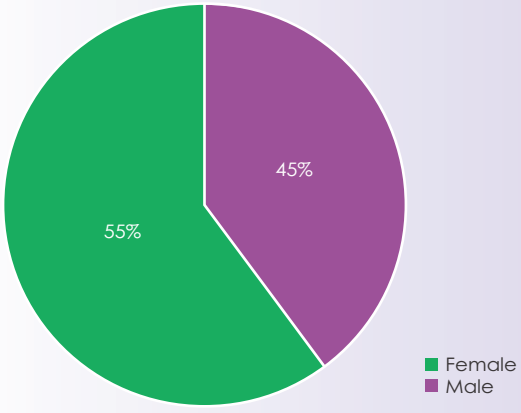
Thandi Modise, Speaker of the National Assembly.
Photo: North West Provincial Government, 2013

In parliament, Thandi Modise (a woman) succeeded veteran woman speaker Baleka Mbete. Modise served as chairperson of the National Council of Provinces from 2014 to 2019 and Premier of the North West province from 2009 to 2014.[3] served as the Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC from 2007 to 2012. She also served as a member of its National Executive Committee, but has remained committed to the Huhudi community. She started the ANC Womens' League (ANCWL) branch in Huhudi and is a founder member of the Lesedi Community Clinic. She served on the ANC National Executive from 1994 to 2012, and was Deputy President of the ANC Women's League from 1994 to 2004 and served as its President in 2004.[4]

Modise comes into Parliament with strong gender credentials. It is important to track how she will use these to influence parliamentary policies and processes.

WOMEN AS VOTERS

Figure four: Proportion of women and men registered voters in South Africa as at May 2019



Source: IEC, 2019.

With 14, 706, 701 women and 12, 029, 947 men registered to vote (26, 736, 648 in total) women (55%) again comprise the majority of South Africans registered to vote. The fact that women will turn out to vote in larger numbers than their proportion in the population (51.3%) shows that women are engaged and interested in politics.

A major factor in the 2019 election is the 7,49 percentage point decrease in voter turnout despite there being almost 1,4 million more registered voters than in 2014. In the 2014, 76% of the registered women voters made their mark as opposed to 70% men who voted.

2 http://www.cge.org.za/disregard-of-its-own-internal-policy-by-the-anc-on-the-appointment-of-premiers-concerning/
3 https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/thandi-modise
4 https://www.pa.org.za/person/thandi-modise/

Table four: Sex disaggregated data on South African voters by age					
Age	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Men
18-19	192 065	153 836	345 901	56%	44%
20-29	2 879 248	2 430 326	5 309 574	54%	46%
30-39	3 533 718	3 147 702	6 681 420	53%	47%
40-49	2 875 394	2 596 938	5 472 332	53%	47%
50-59	2 353 962	1 866 513	4 220 475	56%	44%
60-69	1 575 595	1 154 214	2 729 809	58%	42%
70-79	830 963	499 695	1 330 658	62%	38%
80+	465 756	180 723	646 479	72%	28%
Total	**14 706 701**	**12 029 947**	**26 736 648**	**55%**	**45%**

Source: IEC, 2019.

Table four shows that 65% of South African voters are below the age of 30. And the majority of these, in every category, are women. The highest proportion of voters across all age groups are women between 30 and 39.

Table five: Sex disaggregated data on South African voters by province					
Province	Women	Men	**Total**	% Women	% Men
Eastern Cape	1 916 547	1 444 020	**3 360 567**	57%	43%
Free State	806 064	655 436	**1 461 500**	55%	45%
Gauteng	3 306 899	3 073 227	**6 380 126**	52%	48%
Kwazulu-Natal	3 114 482	2 407 326	**5 521 808**	56%	44%
Limpopo	1 547 897	1 058 963	**2 606 860**	59%	41%
Mpumalanga	1 065 941	884 845	**1 950 786**	55%	45%
North West	896 263	805 213	**1 701 476**	53%	47%
Northern Cape	335 928	290 234	**626 162**	54%	46%
Western Cape	1 716 680	1 410 683	**3 127 363**	55%	45%
Total	**14 706 701**	**12 029 947**	**26 736 648**	**55%**	**45%**

Source: IEC, 2019.

Table five shows that women voters are in the majority in every province. At 59%, women voters are highest in Limpopo, with a strong showing in Eastern Cape (57%), Kwa Zulu Natal (56%) Free State (55%); Western Cape (55%) and Mpumalanga (55%). The lowest proportion of women is in the North West province (53%).

