

FEMINIST VIEW OF POLITICAL PARTIES

THE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

MAY 2019

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:

1. 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.
2. 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?
3. The specificity and clarity of the promises / plans. Are they detailed and target specific?
4. Are budgets allocated or is an indication given of how the promise will be resourced?
5. Are there commitments to mechanisms for transparency, monitoring and accountability?

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SUMMARY

It is a statistical fact in South Africa that more women than men register to vote, and this trend has continued into 2019, and younger women (20-29) being the majority registered demographic with respect to age. It is also a fact that the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is the fastest growing political party and is experiencing this growth steadily among most if not all demographic groupings. Having celebrated their 5th year anniversary in 2018, the EFF enjoyed a share of 1 million votes among the voter roll in the first election they contested in 2014. Over the past few years, and arguably the past few months, issues related to gender and gender justice have been finding mainstream expression as a result of heightened gender consciousness and the growth of feminist and feminist movements in the country. It is hardly surprising then, that a party as new and vibrant as the EFF would want to keep up with the growing trend in the focus shifting to these issues, particularly closer to the election cycle.

The party, whose following and leadership alike sees and names itself as the 'government in waiting', their lengthy 2019 elections manifesto does much in ticking off most of the critical issues of concern to the cause of social justice. The commitments made therein are however, worryingly steep with not enough of a plan articulating how these will be seen through within South Africa's current and future fiscal reality. The issues which are a core focus in their manifesto; housing, sanitation, policing, education and health will need significant investment by 2024 to achieve. Although the EFF'S 2019 manifesto is arguably one of the more detailed manifestos, their larger than life offering demands more than being short on detail. There is not much of clear sense on how their policy positions and commitments will be both implemented and seen through, as would be the expectation for a party which is preparing to govern. Perhaps the expectation to take a stronger positioning with regards to budgeting consideration is unfair, to a party which is both new and without any real experience and responsibility in governing, beyond representing their constituency in parliament and serving as opposition in council and mayoral executives.

The EFF's manifesto offering and policy proposition focuses on Land and Jobs; these are two critical socio-economic and political issues which have a particular gendered narrative which is often missed or deliberately ignored. The EFF falls prey to this as well. Even where they do extend a sufficient feminist-leaning analysis, this is undermined by their lack of budgeting considerations and cost calculations, which would lend their stance to the side of genuine commitment as opposed to more political rhetoric, as is the expectation with most parties. The EFF also unfortunately still largely view issues concerning womxn as matters of 'empowerment.' This narrative continues to undermine womxn's struggles in so far as patriarchy is not rightly understood and responded to as a system of domination which is pervasive to the lives of people who are not white, heterosexual males or somewhere along that spectrum. In the same way we don't understand issues concerning poor and working class people as a matter of 'empowerment' but rather understand capitalism rightly so as a system of power which prioritizes and protects the interests of middle classed and elite persons at the destruction of the lives of poor people, our response, informed by such an adequate analysis (i.e. class struggle) is better able to respond to the crisis of poverty and inequality in ways that this discourse of 'women empowerment' is unable to for patriarchy.

Overall however, the EFF's position as pro-poor, working class and disenfranchised comes across clear and strong. Where this strength and clarity doesn't translate into a clear and strong analysis,

their sympathy carries through. Whether such sympathy is honest or political grandstanding however is unclear, and will be demonstrated by how they follow through on these, in their advocacy or governing structures they are able to secure post May 8 2019 elections.

STATE OF THE PARTY ASSESSMENT: EFF

Years active	6 (est. 2013)
Present share of the vote	6%
Political orientation	Left/Socialist
Top 6 composition by gender	33% womxn.
NEC break-down by gender	Not publicly available
Top 6 composition by race	100% African/Black
Current MP break-down by gender	11/25 (44%)
Proposed MP (party list) break down by gender	100/200 (50% womxn).

How they propose to govern: Feminist Manifesto?

They are successful in addressing all issues of concern in a social-justice sense. They are less successful in giving a fair and well thought out analysis from a gender perspective and although an attempt is definitely made at gender mainstreaming, they are inconsistent and miss the mark on critical issues which impact their constituency in particular. They do not seem to value gender parity beyond very limited specific targets in the financial sector, and a vague mention of a quota system across the board.

