

FEMINIST VIEW OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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ABOUT THE PROJECT

The Womxn and Democracy Initiative is based at the Dullah Omar Institute at UWC. We identify as feminist, taking an intersectional approach to our work on realising social justice through active political participation of the public in the context of a participatory and deliberative democracy.

With this project we hoped to translate four political party's manifestos into information that womxn and gender non-binary people can access which is capable of informing their capacity to hold political parties accountable and punish or reward them, through their vote now and through holding them to account in future for commitments proposed in their manifestos and action on delivery.

We hope that this analysis will serve more than just at this time of the election, but will initiate deeper public discourse on these issues from a feminist perspective to deepen the idea of what a feminist agenda for political parties looks like, and through that increase pressure on political parties to do better on their manifestos, policies and programmes in future and importantly the action that we as womxn and gender-non binary expect from government and opposition parties in the future.

We considered the three top performing political parties in the last national election – the ANC, the DA, and the EFF as well as Women Forward (WF), a small women-led party that is contesting the elections for the second time on the basis of a women's agenda.

This research was done through analysis of party manifesto's coupled with desk top research on a sample of candidates put forward as representatives to parliament, and on track-records in their term as parliamentarians and other structures of leadership and governance where relevant.

Using a feminist framework which prioritises patriarchy as a system of power which undermines gender and sexual determination in particular, together with other key social justice issues raised through a feminist intersectional lens, we considered if the manifestos and track records translate in practical ways for ordinary people, womxn and non-binary people in particular. Great care was taken to put into context the parties offerings overall. To allow our intended audience to interrogate specific positions of the party on issues of concern to them and make a decision from that vantage point.

The project aimed to provide a feminist perspective on key political party manifestos – taking the questions beyond only what the parties are saying on issues that are commonly defined as gendered or 'women's issues' such as gender based violence and womxn's representation further, into questions of how parties have addressed a gendered or womxn's agenda throughout their manifestos from their plans to address unemployment, wages, land and home ownership, social security, education from ECD through to higher education, and health.

We have looked at how parties recognise and respond, through their manifestos, to the layers of exclusions

and discriminations faced by different groups of womxn, Black womxn, poor and working class womxn, womxn living with or caring for other people with disabilities, LGBTIQ people, womxn living in rural contexts and in urban poor contexts. We've focussed further in on the question of if parties have specifically addressed the context of groups such as farm womxn, sex workers and domestic workers.

Our analysis then turns to internal party issues such as the track record within parties on womxn's leadership; on misogyny, GBV and sexual harassment within the party; and of the quality of people on their lists.

We attempted to provide information on track record so that we do not rely on political grandstanding of the manifestos alone – this was made particularly difficult in terms of the EFF and WF where information related to the track records of the party and their deployees, and on the positions they've taken on many policies is largely inaccessible. We've looked at the question of populism and lip-service, trying to assess through the quality of what's written and promised, if the commitments are backed up by a depth of understanding of the context of womxn and if they are specific and targeted.

We looked at the following thematic issues to ground our analysis and overall assessment:

- Party track record in advancing and advocating for gender justice. This was particularly difficult owing to the lack of data/info with regard to previous and current structures of governed where possible as well as the difficulty of accessible public records in all 3 spheres of government.
- The quality of their analysis in their manifestos, particularly where patriarchy is concerned; are the promises they make backed up by recognition of what the challenges have been to past plans to implement those promises?
- The specificity and clarity of the promises / plans. Are they detailed and target specific?
- Are budgets allocated or is an indication given of how the promise will be resourced?
- Are there commitments to mechanisms for transparency, monitoring and accountability?

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STATE OF THE PARTY ASSESSMENT: ANC

Years active	Established 1912, liberation movement party, Banned 1960 to 1990, governed since 1994
Present share of the vote	62,15%
Political orientation	Liberal-leaning socialist
Top 6 composition by gender	1/6 (17%)
Top 6 composition by race	100% Black
Current MP break-down by gender	47% Women
Party list break-down by gender	Not clearly reported – commit to 50/50

How they propose to govern: Feminist Manifesto?

In spite of mentions of the words women and gender, the ANC manifesto is weak on demonstrating real strategies to integrate a gendered approach into their programmes for education, job creation, and land restitution for example. The party show more evidence in the manifesto of the priority strengthening small township and village businesses and cooperatives, and intend to prioritise youth, women and people with disabilities in this regard. The party commits to gender equality in government and the private sector and to addressing gender based violence. The manifesto is stronger on addressing corruption and youth employment and sections dealing with health are promising based on the level of detail and specifics provided. The manifesto does not propose any changes to the tax mix, not anything to take a stronger position in relation to the private sector. On land, the ANC have committed to expropriation without compensation, but been vague in how they'll approach this.

Overview / Feminist Manifesto Breakdown: How do they fare?

- Does their manifesto support and promote national strategic plan on GBV and VAW? **Yes**
- Gender mainstreaming with respect to all their policy considerations? **No**
- Gender mainstreaming and sensitivity with respect to their key focus areas? **No**
- Do they consider promote gender responsive budgeting and resource allocation? **Yes but questionable**
- Intersectional approach in their policy considerations? **Partly**
- Do they support sexual and reproductive justice including decriminalization and abortion? **No**
- Do they support sexual freedoms and the protection and advocacy of LGBTQAI+? **Yes**
- Do they recognize and safeguard womxn's access to Land and ownership? **No**
- Do they support and promote womxn's representation and participation in key decision making structures? **Yes**

How they govern: Their Track-Record

The party has demonstrated its commitment to achieving gender equality in government, but has not yet achieved the target of 51%, it has made little inroads in gender equality in the private sector due to a low approach of incentives. Past commitments to address gender based violence, through government programmes have not shown results. Fiscal policy and budgeting choices have seen unemployment, poverty and inequality rise over the past five years and the unequal health and education systems which discriminate against mainly poor, working class and Black people persist.

Weak governance systems have allowed widespread mismanagement and looting of public funds.

Party Candidates

The ANC's party list has only three womxn in the top ten, and nine in the top 20. The top 20 is peppered with female candidates who have all been in positions where they could have made a significant contribution in mainstreaming gender and reframing the feminist discourse within government and the party structures. Sadly, their track records show they mostly failed in doing so and that women's representation on party lists alone does not necessarily translate into a sound feminist agenda for the party. The men on the ANC's top 20 list generally fail to inspire confidence in their commitment to address the structural violence and inequalities women face beyond just gender-based violence. In framing their positions narrowly around GBV and "real men" as protectors of women, they run the risk of falling into the trap of benevolent sexism. The top 20 also includes womxn and men, who have made seriously problematic victim-blaming statements in the past.

THE ANC OVERVIEW

ANC – As the ruling party for the past 25 years the ANC has a track record in government, along with this comes access to public resources, to which other parties do not have access, and access information and experience in the strategies and challenges that have been faced over the past 25 years to address inequality and promote social justice across all sectors. This should be used to inform the party's Election Manifesto and we would expect to see reference in this year's manifesto to how the ANC is grappling differently with rights violations, exclusions and failures of social justice – that this time around the ANC has thought about and commits to South Africans to take the steps needed that can make the promises a reality.