The ANC lost almost 5% of its support in this election while 34,01% of the electorate did not vote. This is a clear sign that citizens are not finding resonance with what political parties are saying and doing. It is time for change.

Giving young people a reason to vote

In the run up to the 2019 election the IEC ran an extensive voter registration campaign. The Xse campaign targeted particularly young people below the age of 30.

Table six: Breakdown of voter registration				
Eligible voters	Registered voters	%	Variance	No. of youth not registered
35 900 000	26 736 648	74%	9 163 352	6 000 000

Source: IEC, 2019.

According to the IEC there were 35 900 000 eligible voters prior to the May 2019 election. Of these 26 736 648 or 74% registered as voters. About a quarter of all eligible voters did not register to vote. Of those, almost two thirds were below the age of 30. Young people clearly did not feel that their votes would make a difference and that the government was not responsive to their needs.

News Agency, *GroundUp*, found in a January 2019 report that issues related to inadequate housing, high unemployment, poor quality education and the lack of equal opportunities are amongst the main reasons why young, eligible voters are not registered to vote.[5] These are critical concerns that must addressed by the government ahead of the 2021 local government elections.

BEYOND NUMBERS: GENDER ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTOS

Beyond the representation of women in party lists a review of party manifestos demonstrates varying levels of commitment to gender equality. GL conducted a gender audit of party manifestos. A detailed analysis is included at Annex A. GL used the analysis to score parties on their gender commitments. Manifestos were scored using the following criteria:

- Quota for women's political participation.
- Gender specific references in the manifesto.
- Gender mainstreamed across the manifesto.
- Commitment to LGBTI+ and diversity issues.
- Addressing gender-based violence (GBV).
- Promoting sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).
- Do political parties act on the policies they are proposing.

Table seven: Assessment of gender in party manifestos

Party	Quota for women's political participation (10)	Gender as stand-alone issue in the manifesto (10)	Gender mainstreamed in all areas of the manifesto (20)	LGBTI+ and diversity (10)	GBV (10)	SRHR (10)	Policy and practise (30)	**Total (100)**
EFF	5	8	8	8	8	7	0	**44**
DA	0	8	8	8	3	3	0	**30**
ANC	5	3	1	1	7	0	12	**29**
COPE	0	3	4	0	3	0	0	**10**
UDM	0	2	2	2	3	0	0	**9**
IFP	0	3	2	0	3	0	0	**8**
ACDP	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	**3**
FFP	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	**2**

Source: Gender Links, 2019.

Table seven shows that no party scored 50%; with the EFF (44%) highest; followed by DA (30%) and ANC (29%). The overall picture is that most parties are just scratching the surface where gender equality is concerned. Only the ANC and the EFF have a voluntary quota in place and none of the parties support legislated quotas. Most parties scored zero in this area. The ANC's main references to gender is gender-based violence. Commitments to combat hate crimes and mainstream gender equality into "all facets of planning, budgeting, monitoring and accounting, including performance indicators and targets" are weak.

ANC

The ANC's manifesto was largely reflective, focusing on what had been done over the 25 years with a limited vision of the future. Gender-based violence (GBV) a major priority area but it must be tackled within a broader strategy to increase women's voices and choices in all areas. The narrow focus on the response to GBV is a missed opportunity to address GBV prevention strategies and to address gender equality holistically. The ANC scores 29 out of 100. This highlights the need for the ANC to move to a more in-depth consideration of women's empowerment and gender equality.

Under Jacob Zuma's presidency the country's gender agenda stagnated. President Cyril Ramaphosa's commitment to address to GBV is commendable. However, the new government must push the gender agenda. This unfortunately was not evident in the President's State of the Nation Address on the 20 June 2019. The only reference to women's rights and gender equality was in relation to GBV.

[5] https://www.groundup.org.za/article/voter-registration-rate-down-2014/

President Ramaphosa recognises the need to achieve gender parity and appoints competent women to key positions. This evidenced through the appointment, amongst others, of his new spokesperson Khusela Diko. Through this appointment the President is showing his commitment to advancing young women.

In the State of the Nation address on the 20 June 2019, the President made reference to ambitious macro-economic goals to grow the economy between now and 2030. The current administration will focus on seven priority areas during in the next five years, these include:

- Economic transformation and job creation.
- Education, skills and health.
- Consolidating the social wage through reliable and quality basic services.
- Spatial integration, human settlements and local government.
- Social cohesion and safe communities.
- A capable, ethical and developmental state.
- A better Africa and World.

