






## Where do parties stand on gender?

The ANC is the only party that has taken the far-reaching step of adopting a quota for women of any kind, and one of the few parties in the world to adopt a 50% quota. Its manifesto also shows the most sophisticated understanding of what is meant by gender mainstreaming, with specific promises to women as well as references to non-sexism throughout.

On the other hand, the ANC President Jacob Zuma is a polygamist whose views on women's rights, as reflected in his recent rape trial, raise serious concerns. Although he was acquitted of rape in a case involving an HIV positive woman half his age, he admitted to not using a condom and said his culture taught him that if a woman wore a kanga he could not "leave her in that state." The ANC has recently been at the centre of a number of stormy gender-related controversies, including comments by ANC Youth League President Julius Malema that Zuma's rape accuser must have had "a nice time."



PARTY	QUOTA	WOMEN SPECIFIC PROJECTS	GENDER MAINSTREAMED IN MANIFESTOS
 ANC	Committed to 50% percent women in the list, parliament and government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Upscaling the Prevention for Mother to Child transmission of HIV to 95% in all districts.</li> <li>Combat violence and crimes against women and children by increasing the capacity of the criminal justice system to deal with such violence.</li> <li>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.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-sexism a guiding principle throughout the manifesto. Contradictory in light of the history of the leader of the ANC and comments made by Youth League leader Julius Malema about rape.</li> <li>Massive expanded public works programme linked to home-based care, crèches, school cleaning and renovation, tree planting and school feeding.</li> </ul>
 COPE	No quota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish a Women's Development Fund to focus on funding and assisting women to engage in productive economic activity.</li> <li>... work with communities and NGOs at the local level to mobilise them to intensify the fight against many forms of crime, such as rape and violence against women and children, ...</li> <li>... consider legislation that will make it difficult to withdraw charges on violent crimes and specifically crimes against women and children ...</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The manifesto speaks in generic terms about all South Africans and issues that affect them. Gender is not mainstreamed.</li> </ul>
DA	Not available at the time of publication		
 INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS	No quota	No specific women's projects	The manifesto is issue based but does not mainstream gender within the issues.
 INKATHA	No quota	No specific women's projects.	Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto under any thematic area.
 UDM	No quota	No women specific projects.	Gender is not mainstreamed in the manifesto.

For a more detailed analysis of the party manifestos go to [www.genderlinks.org.za](http://www.genderlinks.org.za).

### Key questions

- Should SA adopt a legislated quota for the 2014 election to ensure that all parties subscribe to the 50/50 principle on their lists?
- How committed will the next government and leadership be to women's rights and gender equality?
- What qualities do South Africans want in their future leaders, generally and in relation to gender?
- Is polygamy a fair and just practice, particularly for women?

For more information and contacts go to [www.genderlinks.org.za](http://www.genderlinks.org.za) or write to [training@genderlinks.org.za](mailto:training@genderlinks.org.za); or [governance@genderlinks.org.za](mailto:governance@genderlinks.org.za) or phone 011 622 2877.



# Women In South African Politics

## FACT SHEET



### KEY TARGETS

In August 2008, regional leaders signed the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development. The Protocol sets 28 targets for the achievement of gender equality in SADC by 2015, including equal representation of women in all areas of decision-making.



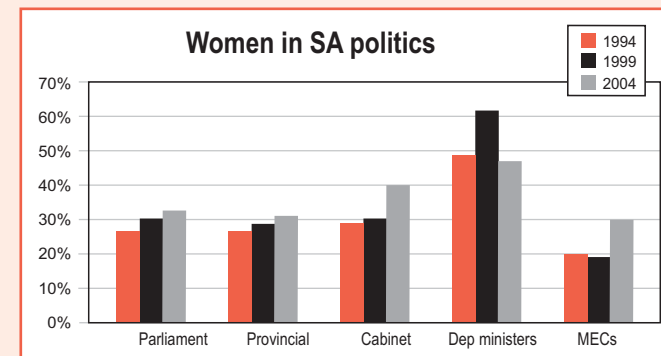
SADC flags

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

In the two elections since the advent of democracy in 2004, women's representation in parliament has increased by a mere 6% (from 27% to 33%) or an average of 3% with each election. South Africa has two more elections before 2015 (in 2009 and 2014). At the current rate of progress, there is no way that South Africa will reach the 50% target by 2015.

On the positive side, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) has raised its voluntary party quota from 30% in the last election to 50% in the forthcoming election. However, none of the other parties have adopted quotas. This will mean that the representation of women is largely dependent on the ANC's quota.

### KEY FACTS



#### Parliament

- Before 1994, women constituted 2.7% of members of parliament.
- In the 1994 elections, the ANC proposed a 30% quota for women. The proportion of women increased to 27%.
- In the 1999 elections, the proportion of women increased to 30% and in 2004 to 32.6%.
- Women currently constitute 25.5% of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP).



Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile

#### The executive

- The most significant increase in women's representation between 1994 and the present has been in cabinet (from 27% to 42%). The biggest increase occurred during President Thabo Mbeki's tenure from 1999 to 2008. Following his recall by the ANC and replacement by Kgalema Motlanthe there was a slight decrease in women's representation in cabinet to 40%.
- South Africa has had two women deputy presidents, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka and Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, formerly the Speaker of the House of Assembly.
- The biggest decline in women's representation in the executive has occurred among deputy ministers (from 66% under Mbeki to 48% at present).
- The representation of women among provincial ministers or MECs has increased from 19% to 33.3%.

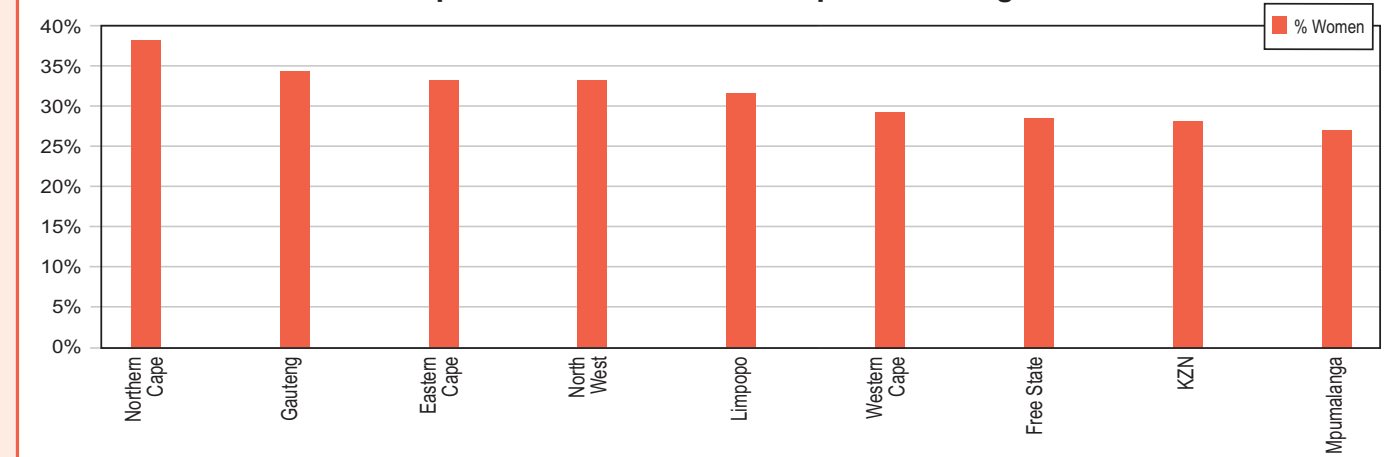


## Provincial legislatures

	1994			1999			2004			+/-
	Seats	W	% W	Seats	W	% W	Seats	W	% W	
Eastern Cape	56	14	25	63	15	23.8	63	20	31.7	7.9
Gauteng	86	25	29	73	25	34.2	73	31	42.4	8.2
KZN	812	11	13.6	80	21	26.2	80	21	26.2	0
Free State	30	7	23.3	30	7	23.3	30	8	26	2.7
Limpopo	40	11	27.5	49	15	30.6	49	16	33	2.4
Mpumalanga	30	6	20	30	8	26.6	30	9	30	3.4
North West	30	11	37	33	10	30	33	11	33	3
Northern Cape	30	7	24	30	8	26.6	30	11	37	10.4
Western Cape	42	10	23.8	42	10	23.8	42	12	28.5	4.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>425</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>27.7</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>32.3</b>	<b>4.6</b>

The proportion of women in provincial legislatures increased from 27.7% in 1999 to 32.3% in 2004. The proportion of women ranges from 26.2% in the Free State to 42.4% in Gauteng. In 2004, President Thabo Mbeki appointed women as premiers in four of the nine provinces: the Eastern Cape, Free State, Northern Cape and North West Provinces. The Eastern Cape premier lost her post, but a woman premier was appointed in the Western Cape, thus maintaining the figure of four women premiers.

### Current representation of women in provincial legislatures



Current figures show that women's representation in the Gauteng and Mpumalanga legislatures has dropped by 8% and 7% respectively. The fact that women's representation hovers around 30% in most provinces raises the concern cited in the case of the national parliament: that South Africa is finding it difficult to transcend from one third to gender parity.

## Local government

Year	% Women
1995	19%
2000	28.2%
2006	39.7%

The ANC had a 30 percent quota in 1994 and a "zebra" or fifty percent system in the 1999 elections for women in the PR local government seats. In the 2006 local government elections the ANC adopted the 50% system for both PR and ward seats. As shown in the table, women's representation at the local level has increased from 19% to nearly 40%. Based on the current growth there is high probability that local government will reach the 50% target in the 2011 elections.