The ANC recognise that 'mistakes have been made' and that sectors such as education and health are in crisis. At the same time they enumerate/list their achievements over the past 25 years. These achievements taken on their own are positive, and should be recognised. But it is telling that the ANC have chosen not to be as clear about their achievements or challenges of the past five years, thus hiding stagnation and regression in this period.

In the past five years poverty and unemployment rates have risen and income inequality has deepened. We still have dual health, education and justice systems that exclude poor and working class Black people, womxn continue to be at the bottom of the agenda in the private sector, and face unmitigated levels of violence coupled with a disinterested criminal justice system.

With 25 years in government, the ANC comes with years of policy and law development, and experience in the challenges of implementing these at all levels of government and in both urban poor and rural contexts. This means that the ANC has at its disposal significant opportunity to understand what's needed to deal with all areas of non-delivery and the ever growing inequalities in the country.

Overall the promises in the ANC manifesto are more of the same, repackaged and renamed, there's little that is new. The manner in which corruption and GBV are addressed, the promise to allow for land expropriation without compensation, and free higher education stand out as areas where new thinking or approach is evident.

On the whole, the commitments made are broad and unspecific, they are unsupported by detail on the strategies that will be taken, what resources will be committed to these, where and to whom programmes will be prioritised or the timeframes in which they will be delivered. There is some level of specificity in sections dealing with corruption, higher education, health, and unemployment; but the manifesto makes broader unspecific statements, repeating commitments from the past in relation to issues such as GBV, Basic Education, social security and renewable energy.

In sectors where the ANC has had policy in place for years, such as health and basic education, there's little new provided on how they intend to tackle the failure of existing programmes, this in spite of acknowledgement in the ANC manifesto that both health and education 'still need radical improvements' – the improvements proposed in the manifesto on these areas are not radical, and lack innovation.

The detailed sections relating to the economy, provide nothing new on South Africa's economic and fiscal policy, which are considered by many to be regressive. In this economic environment, how can the ANC possibly deliver something 'radical' or innovative while remaining committed to austerity and showing constant refusal to increase corporate taxes or wealth taxes? The manifesto is silent on how budgeting decisions of the past will shift in broad terms to give meaning to the commitments.

THE ANC ON WOMXN, PATRIARCHY, GENDER AND WOMEN

Unlike past manifestos, where the ANC has generally limited references to gender in terms of commitments to 'gender equality' and women's representation in government, or to fighting 'violence against women and children'; in this manifesto the ANC do make reference to patriarchy twice – firstly indicating that in 1994 South Africa broke the bonds of colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy and the second in the introduction to the Gender Based Violence section. This shift in direction is welcome but not strong when considering the manifesto as a whole.

The ANC commit to mainstream gender equality in all government programmes from planning, to budgeting, monitoring, accounting, including providing performance indicators and targets for government programmes (p24), but despite past commitments to this effect over the past 25 years it hasn't been done and there's no evidence of this approach to the manifesto itself, this track record makes the promise questionable.

There are mentions of 'women' or 'gender' at various points of the manifesto, such as recognising the need to draw more South Africans into decent employment, or addressing discrimination against various groups – 'women' or 'gender' appear among a list of groups that need to be 'drawn in' or protected. These references are generally unspecific and undirected in what will be

done relating to womxn, indicating a lack of serious grappling with the specific context of womxn and the need for directed programmes across sectors. For example the section on employment uses the word 'women' but without any other detail to demonstrate that the ANC are thinking more deeply about how to realise this broad promise, in contrast the manifesto shows more detailed thinking about youth employment. Some sections of the manifesto such as education or housing don't even use the word 'women'.

It's notable that the ANC's section on GBV is stronger than in previous manifestos and credit must be given to this, however the section is weakened by broad promises and unspecific plans, which echo similar high level commitments to plans of action of the past 12 years. Likewise the commitment to gender equality and women's representation in government is positive – of concern is that this is not new, the progress towards 51% representation seems to have stalled in recent years and there is no recognition or strategy to address the challenges to womxn's authority and influence resulting from patriarchal and sexist norms in the public and private sectors. The ANC makes no commitments to re-building and strengthening South Africa's gender machinery.

But for one mention of how increased access to water has freed the time of women and girls from that work, the ANC the ANC are silent on the invisible, undervalued and un-costed roles that womxn fulfil in homes, schools, communities and in the workplace.

The ANC do refer at different points in their manifesto to issues that show understanding that some groups are more excluded than others – specifically with references to women, race, disability, and LGBTIQ. However this is mainly found in the section dealing with diversity, is broad and not integrated throughout, nor does it show a clear direction on what will be done to address the exclusions of these groups. The ANC are stronger in recognising the inequalities and exclusions of people in townships and rural villages through numerous mentions of strategies to increase investments in those areas – that said, these references are generally unspecific and the phrasing doesn't go further than indicating that these will be prioritised.

Overall the manifesto is weak in its recognition of or strategies to address the systematic and structural discrimination of womxn, patriarchy, sexism and male dominance.

WOMXN, THE ECONOMY AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Unemployment and job creation

The ANC recognises the high rate of unemployment, particularly among youth, it also recognises that too many jobs are low paid and insecure and that these 'more precarious forms of work' have increased through 'casualisation and labour brokering.' The Manifesto then recognises the growth of the black middle class resulting from the ANC policies.

The manifesto commits to creating 275,000 jobs per year through increasing local demand for goods, investing more in mining, manufacturing and agriculture and expanding export markets. It also promises investment in infrastructure through the establishment of an Infrastructure Fund and building a 'social compact' with organised labour and business. It is notable that manufacturing,

mining, agriculture and infrastructure sectors are all male dominated sectors that have not succeeded in addressing the low rates of employment and ownership of women in these sectors. Similarly the ANC's plans for greater investments to 'grow the economy and create jobs' names investments into the mining, forestry, manufacturing, telecommunications, transport, energy, water, agro-processing, consumer goods, pharmaceuticals, infrastructure and financial services sectors – all male dominated sectors, again with no indication of how they will invest to ensure that women's representation in these sectors will be prioritised.

While the Manifesto does refer to women in relation to drawing more South Africans into decent employment and self employment, overall when addressing the issues of unemployment its emphasis is on youth, at one point the manifesto includes the phrase 'young men and women', however it is specific in its plans to create jobs for youth, on training programmes for youth, on removing requirements for work experience of youth, on youth internships, and guaranteeing placement of TVET graduates in EPWP. The content of the reference to women does not come through strongly, and lacks any specificity whatsoever.

Given the male dominance of the sectors that the ANC plans to prioritise for creating employment, it is notable that there is not reference to strategies or commitments to increasing employment and ownership of women in these. Similarly no undertaking is given to prioritise women led or run township and village enterprises in the commitment to increase support of this sector through procurement in its drive for localisation, although the benefit to womxn is implied.

The manifesto's recognition of the greater predominance of low-paid and precarious work does not take responsibility for how the ANC driven EPWP programme, considered a neo-liberal capitalist approach that entrenches low paid and insecure employment of women, while reinforcing the notion that poor people must work for state assistance – (Van der Westhuizen: Setting the Scene: Public Works Employment from the RDP to the NDP) or its low paying programme for CHW for example have perpetuated this situation. P17

The manifesto does make reference to increasing employment in areas where women are more likely to be employed, through its primary health care services and early childhood development programmes, both very low paying sectors. P20. Of the range of industries in which the ANC plans to build - manufacturing, agriculture and agro-processing, mining and beneficiation, energy and renewable energy, tourism, the ocean economy and creative industries, the plans relating to the clothing, textile, and footwear industry (p23) are most likely to directly benefit womxn due to the dominance of womxn working in that industry.