The president made long term commitments to tackle poverty, inequality and unemployment over the next ten years by achieving the following goals:

- No person in South Africa will go hungry.
- The economy will grow at a much faster rate than our population.
- Two million more young people will be in employment.
- Schools will have better educational outcomes and every 10-year- old will be able to read for meaning.
- Violent crime will be halved.

The President's speech left many wondering about the new administration's commitment to gender equality and women's rights. The broad areas of focus in the medium and long term could improve women's lives and contribute towards a more equal society. This will not occur if gender is not mainstreamed in all programmes and budgets.

The gender landscape is uncertain, apart from an important reference to GBV, there was no reference to any plans for gender equality. The President must move beyond the numbers to creating a strong policy and strategy environment to advance women and achieve gender equality. Macro level policies will not cascade into changing the lives of those most affected by poverty, inequality and unemployment, women and girls.

DA

The DA and EFF have the most gender aware manifestos that cover LGBTI+, SRHR and sex work. The progressive gender rhetoric however is not accompanied by action. The DA's manifesto includes a focus on GBV but takes a wider gender perspective. The party includes actions to address issues facing sex workers, LGBTI+ communities and women job seekers. The progressive nature of the party's manifesto is in stark contrast to their refusal to address the low levels of women's representation on the party list. This is evident in the DA's overall of 30 out 100.

Reasons on why the DA under-performed in these elections range from the lack of charismatic leadership, internal squabbles, weak policies and a victim or 'blaming' mentality. From a gender perspective there are three key developments where the DA missed the mark.

The public feud between the DA and Patricia de Lille that led to her resignation as Cape Town's Mayor and a member of the DA on the 31 October 2018 caused reputational damage to the party. De Lille faced 18 months of in fighting and abuse from the party prior to her departure. Even in the lead up to the 2019 election the DA's telemarketing campaign included a message about firing De Lille. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) ordered the DA to apologise to De Lille and stop the messaging. The lack of fairness in the way the DA treated De Lille left a bitter taste in many quarters.



Patricia de Lille launched the GOOD party and contested the 2019 election; De Lille is Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure. *Photo: Wikimedia*

Dianne Kohler Barnard, DA member of parliament was taken to the Equality Court by DA parliamentary operations director, Louw Nel. Kohler Barnard made racist and sexist comments at a DA staff workshop. The comments allegedly included: *"Women have themselves to blame and are stupid for being scammed as they enter into relationships with Nigerian men who sleep with them and solicit money under false pretences;* and; *"Black children are killing 'whiteys' with stones thrown at vehicles from bridges."*

The DA did not remove Kohler Barnard from her position nor did they expel her from the party. Kohler Barnard's comments contradicts the DA's anti-racist and sexist rhetoric. Decisive action is needed, Kohler Barnard is number 34 on the DA candidate list and is a member of parliament.

As far back as 2014, cracks in the DA became evident when rising star and the leader in waiting of the DA, Lindiwe Mazibuko, did not take up her parliamentary seat. Mazibuko left the DA because she felt undermined and unsupported by the then DA leader, Helen Zille, and others in the DA leadership.

EFF

The EFF has the most progressive gender provisions including amongst others GBV, sexual harassment, educating men on misogyny and patriarchy and the economic empowerment of women. The party includes comprehensive actions on the rights and protections of LGBTI+ communities. The rhetoric in the EFF's manifesto is not reality. The EFF scores 44 out of 100.

EFF leader, Julius Malema's misogynistic comments and actions are in direct contradiction to the gender aware manifesto. Similarly, DA leader, Mmusi Maimane's constant references to putting in positions of decision making will be made on merit implying that men in the party are much more qualified to hold public office.



Julius Malema and Karima Brown. *Photo: Getty and Gallo images*

Julius Malema regularly flouts the strong gender commitments made by the party. This is evidenced in the actions made by Julius Malema against journalist Karima Brown. Brown inadvertently sent a brief regarding an EFF campaign meeting in Ekurhuleni's Ward six to an EFF WhatsApp group as opposed to her eNCA colleagues. Malema responded by posting Brown's contact details on Twitter without her consent.

EFF supporters attacked Brown on social media allegedly threatening her with rape and made vitriolic racial attacks against her. "We are not playing here. We are dealing with racists... step aside or we will crush your prolapsed vagina," was one of the comments she received, accompanied by laughing emojis. Another called her an "Indian whore".