Overview / Gender Sensitivity Breakdown: How do they fare?

- Does their manifesto support and promote national strategic plan on GBV and VAW? No mention
- Gender mainstreaming with respect to all their policy considerations? Partly
- Gender mainstreaming and sensitivity with respect to their key focus areas? No
- Do they consider promote gender responsive budgeting and resource allocation? No
- Intersectional approach in their policy considerations? Yes
- Do they support sexual and reproductive justice including decriminalization and abortion? Yes
- 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? Partly
- Do they support and promote womxn's representation and participation in key decision-making structures? Yes

How they govern: Their Track-Record

The EFF has 25 seats in parliament and is represented with at least 1 seat in each Province. With regards to passing well in the social justice analysis and diagnosis, they have also been consistent in championing the issues of concern to them, in particular Land and economic justice in the structures where they represent their constituency, albeit this has lacked a strong gender mainstream and gender sensitive approach.

MP candidates: Past and Prospective

The EFF fielded nine female candidates among its list of top 20 of which four feature among the top ten. Being a party supported in large by youth, it is only just that their list is reflective of this. Having a strong youth following also means that there is greater opportunity for youth to influence the party, and for the EFF, they enjoy a strong network of young womxn activist and

leaders who are also both strong and popular feminists. These womxn have made it onto the party list this year.

The EFF's current MPs have, again the womxn have fared well in comparison to the men in their individual activism in championing gender justice. This is likely to be more of their own conviction than a sense of holding the party line.

Overall, the EFF have done well in taking advantage of the popularity of the feminist movement among young people by ensuring that they give platform and space for young womxn to influence and lead the party across structures, and their list is no different to this growing trend among and within the party.

FEMINIST INDICATOR: SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS

ON PATRIARCHY AS A SYSTEM OF POWER AND OPPRESSION

Is there gender mainstreaming in their manifesto over and above including specific mention of issues related to gender justice and the plight of womxn?

Yes

The EFF demonstrate, with the language they use in the manifesto, a very strong knowledge of the extent and impact of patriarchy and sexism. Importantly the manifesto centres the focus on Black women. The manifesto articulates that addressing structural violence is a 'mechanism to end all violence, including violence against women'. (p42) It provides a clear and detailed indication of specific measures that the EFF will take to address patriarchy.

Like most parties and even institutions across sectors, the EFF recognizes structural discrimination in so far as naming it. The EFF however, goes a little further in their analysis, recognizes that the burden of structural discrimination and gender disparity lies disproportionately on African, Black women in particular: "Women have suffered most from the neo-liberal reality of the past 20 years. The vicious circle of triple oppression, based on race, class and gender, has not been broken for Black women in particular". The EFF recognises that while patriarchy and sexism are pervasive in our society, it is black women who suffer the most from gender-based violence" (p42). As a socialist party, a fair expectation would be that their analysis would go beyond this and extend itself to how poverty and issues of working people are also gendered in particular ways. There is a distinction between young and old workers but not women workers: "20 years later, young and old black workers are still subjected to slave wages and dangerous working conditions in the mines, farms, factories, retail stores, and other workplaces!" (p1)The analysis once again only goes as far as it being named (ibid). While this may be good enough for other feminist and gender sensitive issues, this is not good enough with respect to their working class narrative – there are particular ways that people who are not men experience patriarchal violence and domination sustained by capitalism, inside and outside the home. It is fair to expect the party in this regard to go confront this and offer solutions.

Overall, there is strong articulation in the sections specific to 'gender' of an understanding of the discrimination of women, as a result of patriarchy. This is undermined by the single priority category of 'women and youth' used elsewhere and throughout most of the manifesto where womxn are concerned. Although this is undermined by their failure to give clearer direction as to how they intend on achieving this, the EFF commits to prioritizing womxn 'when it comes to the benefits of economic emancipation'. A stronger example is their commitment to allocating R2 billion to the NYDA - half of which for allocation to women-controlled programmes. Thus, there is a stronger attempt at gender mainstreaming of issues that are not at face value understood as being of direct concern to gender justice, although this is not thorough and consistent, thus not particularly useful.

Do they recognise the structural gendered discrimination against womxn and non-binary people?