The 'commitments' made in relation to the clothing, textile and footwear industry are unspecific. The manifesto indicates that the ANC will 'boost existing initiatives, increase opportunities through 'access to funding and markets' including through 'public procurements and engagements with the retail sector', and that they will 'consider the establishment of a Special Economic Zone for the sector. Thus no new measures are proposed, no targets or specifics provided with regard to access to funding and procurements, and 'engagements' and consideration do not hold any significant value.

There are also too much focus on these traditional/conventional sectors like retail and textiles. The party fails to provide innovative ways of including women in developing 'new' industries like the much talked about ocean's economy (p11). South Africa has a vast shoreline with immense potential especially in terms of agri-processing of ocean resources like abalone yet many (failed) small scale fisheries policies and legislation later, we still have a major untapped resource where women can play a key role. In this sense the ANC again is seemingly missing this link.

So, in spite of some reference to women, overall the ANC is weak, unspecific and undirected in terms of recognition of the higher rates of unemployment and precarious employment of women, its focus on youth employment is important however no indication is given as to what the ANC will do to target young womxn's employment. The ANC focus is primarily on employment in sectors dominated by men and there are no targets or plans to increase the ratio of women (or young womxn) in those sectors.

Womxn in informal and insecure employment

The ANC manifesto makes no mention of the fact that women are more likely to be in informal and insecure employment. It does recognise that support to small business, cooperatives, and township and village enterprises, provides potential for 'women, youth, military veterans and people with disabilities' (p32). But this does not indicate any intention of the ANC to shift the overall norm that women are more likely to be in insecure and informal employment than in formal secure employment.

The manifesto includes a range of commitments to address small business, cooperatives, and township and village enterprises generally through amending competition legislation; implementing the Competition Commission Retail Market Inquiry findings to address retail chain stores' negative impact on township and village economies; increase access to funding; operationalise the co-operative development and training academy; establish a township and village economy fund; increased government procurement spend to these; and developing a policy for the 'vibrant social and solidarity economy'. P33

These commitments along with those to grow the clothing and textile sector and increase the number of community health workers mentioned above, if realised can potentially affect womxn positively. However no specific priority is given to womxn. There are no commitments to promote procurement from womxn owned and led small businesses and cooperatives. Providing greater support to cooperatives has been on the agenda for the ANC for years It remains to be seen if the promises in the manifesto are more effective in realising this.

The ANC commit to ensuring that legislation to give effect to a 2018 Constitutional Court ruling on labour brokers p20 – however, the ANC as the incumbent government should not have required a court ruling before enforcing the existing law and strengthening the rights of casual and seasonal workers who are often uncontracted (WFP report) and earn on average 30% less than those directly employed (<https://www.fin24.com/Economy/80-of-labour-broker-workers-should-be-deemed-permanent-20180826-2>).

The manifesto does not recognise sex workers, nor does it make mention of or commitments towards addressing the physical violence against and criminalisation of informal traders sex and workers by police and local law enforcement.

Due to not having any clear plans in place, there are no commitments to providing information, and reporting on the impact of any investments and achievements.

Womxn's ownership

The ANC commit to introducing legislation to extend company ownership to workers, they promise to work with labour and business to define minimum thresholds and conditions for worker-ownership funds (p29) and use the revised BBBEE to 'promote and ensure' ownership of black people, youth, persons with disabilities and women. It undertakes to ensure that provisions of the Mining Charter 'benefit state, community and employee ownership'.

BBE encourages 30% Black women's ownership, however, on it's own it is not sufficient commitment to women's ownership and control in the private sectors which remains weak, targets should match the demographic profile of 51% women.

The manifesto does not provide targets of what this worker ownership would look like and is silent on targets and strategies for increasing women's ownership specifically.

Womxn's seniority, leadership and control

While the ANC continue to claim their success in improving the representation and empowerment of women in both the private and public sectors, they articulate zero strategies to shift the stubborn lack of women's seniority.

With just over 51% of South Africa's population identified as 'female'; Stats SA indicates that in July 2018, only 32% of managers in South Africa were women, only 24% of SOEs were headed by women, and only one of the top 40 JSE listed companies has a woman CEO. In 2016 only 39% of municipalities with a sitting mayor were women. The Commission on Employment Equity reports indicate that in terms of the private sector white people continue to dominate in top management in the private sector at 71,1%, and 67,4% of top management in the private sector are men.

The ANC make no commitment to ensuring that these figures at a minimum should reflect the national demographic and importantly that it must reflect the demographic of Black women. The ANC government should require the Commission on Employment Equity to provide disaggregated data on the racial groups by gender in order to ensure that the representation of women is understood in terms of the race of those women. Without this information it is not possible to monitor the effectiveness of policies in this regard.

(<http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=11375>: 2018 Quarterly labour Force Survey: second quarter 2018 StatsSA 31 July 2018)

Further the ANC does not to recognise that quotas for women's leadership and seniority alone do not translate into women having influence and control in the deeply patriarchal structures of government and business – there is no articulation of promoting strategies to address these patriarchal systems and norms or to building structures led by women to support women in these sectors.

The gendered wage gap

The ANC report on their successes with the recently introduced national minimum wage, however the party is silent on the wage gap between men and women.

While this law sets the minimum at R20/hour for workers, the minimum wage set for domestic work (a sector dominated by women with only 3% of workers in this sector being men according to Stats SA 2018), is lower at R15 an hour. EPWP (which has a target of 55% women) minimum wage is set at only R11/hour. The ANC is silent on this issue in it's manifesto, despite challenges from the CGE to the fact that this affects the women dominated care work and NPO sectors. These minimums reinforce the lower value placed on 'women's work'. And the ANC make no commitment to regulate the gender wage gap.

The manifesto also reports on the inclusion of domestic workers in the UIF as a success but provides no indication of the challenges that domestic workers face in trying to access UIF.

Economic reform generally

As well as the measures discussed above to increase workers' ownership, the ANC manifesto includes some potential measures to determine the levels of 'excessive' ownership concentration and monopolies of large business promising to take remedial action to de-concentrate the economy. On public ownership, besides measures to address corruption at State Owned Entities, the ANC ambiguously 'commits' to be guided by feasibility studies before extending public ownership in pharmaceuticals, renewable energy and banking, it also commits to 'strengthening' the state mining company to increase the role that it plays in the industry (p29).

The ANC commit to increase funding and support to the co-operative banking sector in order to 'broaden ownership and control of banking by workers and communities' (p34) the manifesto undertakes to strengthen legislation in this regard.

The ANC takes a low approach to increasing controls on the private sector – using language such as 'negotiate', 'leverage', 'set targets', and 'engage with', little is included by way of increased regulation. In the section dealing with job creation the manifesto includes prescribing a minimum percentage for targets for youth internships in the public sector and 'securing concrete commitments' from the private sector in this regard (p20), it commits to attaching conditionalities to state support which include 'incentives' to encourage the private sector to procure locally. (p21)

'incentives' are not sufficient to shift the norms in the private sector, the ANC make no commitment to a stronger position to regulate the behaviour of the private sector.