Brown won her case against Malema in the South Gauteng High Court on the 6 June 2019. The court found that Malema's actions incited violence and intimidated a journalist, this constitutes a breach of the Electoral Code of Ethics. Judge Fiona Dippenaar warned the EFF and Malema, saying she hopes her judgment will serve as a deterrent to others in future.

In another matter the South Gauteng High Court ruled on the 30 May on the EFF's defamation against Trevor Manual. The Court decided that a statement the EFF had circulated on its social media platforms relating to the former minister and the appointment of new SA Revenue Service boss Edward Kieswetter was "unlawful". The EFF was ordered to make a public apology, remove the statement from all its platforms and pay R500 000 in damages to Manuel. The EFF lost their application for leave to appeal the decision on the 18 June 2019.

Malema's actions and responses to Brown and Manuel highlight the need for credible and gender aware leadership. Accountable and credible leadership is required in the post Zuma era. The two cases also illustrated the value of using the justice system to promote accountability and credibility amongst political parties.

VOICE AND CHOICE? WOMEN EVEN LESS VISIBLE IN THE MEDIA

Developing a critical citizenry and citizens' exercising their voices is essential to democracy and is a fundamental human right. The media sets agendas and give particular issues priority. This is particularly important during national events such as elections. Citizens' voices, women and men, are particularly

significant during elections. The media has to ensure that news coverage is balanced and critical.



No IDs, no voting, no social grants: family survives off Flagstaff grandmother's pension. These are stories that must be told. *Photo: Sibahle Siqathule*

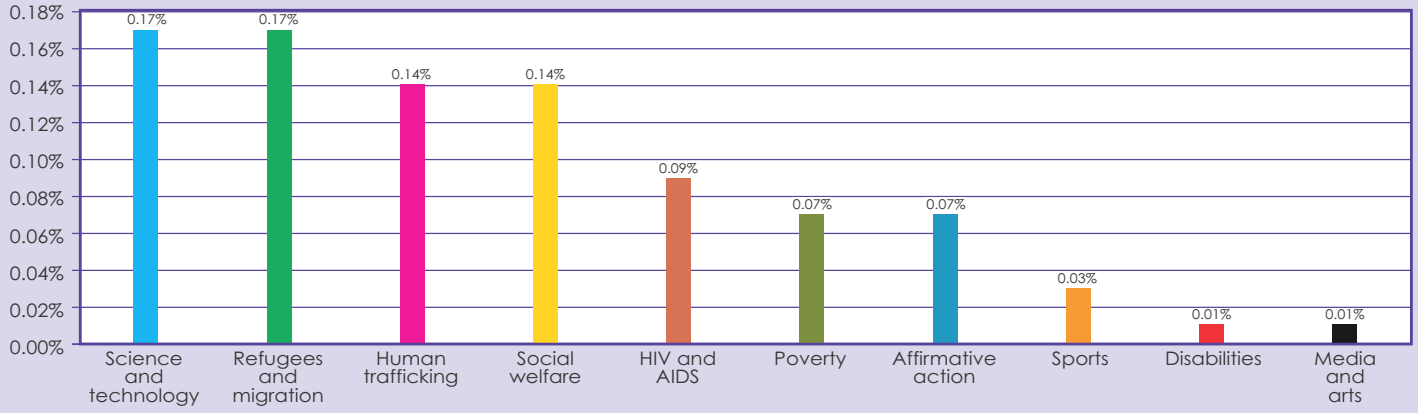
Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) conducted media monitoring of 61 media outlets between March to mid-May 2019. The MMA analysed 10 796 election related news items. Only 20% of the sources were women and almost no coverage was on gender including GBV. The MMA report entitled *So much choice, but not enough voice?* highlights the need to breakdown the strong patriarchal value systems that prevail in media houses.[6]

The proportion of women sources is substantially lower than the proportion of women candidates in the three main parties. The women on these lists are credible news sources. The proportion of women sources at 20% is the lowest since the 2004 elections. While the proportion of women at different levels of government decision-making has increased the proportion of women sources has decreased.

The MMA monitoring results showed that citizens constituted 14% of the total number of sources. Political parties dominate news coverage at 45%. The Presidency and national government each constituted 6% of sources and the justice system 5%. The balance of sources came from a variety of groups that was under five percent. During elections official speeches and events dominate the news at the expense of the "real issues.

The top five topics covered included political parties (14%), party campaigning (10%), national politics (9%), service delivery (6%) and logistics (6%). These topics represent 45% of all topics covered. It is evident that the coverage did not covers key issues affecting citizens.