Yes

The EFF successfully locates patriarchy as an impediment to national development and social justice.

In terms of making sense of gender, the EFF takes a mainstream binary positioning in understanding and locating gender. This is unsurprising since this languaging is relatively new in a South African context. Thus, this is likely influenced more-so by their demographic positioning more than it is their disregard for the experiences and humanity of non-binary people.

Through their manifesto, the party promotes gender parity and anti-patriarchal socialization as key elements towards undoing patriarchy and its detrimental social and economic effects on particularly womxn and LGBTQI people. The EFF commit to setting particular setting targets of 50% women's representation in economic, political and leadership spheres. Their party list is reflective of this. The EFF undertakes to 'recruiting public leaders to combat oppression against women; compulsory gender education and training for all (in schools, at work, families, churches and government), and strengthening education on patriarchy, sexism and misogyny that is targeted at men.

They also commit to introduce legislation to 'protect and promote women's liberation' which they will 'monitor closely'.

In their manifesto, they do provide some level of detail with regards to how they intend on monitoring processes advancing gender parity, including mechanisms to curb sexual violence and harassment in the workplace. They also make mention of how they intend to address the critical issue of unpaid labour and care work performed by womxn outside of formal workplaces and the formal economy.

The above more intentional and targeted plan of action, would be stronger if there was some evidence of the EFF undertaking to publicly mobilize towards this cause in the own ranks, considering the way in which they are able to amass and agitate their mass, vibrant following towards issues which they deem to be of central concern.

What is the texture and quality of their analysis and is there consistency? If not, where are the gaps?

Slightly below average

While it is common for South African party manifestos to oversimplify issues and be skim on details, the EFF has opted out of this and provides a far reaching diagnoses of socio-economic issues of concern to ordinary South Africans. At the same time, they are not as generous and far reaching in providing detail as to how they will realize and sustain their policy position. Manifestos happen to be thin in this regard yes, but the level of commitment as reflected in the EFF demands a little more, as alluded elsewhere in this document. This is true for the EFF with regard to gender issues.

The EFF comes only second to Inkatha Freedom Party and the newly formed GOOD party in the number of times 'women' is mentioned in their manifesto. They also fair better than the ANC and DA in their attempts to mainstream women i.e. include them in many of their sections in the 170-page document. This unfortunately does not translate into a well thought out analysis which is cognizant of its context. Gender justice, a key talking point in national discourse beyond party politics, certainly demands an adequate analysis together with a plan of action somewhat, beyond naming it as an issue of core concern. The heightened gender consciousness as a result of increasing levels of violence meted against womxn, young Black womxn in particular, and therefore a key constituency places a burden on all parties, without the exception of the EFF to provide more than more political rhetoric and promises and propositions that do not come with some level of detail as to how they will be achieved.

They do little in going beyond this in terms of the quality of their analysis, at least from a feminist lens. They are quite simply silent on the particularity of marginalized groups' lives and experiences; the role of womxn in and outside the workplace; effecting greater representation and participation in leadership structures and key decision making processes; and gender mainstreaming overall. Interesting to note that they do not promote or advocate for a quota system. While representation alone is not enough, it is a fair start with respect to realizing gender parity. This is also consistent with their policy on land and how expropriation will benefit womxn in particular "50% to women and youth" – this is not a gender sensitive position, in the same ways as the guarantee of half of the 5000 jobs they intend to create when referencing the 4th industrial revolution for example. There is no justifiable reason for why there is a difference (which is significant) between the former and the latter propositions.

The EFF have taken care to understand GBV and VAW as being reinforced and reproduced by poverty and the deplorable conditions in which poor womxn are subjected to and their quality of life.

Are they intersectional in recognising the importance of prioritising womxn and people who experience the highest levels of social, political and economic exclusion? Black womxn; Young womxn; Urban poor womxn; Rural womxn; LGBTQ+; Womxn with disability; African immigrant womxn

Yes.

The EFF provides comparatively more specific details in this respect how they do not limit addressing womxn mainly in sections on violence, in their manifestos.