The manifesto does include commitment to 'step up' measures to act against private actors that facilitate tax avoidance, profit shifting, and illegal imports (p55).

Overall the ANC are silent on increasing revenue through pro-poor shifts in the tax mix, such as increasing South Africa's comparatively low corporate taxes and wealth taxes or lowering the vat rate and fuel levies. The ANC make no commitments to shift away from its current austerity measures affecting social spending.

Social security

The commitments in the ANC manifesto relating to social security are slightly confusing, and overall the promises are insubstantial.

The promise to 'define a basket of social security benefits that all should benefit' is not clear – how will this basket for all be different from the current framework for social security? It could imply the introduction of a universal grant, however this is unlikely given that such a move would most probably be clearly spelt out and given the limitations indicated in the following promises.

The manifesto specifies certain groups for ANC attention on social security – 'orphans, children, aged on farms, remote rural areas, disabilities', 'child headed families' and 'low paid workers and informal traders'. This new focus on informal and low paid workers is a new and positive addition to the focus of delivering social security, as is the commitment to focussing on delivering to remote rural areas, however the other areas for targeting are currently in place, it is also perplexing as to why only the aged on farms are to be focussed on as issues with access extend to all people qualifying for social security who live on farms including the elderly.

On potentially increasing the uptake and reach of social security, the ANC commit to addressing social grants exclusion errors through targeting and to developing a 'comprehensive policy on social security' in addition the manifesto specifies that pregnancy and maternity benefits will be included in this comprehensive policy. The manifesto also promises to 'increase UIF coverage from the 5% of unemployed people who currently access it.

The ANC do not refer to the impacts of social security on womxn, there is no commitment to any form of universal grant, instead new measures promised would in all likelihood add more layers of complexity to means testing and administrative requirements.

While the manifesto indicates that the ANC will address errors that lead to exclusion from grants, it does not specifically address strategies to deal with the impact of the lack of access to birth certificates and other documents that result in exclusions – in particular the exclusion of very young children in rural areas and on farms to the child support grant. The ANC also make no mention of addressing the issue of accessible pay points, nor of protecting grant recipients rights in terms of abuses through loans and deductions by private companies.

The Manifesto makes the claim of the ANC's success in ensuring that domestic workers are covered by UIF in the past. However the manifesto makes no reference or commitments to the question of if domestic workers are accessing UIF, nor of addressing any challenges faced by domestic workers in this regard.

The manifesto states that as a result of ANC actions women and LGBTI people now have increased maternity benefits.

LAND, AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENT, HOUSING, SERVICES

Womxn's ownership, control and access to land

The manifesto recognises, in the passive voice, that the 'land question has not been fully addressed' and recognises the dispossession of and injustices against Black people, it commits to 'sustainable and radical land reform' – no explanation is provided on what is specifically meant by sustainable or radical. The ANC supports the amendment of section 25 of the Constitution to 'define the conditions of land without compensation' through 'just and equitable' provisions in the Constitution. It also commits to submitting a revised Expropriation Bill that sets out the 'explicit circumstances under which land expropriation in the public interest may happen without compensation'. It remains to be seen if these amendments will be made, and the manifesto doesn't set any timeframes by which the ANC will address these.

The manifesto undertakes to accelerate outstanding land restitution claims but does not provide any information on how the ANC will do so or what will be done differently to shift the extremely slow pace of finalising claims. The manifesto provides no sense of greater urgency and sets no timeframes or deadlines for finalising existing claims. Reports on land restitution claims are ambiguous however they do show a slight acceleration over the past year – this slight acceleration is not nearly close to what would be needed – after all of these years to address the outstanding claims.

Further reports on finalised restitution claims don't provide any information on how womxn have been affected and the manifesto makes no commitment to promoting, prioritising and targeting the finalisation of claims by womxn. The ANC should commit, at a minimum, to clear and regular reporting on claims that include a gendered breakdown.

The ANC promises to 'introduce measures' to address high land costs, recognising that these high costs 'push the poor majority into the periphery and deepen racial inequality. The manifesto gives no indication of what these measures are nor of the extent to which costs will be reduced.

The manifesto binds the ANC to accelerate the transfer of title deeds 'to the rightful owners' as part of its rapid land release programme for building houses. Again here, no commitment is made to ensuring the transfer of title deeds to womxn specifically, nor are any targets set in this regard.

Agriculture

On agriculture and farming, in addition to the promises discussed under the section on insecure and informal employment of womxn, the ANC make commitments to 'develop greater support for small-scale farmers' through consolidating government support to these, including to promote co-operative marketing and processing. Linked to this the ANC commit to address the monopolies and dominance of big business in agriculture, however the manifesto does not say by what measures it will do this. No specific commitment is made in the manifesto to programmes to support women small-scale farmers.

Promises to address the domination of big business in agriculture are questionable in the face of the 2018 passage of the Plant Improvement Act and the Plant Breeders Rights Act which together are argued to strengthen the power of large scale commercial breeders while failing to protect the rights or address the interests of smallholder farmers. (African Centre for Biodiversity 2019).

In spite of mention of women's access to land which is positive the manifesto seems to consider women's access more in terms of rural context, which is critical, but it leaves their approach to women's access to land in urban areas open. The manifesto also provides too little detail to indicate that women's ownership, rural or urban, is a priority, as with the section on job creation where it is clear to see that there are specific and detailed ideas behind increasing youth employment but nothing specific besides the use of the word women to indicate how women will be prioritised and how the current social, structural and legal factors that undermine women's access, ownership, tenure or control of land will be challenged and addressed by the ANC.

The section on land and agriculture addresses womxn specifically in two areas, the first is a general commitment to 'advance women's access to land and participation in agriculture and rural economies'. However it again provides no specificity of how this will be achieved and how it will address any challenges to this faced in the past. The second mention is in relation to communal land - through ensuring tenure security by providing adequate recognition and protection of the rights of long-term occupiers, women, and labour tenants in communal land.

The ANC manifesto commits to increasing food security through promoting urban agriculture and community food gardens and diversifying agricultural products. It fails to explain how it will invest and promote these.

It undertakes to ensure that land is not wasted or underutilised through law 'enacting' and implementation of measures for urban agriculture and community food gardens.

Womxn's ownership, control and access to houses

The ANC recognises that since 1994 as a result of their policies, there has been 'a massive extension of home ownership' with 3,2 million free houses having been built, benefitting over 14 million people. On housing specifically, the ANC commit to releasing land at the disposal of the state for households to build homes on serviced land and the rapid release of land programme. The manifesto also promises to address the title deed backlog and increase the speed of transfer of title deeds.

The manifesto fails to recognise the gendered components of both ownership and control of property, nor does it express any specific priority or targets towards promoting womxn's ownership and control of property, nor the transfer of title deeds.

Unfortunately neither the manifesto nor Department of Human Settlements reports provide accessible information on the gendered breakdown of home ownership in South Africa generally; of the ownership of the 3,2 million houses that have been built; or of the title deed transfers that have been done or are pending. A basic minimum to indicate an issue is understood and a priority, is to monitor this information. The absence of any target in the manifesto to ensure women's ownership and the lack of accessible information on womxn's ownership is problematic.