Figure five: Topics that received less than 0.2% coverage



Source: Media Monitoring Africa, 2019.

Figure five shows the topics that received less than 0,2% coverage in the election period. South Africa has the largest HIV epidemic in the world, with 19% of the global number of people living with HIV, 15% of new infections and 11% of AIDS related deaths.[7] HIV and AIDS received 0,09% coverage during the election period. Social welfare received 0,14% coverage, this should have been major concern for political parties and a major topic of discussion in the media.

The Daily Maverick provided gender balanced and diverse election coverage. On the 18 March 2019 the online publication ran a story entitled *Elections: What do the top three parties say on sexual and reproductive justice?* by Pontsho Pilane. The piece was in stark contrast to other election coverage that focused primarily on political parties. The story highlighted issues such as abortion, sex work and GBV.

The story included citizens voices and ended with this quote: "As I contemplate my own vote, as a young

[6] https://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019electionsFinal_v2.pdf
[7] UNAIDS, South Africa, 2019.

black woman in this country, these are the questions I'm asking myself: Are these political parties prioritising access to family planning and abortion? Do they believe sex work is real work? These factors are not only important to me, but determine the lives of others who are in worse situations than I am."

GroundUp online news agency covered different angles on elections with several gender aware stories. In a story with the headline A loan shark has her ID, so she can't vote today the agency highlighted the plight of people who cannot vote because they do not have their identity documents. While the practice of leaving ID document with loan sharks is illegal the practice is common to guarantee repayment. The story includes interviews with the loan shark, someone who borrowed money and an IEC official. The article points to economic conditions that drive people to take high interest, unregulated loans.



A loan shark has her ID so she could not vote.
Photo: Nombulelo Damba-Hendrik

TimesLive produced a series of articles on the election results. As with the others the article entitled *ANC takes commanding lead in election, but support ebbs*, does not make any reference to women's representation or potential numbers of women that parties would field.

The articles do not provide sex disaggregated data and rarely includes interviews with women sources.

The *Sowetan* front page on the 14 May 2019 included a box on the bottom saying *Gender parity headache for ANC*. This is a lead into the story about the ANC's selection of provincial premiers in seven provinces. The wording of the lead makes gender parity a problem for the ANC as opposed to one of the important guiding principles. The ANC is committed, on paper at least, to gender parity and it is incumbent upon the party to make the commitment a reality.

The media should be questioning why the ANC has not fulfilled its commitment rather than creating a context where gender parity is just another "headache" that the party must deal with.

All political parties should be held accountable for misogyny, sexism and the lack of gender parity. The media must contribute to building democracy and ensuring that all citizens' voices and views are heard.



CONCLUSIONS

South Africa is a signatory to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development adopted by Heads of State in August 2008 and updated in June 2016. The Protocol commits SADC member states to a target of 50% women in all areas of decision making by 2030. The 50% target is in line with African Union targets. South Africa has two elections to achieve gender parity in all levels of government.

Gender parity cannot be left to voluntary party quotas

The year 2017 saw some positive developments in women's participation in elections, according to the *Women in Parliament in 2017: The year in review*, released by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). However, in global terms, the number of women in national parliaments has only increased by 0.1 percentage point from 2016, from 23.3% to 23.4%. "It worries me that progress made in women's political involvement is slowing. "With the exception of some countries that have made a headway because of political will, this has been, overall, a disappointing year," said IPU Secretary General Martin Chungong. "It is vital that women are part of decision-making institutions such as parliament. It is fundamental, not just for gender equality but also for democracy and the legitimacy of the process thereof."[8]

The IPU report put a spotlight on the slow progress in achieving gender parity in Parliaments across the world. It is clear that political will and voluntary quotas are not achieving the 50/50. Legislated quotas are necessary to compel all political parties to field 50% female and male candidates and guarantee gender parity at all levels of government. South Africa comes close to gender parity but just falls short.

While the increase in the representation of women is cause for celebration there is need to push for a legislated 50/50 quota for the 2021 local and 2024 national and provincial elections. The resurgence of support for the IFP and FFP with 23% and 11% women in Parliament underscores the need to move beyond voluntary quotas to legislated quotas. If the main parties do not improve their performance this could be a growing pattern. This is the only way to guarantee 50% representation of women in parliament.

Beyond the numbers to gender responsive governance

Political parties, are saying the right things about gender equality and their commitment to achieving equal societies. It appears that the commitment does not translate into policies, strategies and actions. It is definitely time for the gender movement to regroup and push for a gender action plan to achieve gender equality and equity by 2030.