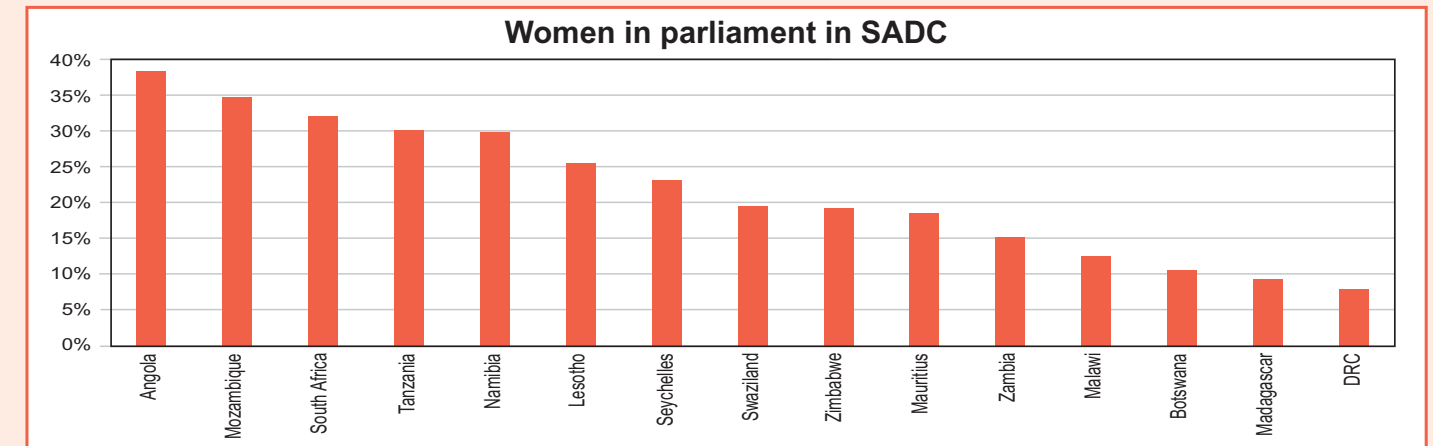
Speaking out

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

<sup>1</sup> www.eisa.org.za

## KEY ISSUES

### SA is losing ground regionally and globally



Prior to the 2004 national election South Africa and Mozambique had the highest representation of women (30%) in parliament. South Africa is currently ranked third in Southern Africa after Angola and Mozambique (37.3% and 34.8% women's representation in parliament respectively). Globally, whereas South Africa used to rank in the top ten with regard to women in politics, the country has now shifted to the 17<sup>th</sup> position, well behind countries such as Rwanda, Sweden and Cuba.

### Resistance to quotas

#### Changes in women's representation in South Africa

Party	1994			1999			2004		
	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Women	% Women	Total	Women	% Women
ANC	252	90	35.7	266	95	35.7	297	111	37.4
DP/DA	7	1	14	38	6	15.7	47	10	21.3
IFP	43	10	23	33	9	27.2	23	8	34.8
NP/NNP	82	9	10	28	4	14.2	1	0	0.0
UDM				14	1	7	6	2	33.3
ID	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	25.0
ACDP	2	0	0	6	2	33	4	1	25.0
FF				3	0	0	4	0	0.0
UCDP				3	1	33	3	0	0.0
PAC	5	1	20	3	0	0	1	0	0.0
Other				5	2	40	10	2	20.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>27.7</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>33.8<sup>2</sup></b>

Opposition parties publicly oppose quotas and argue that women's representation is increasing organically within parties. Comparing the proportion of women in 1994 with 2004, it is true that this has increased from 14% to 21.3% in the case of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and from 23% to 34.8% in the case of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Indeed, there is little difference between the culturally conservative IFP and the ANC, in which the proportion of women has remained fairly constant at between 35% and 37%. What is true of all parties is that they seem to be caught in the one-third time warp.

There have been three important developments since the 2004 elections. Helen Zille has taken over as leader of the DA, the main opposition party. It will be interesting to see if, under Zille, there is an increase in women's representation in the DA. The ANC has a 50% quota in its election manifesto. It will be interesting to see if this is adhered to. The other major development has been the launch of the Congress of the People (COPE). COPE has 50% women represented in its National executive Committee. However, it has not proposed a gender quota for its electoral candidates.

### Lobbying for a legislated quota

The Fifty-Fifty campaign in South Africa is lobbying for a legislated quota that would oblige all parties to take the stand that the ANC has voluntarily adopted. Drawing on global experience, the campaign argues that the best way to increase women's representation permanently is through a combination of the PR system and a legislated quota. The campaign won an important first victory when it lobbied against the changing of the PR system for national elections in South Africa. The ANC has argued that the PR system is not necessarily in its interests because as the party with the greatest support among the majority black population it could arguably win more seats through the "winner takes all" system. But it has supported the retention of the PR system because it is more inclusive.

<sup>2</sup> The current representation of women in parliament has increased from 32.6% in 2004 to 33.8% in 2009 due to parliamentary reshuffling.