The manifesto refers to eliminating speculative behavior through legislation (which they will accelerate), and establishing an ombud for the property sector, and finally by revising regulations and incentives for housing and land use management. These measures read as being slight adjustments rather than a 'transformation' of the property market.

Human settlements

The ANC undertake to transform the property market to reverse urban fragmentation and 'highly inefficient sprawl' by making well-located, affordable housing and decent shelter accessible and they claim that they are 'hard at work' to address the spatial separation created by apartheid to provide housing 'closer to economic opportunities'. The manifesto emphasizes work to focus on spatial transformation including through developing principles, revised incentives and regulations; and working with other sectors (economic nodes, smart technologies, public transport) to effect spatial transformation. The ANC commit to align provision of housing with public investments and service provision (schools, health facilities, transport).

Given past track record on making serviced land available in cheaper areas isolated from urban centres it is important to see if the ANC will deliver this land for people in and near to urban centres. In addition, the promise to make state owned land available signals that in this context, expropriation (with or without compensation) is not an option for the ANC.

They promise to 'building at least one new South Africa city of the future' – no further information is provided as to where this will be built, by when or by what budgets.

The intentions expressed in the manifesto on spatial planning recognise the appropriate approach, however they are not new ideas and the manifesto fails to specify targets, nor when and how it will achieve this promise, particularly when considered against the 25 year track record and failures at this level.

Electricity, Water, Sanitation

Electricity and renewable energy

The ANC recognise the increased electricity coverage since 1994 resulting from the implementation of their policies. There are no references to the disruptions in electricity supply over the past few years nor an indication of how in the short and medium terms this will be addressed. The manifesto makes no mention of how women are additionally burdened by lack of access to and disruptions in electricity supply.

The manifesto provides a number of indicators that in spite of the continued reliance on South Africa's coal reserves which the ANC explains, are cheap and promote affordability, the ANC will 'continue to support the use of renewable technologies in the energy mix', it commits to shift towards renewable energy to transition to a 'sustainable and low carbon energy future'. The ANC commit to taking the NEDLAC Green Economy Accord on renewable energy forward. While this last appears to provide some specificity – it is not enough, the GEA was signed in November 2011 and although it includes clear targets and dates, these are now mostly past. There's no indication in the manifesto of the ANC's progress thus far on implementing the accord.

The promises made include a commitment to repositioning Eskom to play an active role in renewable energy and to promoting public ownership in renewable energy infrastructure. However no specific proposals are made regarding how this will be achieved and by when.

Three more specified measures are articulated including investing in increased demand for solar, municipal waste, biomass, biogas and wind generated energy, with an additional commitment to support small enterprises and cooperatives in this regard. The second is to increase the use of solar panels on government buildings, and to mandate new residential and commercial developments 'in the medium term' to use renewable energy. The proposal to mandate the use of renewables in new buildings is positive, it is however problematic that the timeframe for the 'medium term' is not specified. The final set of more specific commitments is to develop and implement a training programme for young people on renewable energy and to introduce academic programmes for renewable energy at two specific universities. The plans and scope for the education programme for youth are unclear, however the ANC are unusually specific regarding the two universities in which the academic programme will be introduced.

Water

The ANC reports on its progress with increasing access to clean drinking water. The manifesto specifically notes that this has had a positive impact on the lives of women and girls allowing them more time to participate in "other activities, such as education, empowerment, or leisure". In the commitments made regarding water, the ANC indicate that they will 'continue to prioritise' water provision and infrastructure but does not specify where, no reference is made to the issue of drought and addressing water shortages in the future. The manifesto commits to reviewing the minimum free basic water policy 'to help further cushion the poor', however it gives no specifics in this regard – to whom, how much or by when.

Sanitation

The manifesto recognises that in spite of progress more must be done to eradicate the bucket system and pit latrines (p20). It doesn't say what exactly it will do in this regard.

The issues of women's safety and health are not named by the ANC and overall on the water and sanitation sections the commitments are vague and unfocussed.

SAFETY AND JUSTICE

General

The manifesto maintains its position on crime prevention as a national priority. It commits to increased resourcing and joint budgeting across the criminal justice system. To training for police to investigate cases; increased uniform police (men and women) for increased visibility; to strengthen CPFs and CSFs; to 'Ensure the reduction of crime, especially 'violence' against vulnerable groups and the regulation of the location of taverns and bottle stores 'away from schools and religious establishments'. None of these commitments are new and the ANC fail to give a sense of how they will work and invest differently towards achieving better results on these areas, once again no targets or timeframes are set, nor is there any specificity in where they will prioritise and allocate budgets to these programmes.

Slightly newer are the promises to revive the Anti-Gang Strategy and Drug Master Plan. No indication is provided on how the Anti-Gang strategy will be resourced. On the issue of addressing the use of drugs specifically those mostly abused by young people, the manifesto only raises it in the section on crime, and fails to address this issue under social support services, this is problematic and indicative of the failure to think across programmes. 'Fighting' the use of drugs through law enforcement alone is not effective social support to individuals, families and communities is also essential. The focusing on the criminal aspect of youth as users and not on the social and health support aspects is potentially dangerous.

It's notable that the manifesto, which addresses apartheid spatial inequality, land redistribution and expropriation, fails to mention the current information available to the ANC regarding the deeply unequal apartheid created police resourcing that has persisted and deepened in many areas over the past 25 years. Resulting in poor, working class, Black people having only a fraction of the police resources available in middle class areas.

The manifesto is silent on addressing unequal access to the justice system in South Africa, it remains silent on issues of access to legal aid generally and fails to pay any attention to the transformation of the legal profession.

Gender Based Violence

General

The manifesto recognises the seriousness and extent of gender-based violence referring to it as a 'crisis'. It recognises that violations and murder of women are the 'worst manifestation' of patriarchal relations. Although using the passive voice, the ANC indicate that 'the fight against gender-based violence must be intensified'. The manifesto recognises the diversity of voices 'that are joining' the fight, this is interesting because it appears that in the past year, the ANC has

started hearing a more diverse range of voices on GBV and that it is the ANC that is committing to joining the fight at this point.

The ANC does not address the fact that this is not a new 'crisis' but rather one that it has inherited and been responding to since 1994 – as such it does not question or acknowledge the reasons for failures of programmes and strategies that have been implemented over the past 25 years.

The ANC use language stronger than that used before relating to GBV – where previous manifestos used language of crimes against women and children, now the manifesto articulates an understanding of patriarchy, economic relations and gender relations as being part of the 'causes' that must be addressed through interventions that can 'change the way of thinking about gender relations'.

The ANC commits to a Multi-sectoral approach to GBV, which is not a new commitment and something that has not been successfully implemented previously by the ANC. However importantly, the manifesto promises to take the national plan of action against gender-based violence, and other outcomes of the 2018 Summit on GBV, forward. Of concern is the lack of specifics in the manifesto terms of timeframes or resourcing are in place, the ANC's 2019 Budget also failed to articulate allocations to take the summit outcomes forward. The failure to demonstrate in the 2018 budget the allocation of resources to aspects of the summit outcomes is particularly concerning given the declaration made that 'necessary and adequate' resources would be allocated and the commitment to ensure that interventions are planned, costed and resourced in line with gender-responsive planning, budgeting and monitoring. Despite the specifics of the new plan not being in place, existing plans, legislation and interventions into GBV are suffering from failure to budget and ring-fence funds for these services and as a result of the freeze on human resourcing budgets to government.