The 2019 election is a lesson in needing to go beyond numbers. 34% of registered voters did not vote. Political parties must start delivering on the commitments and that includes gender equality. Addressing the high levels of GBV is important but the discourse must be broadened to include gender concerns in a holistic way. Rhetoric is not enough. Political parties need to walk the talk. Women need decisive action that will change their everyday lives.

Giving voters something to vote for

If the ANC and DA do not act to change South African citizens' lives now the move towards radicalism and conservatism will be even more drastic in the local government elections in 2021. Political parties need to engage with the fact the women constitute 55% of the electorate and address their concerns in manifestos, party lists and in leadership.



Six million eligible voters under 30 did not register to vote.
Photo: Thato phakela

[8] https://www.ipu.org/news/press-releases/2018-03/no-change-in-overall-average-women-in-parliaments-despite-increase-in-percentage-seats-won-women-in-2017-parliamentary

Political parties and government need to actively engage with young people about their disillusionment and develop strategies that will show that they are serious about addressing their concerns.

High levels of corruption, crime and unethical behaviours characterised the two previous administrations. Strong action is needed to deal with the legacy of the past and prevent such practices moving forward. In the 2019 State of the Nation address the President said: *"We are committed to building an ethical state in which there is no place for corruption, patronage, rent-seeking and plundering of public money. We need to ensure that public money stolen is returned and used to deliver services and much needed basic infrastructure to the poorest communities."*

The effect of these statements will show in voter turnout and confidence in the 2021 local government elections.

Media catalysing change rather than resisting change

The media is responsible for driving critical thinking and telling the stories of all people. As media consumers citizens want to hear about their issues and what is being to address them. Globally the media are experiencing economic challenges due to dwindling audiences. This is in some measure attributable to the notion that prominence and sensation sells. This formula is not working.

Women sources are available but barely accessed. Women's voices constituted one fifth of all voices in the stories analysed. Women constituted 49% and 50% of the ANC and EFF electoral lists respectively.

It is time to go back to the drawing board. What do audiences want? As with the reduction in voter turnout and voter registration, citizens want to find resonance in the news they are consuming. Good journalism is telling balanced stories, telling the whole story, telling different stories.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Put in place a legislated 50% quota for women's and men's representation at all levels of decision-making.
- SA needs to share its experiences and learn from others. Eunice Ipinge, Namibian member of parliament, will be tabling a motion in the Namibia Parliament to legislate a quota for women decision-making ahead of their national election in the last quarter of 2019.
- Engage the media on the election monitoring results and train media houses and journalists on gender aware media coverage.
- Create platforms for and provide ongoing feedback to government on the gender gaps in programming, strategy and policy interventions.
- Ensure that the gender equality and women's rights agenda expand beyond GBV and that the GBV interventions include prevention strategies.
- Ensure that the gender agenda includes LGBTI+ communities and issues of diversity.

Annex one: Analysis of political party manifestos

PARTY	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES	GENDER MAINSTREAMED
ACDP	• Increase the number of specialised courts, such as Sexual Offences Courts, and services for victims of sexual offences, domestic violence and human trafficking, particularly those involving vulnerable women and children.	None.
ANC	• Implement a national plan of action that addresses the causes of gender-based violence • The ANC says the fight against gender-based violence must be intensified, and we welcome the growing, diverse number of voices that are joining the fight against gender-based violence. • The ANC believes in a multi-sectoral approach that responds to the need to step up the fight against gender-based violence and strengthen the broader interventions that address the causes and effects of such violence, particularly issues of patriarchy, economic relations and changing the way of thinking about gender relations. • We will work with all stakeholders to take forward the outcomes of the 2018 Presidential Summit on Gender-Based Violence, though, among others, a national plan of action against gender-based violence. • Call for stricter bail conditions for and harsher sentences in combating violence against women and children, particularly in cases of domestic violence and sexual offences. • Capacitate and equip the police and the court system to support survivors of gender-based violence and sexual assault. • Scale up the network of Thuthuzela Care Centres and other victim empowerment centres for a more effective response to incidents of violent sexual acts against women and children, reduction of victimisation and improved conviction rates and conclusion of cases.	• Introduce laws to combat hate crimes against people based on their race, gender, religion, disability, sexual orientation or albinism • Mainstream gender equality and the needs of people with disability into all facets of planning, budgeting, monitoring and accounting, including performance indicators and targets in government programmes.
COPE	• Marginalised women, especially women in rural areas, will be prioritised for support through mentoring and increased support so that they can be prepared to apply for micro loans of the type that lifted millions of women out of poverty in other parts of the world. • Women are empowered through ABET and TVET training, in towns and rural areas, to provide for themselves.	• The allocation of resources to vulnerable groups will continue to uplift the unemployed, youth, women and disabled, many of whom are African. • Farmers, be they women, youth or men will be supported through land reforms by the Departments of Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD).
DA	• Scrapping the ineffective and toothless Ministry for Women under the Presidency and diverting its funding to the Commission for Gender Equality and the newly established National Council on Gender-Based Violence. • Enacting the effective implementation of section 66 of the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act (SORMA). • Combat discrimination against the LGBTIQ+ community and promote the community's rights by:	• Stringently vetting those registering for firearms and ensuring they have not been previously convicted of criminal activity, domestic abuse, assault or have protection orders instituted against them or be registered as a sex offender. • Improving public policing, investigation and prosecution to prevent crime from happening and increasing convictions when it does by:

PARTY	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES	GENDER MAINSTREAMED
	• Creating safe and non-discriminative environments and ensuring government makes opportunities for dialogues on identities and sexuality. • Providing LGBTIQ+ sensitisation training in government services, schools and communities. • Enforce a more strident stance on corrective rape and LGBTIQ+ related hate crimes by viewing these as aggravating circumstances when considering sentencing. • Promoting the human rights of LGBTIQ+ people in Africa and around the world. • Implementing specific education programmes to tackle bullying and harassment in schools as LGBTIQ+ youth are not adequately protected by anti-bullying initiatives. • Ending the discriminatory treatment of LGBTIQ+ families in adoptions and protect LGBTIQ+ elders against discrimination. • We will stop gender-based violence by educating all South Africans through: • Establishing a National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence (NSPGBV) to provide for better service delivery for victims of violence. • Rolling out campaigns similar to the One Man Can campaign whereby travelling workshops can engage with men from different industries and socio-economic backgrounds to determine the causes of GBV and educate men on how to prevent GBV in South African homes and streets. • Implementing Life Orientation classes at school which deal with issues surrounding gender-based violence and sexuality. • Establishing an e-learning My Life My Choice campaign which will be aimed at empowering young South African learners with a deeper understanding of bodily rights, privacy and the role of their school, community and police in addressing gender-based violence, sexual abuse, rape and domestic violence. • The DA will combat the sexual assault and murder of sex workers by: • Exploring possible legal models around sex work and adopting an alternative legal framework that will reduce exploitation, abuse and rape of young women and men. • Creating close relations between them, and the criminal justice system and civil society organisations that represent sex workers and their clients, to understand and apply the rights of sex workers. • Test and Treat programmes will be rolled-out to all willing sex workers to prevent the spread of HIV/ AIDS and other STIs by testing and then treating all sex workers. • Training police officers, social workers, prosecutors and counsellors to treat sex workers well when these workers report crimes against them by ensuring a single e-learning course on addressing the needs of sex workers is undertaken by all the stakeholders involved.	• Implementing an urban crime prevention strategy that involves the training and development of police and community patrols who prevent violent crime and the rape of women in public places. • Expanding the number of sexual offences courts and increasing their capacity, and learning and development, regarding the treatment of victims and perpetrators. • Fully resourcing and training the National Prosecuting Authority's (NPA) Sexual Offences and Community Affairs Unit (SOCA) and the Task Team on LGBTI+ and Gender-Based Violence as well as Specialised Sex Crimes Prosecution. • Training and developing detectives, and SAPS and metro police special task teams to specifically target serial rapists and acts of femicide. • Ensuring the full-scale roll-out and correct use of efficient DNA testing and finger print scanning in all relevant cases. • We will ensure counselling and rehabilitation for all victims of abuse, kidnapping, trafficking and rape by: • Building and supporting Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCCs) and establishing more Khuseleka One Stop Centres and White Door Safety Houses to house abused mothers and children whilst they recover, recuperate and begin looking for work and family support. • Increasing and improving the quality of victim rooms at police stations. • Ensuring female officers take statements from female rape survivors, except in exceptional circumstances - female and male rape survivors should be afforded the choice of a male or female officer to report the case. • Ensuring properly funded post-assault counselling at various serviced sites including police stations, extended-hour clinics and hospitals. • Increasing funding for rape-related NGOs that provide various forms of support for rape survivors. • Improving the roll-out of Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (PEP) and improve the general treatment of rape survivors at extended-hour clinics and hospitals. • Implementing the Victim Empowerment Support Services Bill.