The EFF recognizes how patriarchy, and there are elements of a consciousness around how it is also classed to harm Black and non-classed womxn in particular. This is a true and a just analysis correct. Water, electricity, health and housing for example are addressed with a gendered approach, albeit not as far reaching as they should be. Again, whether these carry weight in terms of containing practical and implementable solutions to improving the lives of women is not sufficiently demonstrated and thus the electorate is forced to wait and see whether political as well in to some extent capacity exists in terms of implementation when and where the party gets to

govern, if at all. It must be noted that these (service delivery) are critical issues which the EFF advocates for and lobbies around in their activism in the parliamentary commissions they serve in.

On p42, Black womxn are also named specifically as being disproportionately affected by patriarchy. The section continues elsewhere by seeing the EFF commit itself to introducing courts for minor and petty crimes; introducing provisions aimed at the protection of women, children, people with disabilities and the LGBTIQ community.

The commitments the EFF make with regard to LGBTQI (p45) rights include: public awareness, communications and training to 'positively change the social norm' that wrongly views LGBTQI as aberrations; addressing legislation to expedite ID applications by transgender people; investment in public health system to 'ensure easy access to gender-affirming treatment'; amending the law to enable gender-neutral toilets in schools, public facilities and workplaces; amending the law to introduce penalties for discrimination against LGBTQIA+ people in adoptions; enforcing equality act provisions to address unfair discrimination against women and LGBTQI people. Importantly the manifesto commits to amending the law to ensure harsher minimum sentences for 'corrective rape and other crimes motivated by hatred. It is interesting that to date, the EFF have not led on calling for these amendments to laws in parliament. The section on Health commits to non-discriminatory services to sexual and gender minorities (p68).

With regards to their section on youth (p47), there is no gender mainstreaming which is disappointing. The focus is only on maximising opportunities for youth in terms of access to the economy, development and empowerment. There is no focus on young womxn or LGBTQIA+ youth and the particular challenges faced by this demographic, even just in terms of the issues they refer to above.

The manifesto is specific about its intentions to address discrimination against people with disabilities (p81). This section while short, addresses the key material conditions of concern to people living with disability from access of public space, transport mobility and employment. They also commit the Presidency under their leadership to have direct responsibility for protecting and promoting this sector and see it as 'the most vulnerable'. Again however, they miss the mark in terms of gender mainstreaming and sensitivity which is particularly important for this demographic. Issues of vulnerability to harassment and sexual violence both in the home and within the healthcare and education systems is not accounted for. Neither is an inclusion of non-physical disability.

The manifesto mention's mentions working with CONTRALESA to abolish all cultural practices which promote and tolerate GBV and gender discrimination among rural womxn. Elsewhere in the manifesto as alluded earlier, they mention structural violence of poverty that contributes to GBV among urban poor womxn. This is how far they go in addressing these two demographics in particular and is a fairly decent start.

There is no mention of African immigrant womxn which is arguably an unjustifiable miss for an organization which claims itself as Pan-Africanism and has been invested in rigorous debates, albeit sometimes contradictory on immigration and related issues.

The EFF commits to declaring racism as a punishable offense (p122). Elsewhere they have affirmed their position on racialized patriarchy.

ON WOMEN, THE ECONOMY AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Is there adequate analysis of or recognition and response to higher unemployment of women?

No.

The EFF manifesto recognises the high rate of unemployment and joblessness. It includes a range of ideas on how to create jobs (p31). The measures to increase jobs do not take a strong gendered approach. The EFF introduces a demographic which they rely on heavily throughout their manifesto, which skews their analysis; 'women and youth' is a phrase used to account for much of their targets as they relate to issues related to economy and finance. This undermines their commitment to gender mainstreaming, gender representation in key decision-making structures and gender responsive budgeting and policy making.

Do they respond to the wage gap and is their response adequate, fair and practical?

No.

The extent of their gender sensitivity is further exposed in their response to the wage gap. The EFF manifesto commits to ensuring a minimum wage of R4500 for all full time workers (p35), which is a R1000 increase from that proposed by the ANC led government. It then goes further to detail specific minimum wages for different sectors of working-class labour which range from R5000 to R12 500. Sectors dominated by men are rated higher than those dominated by womxn: mineworkers (R12 500), Farmworkers (R5000); manufacturing (R6500), retail (R5000), builders (R7000); Petrol attendants (R6500); cleaners (R4500); domestic workers (R5000); Private security guards (R7500) and waiting staff (R4500). Mining, building, petrol attendants and private security guards are all allocated higher minimum amounts, whereas sectors dominated by women workers such as cleaners and domestic workers are allocated much lower minimums. In light of the strong recognition throughout the manifesto on women this is extremely problematic. Especially since they have not taken care to explain and justify this shift which is not at all inconsequential.