Its important to note that high level commitment to a National Action Plan from the ANC is not new, in 2007 the then deputy president Phumzile Mlambo Ncquka took the lead on consultations and the development of a similar plan, and in 2017 the ANC government committed to a National Strategic Plan on GBV. This points to the importance of holding the ANC to account for following through with its promises this time around. The question now is if there will be stronger leadership from the ANC on these issues than has been the case in past years.

The manifesto makes no mention of addressing the patriarchal, misogynist, sexist and womxn-blaming norms that pervade the criminal justice system both in terms of the people and structurally.

Prevention

The manifesto commitments to preventing GBV are minimal with mention only being made of working with young children to 'change social attitudes'. Although the declaration of the 2018 summit takes a stronger approach to prevention to address 'patriarchal values and norms and the structural drivers of GBV', and it includes who will be targeted with these, this strong articulation is not reflected directly in the manifesto.

Policing

The manifesto broadly undertakes to 'capacitate and equip police and courts to support survivors' there is no specific indication of improving policing through investments in specialised police services for these cases, nor the need to improve the accountability of police at all levels in terms of taking reports, serving protection orders, or investigating sexual violence, domestic violence or crimes against children.

Psychosocial support and health

The ANC commit to establish psychosocial support to vulnerable learners, which is positive, however it makes no broader commitment to providing funds and programmes to increase access to essential psychosocial support for all survivors of GBV. The scale of trauma that results from GBV has profound impacts on the emotional and psychological wellbeing of the person directly victimised but also on their economic productivity, and relationships – considering that approximately 50 000 people report sexual offences in a single year (so this does not include domestic violence or the cases that are not reported) the number of womxn in South Africa left to cope with this serious trauma is profound – at this point in time very few services are available to provide this kind of support.

The one commitment made at the GBV summit that is also expressly named in the ANC manifesto, is scaling up Thuthuzela Care Centres, the promise implies that the ANC have understood the positive impact on the reduction of victimisation and improving conviction rates in these cases. This is a positive commitment, but once again the ANC fail to provide any specifics of where and how they will scale these resources up, no commitment is made in the manifesto to allocating budget for this purpose.

The manifesto is silent on the issues of provision of shelter services although these are also addressed in the summit outcomes document to a minimal extent, existing government programmes and funding for shelters is highly problematic and these issues have been repeatedly raised by shelter organisations with the ANC government. It is inexcusable that, at this stage the manifesto is silent on this.

Courts and Justice

The ANC manifesto undertakes to 'call for' stricter bail conditions and harsher sentences in cases of domestic violence and sexual offences. This promise is weak and reads as populist. Firstly because the ANC government has introduced legislative measures to this effect in relation to sexual offences more than twenty years ago, and the issue is not the lack of measures but rather failure of most courts to respect these. Analysis of SAPS and Justice reports over the past 20 years shows that the conviction rate on sexual offences cases reported to police remains somewhere between five and seven per cent. Thus the second issue is that weak investigation and prosecution skills and low accountability regarding this is also a serious barrier to cases reaching court or convictions. In terms of Domestic Violence, bail and sentencing would follow a strategy that increases police accountability for failures to allow many womxn to open criminal cases such as assault when they wish to, as well as increasing police adherence to serving protection orders and supporting women when protection orders are broken.

The manifesto is silent on the roll out, resourcing and accountability mechanisms relating to sexual offences courts. The summit outcomes do commit to resourcing sexual offences courts, however a

significant programme of this nature should be directly addressed by the ANC in their manifesto, as they've done with Thuthuzela centres.

Once again the manifesto is unspecific and vague about what the ANC plans to do differently to address these and past commitments to address GBV.

EDUCATION

Early Childhood Development

The ANC manifesto commits to providing a comprehensive package of ECD services, including birth registration, social assistance, parenting support and quality learning, it also commits to taking a 'first 1 000 days' approach to ECD from pregnancy until the child is two years of age. Thus focussing on the nutrition and health of pregnant women and of the baby once it is born. These promises are not new and are grounded in numerous policies related to the provision of ECD services, one of the more recent being the 2015 National integrated early childhood development policy. The manifesto thus lacks specificity of how and where it will target these initiatives.

As announced in the 2019 SONA, the ANC manifesto promises to introduce and achieve universal access to two years of ECD provided before grade 1 through the Department of Basic Education.

The ANC undertake to innovate different models to deliver home and community-based ECD, to standardise guidelines, norms and standards for ECD and to set employment targets for the sector over the next five years. The manifesto is not clear on if it is speaking to ECD services provided by the DBE here or those funded through the DSD. There is no specificity to the targets of budgets that will be allocated to the employment targets. Notably the manifesto is silent on any plans to increase ECD conditional grant administered by the Department of Social Development that was introduced in 2017 and which is insufficient to subsidise the sheer number of poor children that it must cover or to ensure infrastructure for ECD centres. (Budget Justice Coalition: 2019).

The manifesto makes no mention of increasing access to ECD services in rural areas, however it is possible that the commitment to innovating home and community based ECD may serve this purpose.

Basic Education

The ANC recognise in the manifesto that education, and training 'still need radical improvements' however the commitments made in relation to Education are not radical.

The ANC make no mention of gendered issues relating to access to basic education. It includes that the ANC has achieved 'almost universal enrolment' in school but makes no reference to any plans to address children who are enrolled but out of school. There is no reference nor strategies to address the reasons why girls are out of school, such as additional family responsibilities, menstruation or sexual violence in schools.

The ANC fail to make any reference to addressing the high rates of sexual violence in schools, in particular that perpetrated by teachers or the use of corporal punishment. The manifesto does however commit to amending legislation and policies to enforce accountability and consequence management in schools.

The manifesto promises to 'continue to replace inappropriate school structures and sanitation facilities'. It fails to recognise or to provide an indication of new strategies to address the extreme underperformance over the past years of the ANC government in meeting its targets for addressing school sanitation, the Budget Justice Coalition (2019) point out that in 2016/17 only nine schools out of a targeted 26 were provided with sanitation and in the 2018/19 first quarter, although improved only 64 out of 285 schools targeted.

The ANC make no promises to deliver sanitary towels through schools in the manifesto. Currently these are provided on a provincial basis and accessibility is varied.

The ANC commit to replace inappropriate school structures and sanitation facilities. The manifesto is silent on the specifics of how it will do this.

These promises lack specificity and this is particularly concerning given the poor track record of the ANC in this regard over the past five years. No mention is made of implementing the minimum norms and standards for school infrastructure that were signed off in 2013, nor of the fact that the ANC had resisted developing these since 2007 until Equal Education took the Minister to the Constitutional Court in 2011. Nor does the ANC refer to any plans to address its poor performance with regard to implementing the Accelerated Schools Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI) (Equal Education), the persistence decrease in the allocations to the Education Infrastructure Grant. (Budget Justice Coalition:2019)

The ANC make commitments to address the quality of teaching and learning by appointing adequately qualified teachers with the required subject content knowledge, again the manifesto provides no specificity as to how it will achieve this or provide the resources for this in the face of the persistent and stubborn inequalities and challenges in this regard. It proposes replacing the current ANA with a new innovative assessment method, and amending curriculum to provide for the 4th industrial revolution.