PARTY	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES	GENDER MAINSTREAMED

	• Introduce legislation to protect job-seekers, particularly women, who are vulnerable to coerced transactional sex requests. The legislation should:
	  • codify sexual exploitation as a distinct form of corruption;
	  • protect individuals who report incidences from self-incrimination, therefore changing the charge from bilateral to unilateral; and
	  • increase awareness of rights that job-seekers and employees have.	

EFF	• 50% women representation in all spheres representing economic benefit, political participation, a managerial and leadership responsibility. • Compulsory gender education and training for all (e.g. at school, work, within the family, church, in the legislative, executive as well as civil society). • Education of the police on gender justice and the establishment of specialised law enforcement units to deal with women-related crimes. • Strengthening of education of men on patriarchy, sexism and misogyny. • Engaging custodians of tradition, faith leaders and other cultural practitioners to collectively find means to combat the oppression of women. • Introduce a special inspectorate in the Department of Labour to monitor, report on and enforce gender parity and equality in the workplace. Such measures will range from name and shame, heavy penalties to the withdrawal of trading licences in the case of repeat offenders. • Introduce a whistle-blowing mechanism for reporting all instances of sexual harassment, jobs-for-sex and gender-based violence in the workplace. • Initiate a comprehensive research project aimed at the recognition of work performed by women in the household as formal labour which contributes to the national economy, GDP and the formal tax system. **LGBTQI** • Will aggressively engage in public awareness and communication strategies and training interventions all aimed at or directed towards positively changing social norms which declare LGBTQI sexual preferences as abnormal. • Will amend the Criminal Law Amendment Act and existing legislation to include harsher minimum sentences for 'corrective' rape specifically, or crimes committed with hatred as motivation in general. • Will also amend the Sex Description Act and related legislation to ensure the Home Affairs Department expedites ID alteration applications for transgender applicants. 5. The EFF government will invest in a public health care system that ensures easy access to gender-affirming treatment. • Will decisively enforce the Equality Act and related legislation to end unfair discrimination by government and private organisations in relation to the employment of women and the LGBTQI community.	• EFF government will ensure that the health care system and health solutions are non-discriminatory towards sexual and gender minorities and those with varying physical and mental abilities. • The abolition of all cultural practices which promote and tolerate gender discrimination and gender-based violence.

PARTY	GENDER SPECIFIC REFERENCES	GENDER MAINSTREAMED
	• Will amend the Facilities Regulations Act and related regulations to enable the implementation of gender-neutral toilet facilities in schools, public facilities and workplaces to benefit transgender populations and people outside of the gender binary. • Will amend the Child Care Act and related legislation to impose penalties for unfair discrimination against LGBTQI individuals in relation to adoption processes.	
FFP	• The FF Plus supports women's rights but knows that these rights can only be exercised in practice if women are empowered by means of training and the creation of equal opportunities. The FF Plus is committed to this.	• The FF Plus supports all measures aimed at protecting women, children and other vulnerable citizens against abuse and mistreatment.
IFP	• The roll-out of free sanitary pads to vulnerable children in need in all provinces. • Increase financial support to Chapter Nine Institutions such as the Commission for Gender Equality. • Enact legislation to enforce equal pay for equal work. Prioritising of the salaries of Banyana players. • Special courts to deal with Gender-Based Violence (GBV). • Specially-trained SAPS officers to deal with GBV must be available at all police stations. • Gender equality module must be introduced as part of the school curriculum.	• Ensure that profits from housing projects are reinvested in the community and the involvement of young people and women in construction of housing development projects. • The creation of specialised courts and specialised Police units to deal with corruption, sexual and gender-based violence, gangs and drugs. Building partnerships with communities to fight crime.
NFP	• Website and manifesto not available.	• Website and manifesto not available.
UDM	• Under a UDM government, women will be empowered so that they may expand their economic and social participation through community-based projects and other schemes that give them greater control over their own destinies. • The UDM was initially encouraged at the creation of a ministry of women, children and people with living with disabilities, but we have yet to see any results. Under a UDM government this ministry will specifically monitor and work with all government departments to ensure that women have the same opportunities as their male counterparts in all aspects of life.	

Source: Gender Links, 2019.



Photo: Kyla Herrmannsen

GENDER LINKS
FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

African Women's
Development Fund