There are no references to the issues of safety and sanitation faced by girls in terms of infrastructure nor of specific priorities to ensure quality teaching to girls.

The ANC is silent on the question of ensuring an inclusive education approach that addresses the exclusion from education of children with disabilities and other barriers to learning. It does not refer to the slow implementation of the 2001 White Paper 6 on Inclusive Education.

Higher Education

The ANC commit to strengthen measures to improve access to Higher Education, with a goal of providing free higher education for 'the poor and missing middle'. It recognises that its investment into NSFAS since 1994 has significantly transformed the racial and gender composition of students. The ANC clearly commit to extending free higher education to second year students in 2019 and to all undergraduate students by 2024, providing here the level of specificity and targets that is so absent in many other areas of the manifesto.

The ANC also make a commitment to ensure funding to the TVET and Community College sector, including fostering partnerships for work experience of 'both lecturers and students', and to target skills development programmes towards the unemployed, youth, low-skilled people and those in precarious forms of employment, including the self-employed.

The manifesto is silent on the issue of sexism and GBV in higher education.

HEALTH

The ANC manifesto reports on the ANC progress since 1994 on increased life expectancy, access to ARVs and the drop in TB related deaths, that said it also recognises that health systems in South Africa need radical improvements.

The ANC commit to implementing the next phase of the NHI programme over the next five years through legislation and to set up the NHI fund. It undertakes to strengthen the public health system to deliver NHI services, and to ensure that public health facilities are improved to meet the quality standards that are required for NHI. It undertakes to invest in health infrastructure, to strengthen management and leadership in the health sector and to increase responsibilities of district and 'frontline health services' to increase effectiveness and address long waiting times.

The ANC commit to national health wellness and healthy lifestyle campaigns, including testing a targeted number of people for TB and initiating treatments, ensuring that people with HIV know their status and are treated. The commitments here are specific and include targets.

The plans to incorporate and expand the number of community health workers are intended to address township and rural village access to health services.

The ANC undertake to fill critical vacant posts in public health facilities, to 'significantly' increase training of doctors and nurses, it commits to measures to expand the training of medical practitioners and to 'consolidate' nursing colleges into a single college with satellites in each province, orienting the curriculum towards practical bedside work. The manifesto gives no targets on the number of medical professionals that will be trained, nor does it provide a gendered breakdown of the plans.

The manifesto promises to expand the primary health care system through incorporating over 50,000 community health workers into the public health system and doubling this within five years, the ANC will ensure that these are deployed to villages and townships. The manifesto does not make mention of the wages of community health workers.

The ANC are silent on access to reproductive health rights, including silence on fixing the barriers to accessing to termination of pregnancy. Improving services to pregnant women are addressed to some extent through the promises relating to ECD, but not in terms of primary health care.

The manifesto does not address the provision of emergency medical services, nor the specific needs of pregnant women in this regard.

WOMXN WHO EXPERIENCE MULTIPLE EXCLUSION, VIOLATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Womxn living in rural areas

The ANC do in various ways make reference to priorities focussed on rural development, it specifies advancing women's access to land, agricultural participation and rural economies (p30) and to investing in small businesses and cooperatives as well as health access in 'townships and villages'. It provides that it will focus on increasing access to social grants in 'remote rural areas' and undertakes to build links between rural and urban areas (p59) – without specifying how it will do this exactly. For example it makes no commitment to increasing access to safe and affordable long distance transport.

This focus is positive, but again the lumping in of village with township without defining specific strategies for each context belies a lack of deep thinking or strategy as to how it intends to realise these promises.

Womxn living in mining affected communities

The manifesto makes numerous references to increasing investments into mining, however this typically appears as one among a list of sectors that will be targeted.

The manifesto does specify that the ANC will ensure that the provisions in the Mining Charter will benefit state, community and employee ownership, and that the 'state mining company will be strengthened to play a significant role in the industry'. It goes no further to name or address the specific struggles of people, let alone womxn living in mining affected communities. The manifesto gives no sense of how it will achieve the promises that it does make with regard to mining.

Womxn and traditional leadership

The ANC commit to good relations between government and institutions of traditional leadership, with specific mention of Contralesa, it adds that it will promote cooperation between government and traditional authorities on economic development and land use management specifically. It does undertake to investigate a 'special cooperative governance dispensation' to manage the relationship between municipalities and traditional authorities. None of these are new and as written has little meaning.

Unsurprisingly, there's no reference to the range of laws and bills that maintain the apartheid Bantustan framework, nor any reference to their recent passage through the National Assembly of

the Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership Bill which gives traditional councils and leaders new powers to enter into deals with private companies, such as mining companies, without requiring consultation and consent of the people who's land rights will be affected (Custom Contested) or the Traditional Courts Bill which is marked for passage in the next Parliament and which the ANC has reversed gains made after a wide consultation process in 2012 – gains which included allowing people to opt out and for stronger protection of womxn – this in spite of strong opposition of rural communities and womxn to the bill on these grounds amongst others. (Stop the Bantustan Bill Coalition in Ground UP: 2019)

Gender non-binary and LGBTIQ people

The manifesto is unacceptably light in recognising the exclusions and discriminations experienced by LGBTIQ people, referring it's proud history as a party of fighting against a range of forms of discrimination, including on the basis of gender and sexual orientation. It commits to introducing laws to combat hate crimes, including on the basis of sexual orientation (amongst others) p23, however this law has been proposed for many years with little progress, and there's no acknowledgement of the rape of Black lesbian womxn specifically nor any urgency that this must be dealt with. The manifesto is not convincing that this is anything more than lip service.

People with Disabilities

The ANC refer to people with disabilities in numerous places in the manifesto, including in terms of business ownership, small business and cooperatives, social security, addressing hate crimes. It commits to mainstream ... 'the needs of people with disabilities in all government programmes from planning, to budgeting, monitoring, accounting, including providing performance indicators and targets for government programmes'. Overall though the references are unspecific, adding disability to a list of other target groups and missing clear places where this should be addressed with specificity such as in the education and health sections. Again the ANC is not convincing that it has plans to deepen inclusion of people with disabilities in all areas. It is quiet on measures to compel the private sector to address discrimination against people living with disabilities, besides committing to promoting compliance with BBE targets (p13) – which has been a woefully blunt tool to encourage diversity in the private sector.

The manifesto does not acknowledge the skewed impact on womxn's burdens of care linked to failures of the state to provide this adequately for people living with disabilities, nor are the sexuality rights of womxn living with disabilities recognised or protections proposed to allow womxn with disabilities to live full, free and safe sexual lives.

Sex workers

The ANC manifesto does not take a position on decriminalising sex work, nor to addressing the social exclusions and rights violations of sex workers, in particular by law enforcement officials. It makes no mention on criminalisation of informal traders, abuses of sex workers by law enforcement, increased protections to sex workers.

Non-South African nationals

The ANC manifesto includes a few extremely concerning statements that are Afrophobic, and which reinforce and encourage popular Aphrophobic sentiment. These include ensuring that the laws of the country are observed in the employment of foreign nationals by firms (p20); noting that

'undocumented immigration has an adverse impact on national security. We should ensure that those who come to South Africa do so legally and that the country knows what they do while they are in the country'(p21) and that they will 'take tough measures against undocumented immigrants involved in criminal activities in the country or in cross-border crimes, including those involved in illegal trading and selling adulterated food in townships and villages (P21).

In contradiction to these statements it includes commitments to strengthening relationships across the continent, including promoting Free trade among African Countries promote peace and security in SADC region and other African countries – but then comes back with the commitment of the ANC to 'Work with other countries to ensure that there are incentives created for immigrants to stay in the borders of their own country' (p65). So the commitment to breaking borders on the Continent is in terms of trade only.

Governance and political participation

The ANC take a strong, specific and unequivocal stance on cleaning up corruption, including addressing the consequences of corruption through recovering stolen funds, implementing lifestyle audits and financial monitoring, legislating to prevent public servants conducting business with the state, making tender systems more transparent, and 'discouraging those who turn a blind eye' (p55 and 56).

On performance management the ANC undertake to make unannounced inspections, to implement accountability and consequence management, to improve Local government skills, and to enforcing compliance at this level (p58-59).

On democratic institutions it commits to strengthen the oversight role of legislatures – without providing information on how this can be achieved, given the strong constitutional provisions already in place, strengthening this role requires a commitment from the ANC that members of the executive will respect the oversight role of the legislatures, further commitment to ensuring the independence of information and research services to legislatures is not mentioned. The ANC promise to continue to safeguard the independence of the judiciary, and to support and resource institutions supporting democracy. (p58) The ANC also commit to promoting programmes that advance media freedom and diversity, with a specific focus on community and alternative media. (p62)

On political participation, the ANC undertake to interact with communities, conduct regular imbizos and make use of new communications technologies to do so (p58); it commits to ensure that residents are 'actively involved' in local government decisions. Although the manifesto speaks in broad terms to improving oversight of legislatures, it gives no commitment to strengthening public access or participation in legislatures, nor to improving the responsiveness of legislatures and elected representatives to the public.

INTERNAL PERFORMANCE ON WOMXN'S RIGHTS

Representation

The ANC constitution states that 'the ANC shall support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the Organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels'. The constitution also places a quota requirement of no less than 50% women on all its structures.

As an organisation the ANC has probably taken women's representation furthest, however it has failed to grapple with structural patriarchy in the party that would enable full leadership and authority in the party.

The ANC declares improvement of the representation and empowerment of women in the public and private sectors through the constitutional commitment to non-sexism and gender equality). Testing this against the 2018 report of the Commission on Employment Equity shows that while the ANC have made progress on the representation of Black people in top management positions in government (72,2% are defined as African), this is not the case in the private sector where 71,1% of top managers are white.

67,4% of top management positions in government are held by men and only 32,6% by womxn. The picture is very similar for senior management positions in government with 61% of positions taken by men and 39% by womxn. In the private sector only 21,6% of top and 32,3% of senior management positions are held by womxn. The ANC government has not met its targets of employment equity in government nor has it made a valuable impact on this in the private sector. So while top and senior management positions in government are more likely to be filled by Black people this is primarily Black men.

The CEE report doesn't provide a readable breakdown of how many of these top and senior management positions are held by Black womxn. (The tables providing the breakdowns do not provide national totals of race and gender breakdown, only percentages for provinces – making the information on the national picture extremely difficult to read). The information is sufficient to confirm that where womxn ('Females') are in top and senior management they are far more likely to be white than Black womxn.

The manner in which the CCE presents its information makes it extremely difficult to see the proportion of Black womxn in senior or top management, however a deep look shows the unsurprising trend that it is white womxn, not Black womxn, and certainly not African womxn who are significantly more likely to hold these posts. Limpopo is the only province that shows Black womxn holding more top management positions than white womxn.

The representation of people with disabilities in top and senior management is woefully poor. Only 1,3% of these are occupied by people with disabilities and of these only 4,3% are defined as African Womxn.

1,3% top and senior management positions are occupied by people with disabilities. 73% are men, and 46% are white men, while only 24,3 are womxn, only 4,3% of the 1,3% of people with disabilities are African womxn.

Sexism, gender based violence and sexual harassment

Save for a small reference in the party constitution which includes that sexual/physical abuse against women and children and abuse of office to obtain sexual advantage is a form of misconduct and disciplinary procedures may be instituted, the party does not have a specific policy on sexual violence or harassment, sexism or misogyny. The lack of intentional policy not only enables picking and choosing when to act on these cases, it also means that where action is taken there's not commitment to a survivor centred approach.

The Pule Mabe's disciplinary process resulted in the recommendation that 'the ANC should within three months adopt a sexual harassment policy, and do training for all its management and staff in offices throughout the country on this policy' (18 Feb 2019). In a newspaper article on 10 March 2019, ANC spokesperson said that the ANC had drafted a sexual harassment policy and have asked the CGE to audit the document. Also media report that the draft will be available online and will be finalised by end March. We searched for this in April 2019, but were unable to find evidence of a draft or the finalisation of the policy online as promised.

The ANC do not take a strong, consistent and demonstrated stance against sexism, misogyny, sexual violence or harassment within the party. According to the ANC's track record in the cases reported on by the #NotOurLeaders campaign, ANC members accused of sexual harassment and or violence a rarely dealt with decisively and at best strong responses to people accused of sexual harassment are inconsistent and linked to the positionality of the person accused. In many cases followed by the campaign the ANC resorts to 'letting the law run its course' before being willing to comment or take action – generally resulting in no internal disciplinary action.

There is evidence of the ANC protecting people accused of sexual violence and misconduct in the past. One of the most notable cases is the years of protections by the ANC to a councillor, Maselane, who repeatedly was placed on lists and given positions regardless of the multiple, rape and gang rape charges against him, including charges for raping children. Maselane was finally convicted of rape last year. In the years that it took to finalise the criminal trial he enjoyed the protection of the ANC. Recent ANC responses to sexual harassment charges against its spokesperson Pule Mabe were met by women in the party with criticism for the disciplinary panel's handling of the matter. Mduduzi Manana enjoyed protection from the ANC and held his position in parliament despite a criminal conviction for assaulting women. Other cases of ANC protection in these cases include moving people accused of 'sex for jobs' scandals laterally to other government positions, paying out 'golden handshakes' to senior people accused of sexual violence and allowing them to resign before internal proceedings can take place.

The ANC top candidates

The ANC's party list has only three womxn in the top ten, and nine in the top 20. The top 20 is peppered with female candidates who have all been in positions where they could have made a significant contribution in mainstreaming gender and reframing the feminist discourse within government and the party structures. Sadly, their track records show they mostly failed in doing so

and that women's representation on party lists alone does not necessarily translate into a sound feminist agenda for the party. The men on the ANC's top 20 list generally fail to inspire confidence in their commitment to address the structural violence and inequalities women face beyond just gender-based violence. In framing their positions narrowly around GBV and "real men" as protectors of women, they run the risk of falling into the trap of benevolent sexism. The top 20 also includes womxn and men, who have made seriously problematic victim-blaming statements in the past.