Are sectors where womxn dominate prioritised: Domestic Work, sex work, community health workers, care work and support services CSO, ECD service provision and women in the informal economy?

Yes; they are recognized but not necessarily prioritized.

The manifesto makes specific mention of ensuring protections to street hawkers and informal traders, in particular in relation to police harassment. The EFF undertakes to establish an inspectorate in the Department of Labour to monitor to ensure compliance with gender parity and equality - this includes implementing measures such as naming and shaming, and heavy penalties where this not adhered to. The EFF commits to 'initiating' research to recognise household work by women as formal labour and establish its contribution to economy, GDP and tax. In other sections in the manifesto, one can further read into the EFF, a considered these sectors in terms of

mainstreaming unpaid work in the formal economy through mechanisms of mainstreaming them into the formal economy and/or absorbing them into the existing work-force. Sex-workers are mentioned only in the context of decriminalization. The plans for this are surprisingly not as ambitious as other commitments made in the manifesto and understated. This is yet another missed opportunity for a party with a strong poor-working class agenda and narrative in public life and its political discourse.

Do they offer solutions to promote and advance womxn's ownership, representation and leadership?

Yes, in part.

The EFF is undoubtedly guilty of political speak and deliberate misnaming here. There seems to be a commitment to setting targets of 50% women's representation in economic, political and leadership spheres (undermined by their own party list and party leadership). There is also an emphasis on commitments to ensure that state procurements and services target companies owned by South Africans and it goes further to set targets of 50% of those companies being owned by this suspicious demographic made up of 'women and youth'. (p36) as well as access to development finance by the same. The EFF also commits to amending the legislation that governs the stock markets to introduce a minimum number of 'women, youth and workers' (p117).

The EFF also gives some level of detail to their plans in promoting greater gender parity in the banking and finance sector in particular. Here, this is with the caveat of 'women, youth and the disabled' (p95).

They also commit to a target for 50% for senior government posts to be occupied by women, with equal pay by 2022.

The EFF come strongly in endorsing traditional leadership and do so without mention of increasing womxn's (and relevant here, LGBTQIA+) representation in these structures as well as land ownership and control. This is an unacceptable oversight, particularly as they emphasize 'ensuring non-discriminatory cultural practices).

Financial Sector

Ambitious but unclear commitment to gender parity with regard to target setting

As per their starting point and policy position, The EFF commit to nationalise the South African Reserve Bank and discontinue its private ownership, and transfer ownership of African Bank to a restructured state-owned bank. Establish national and provincial state-owned banks in specific sectors (e.g. retail, agricultural, housing, and social assistance)

They go into specific detail in ways not done elsewhere for this sector. These include lower capital adequacy requirements for new banks owned by Africans, in particular, black and women owners (pg. 95); passing legislation to make it a requirement for companies that hold insurance licenses to include a minimum of 30% black ownership, 30% women ownership, and 50% women and youth control in management boards; requiring banks and asset management companies to change ownership to mainly black people, with adequate ownership and management being women,

youth, and disabled; and a minimum of 50% from development finance institutions will benefit women and youth-owned and controlled businesses

There is mention on women ownership, management and leadership in financial sector (p94/5), including targets but no plan of action for this or even timelines. This ambitious plan exposes a level of political grandstanding and target setting for targets sake. Again, bundling 'youth and womxn' as a stand-alone demographically is contextually flawed and limited in terms of meaningful impact.

ON WOMXN'S OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF LAND AND HOUSING

Do they recognise the problem of the current low ownership and have responses?

No adequate gendered response.

Land

The EFF's leading issue, along with jobs, is land. The manifesto expresses a strong position on the expropriation of land, including amending section 25 of the Constitution to allow for expropriation without compensation for redistribution with 'immediate effect'. They also commit to all land being under the 'progressive' custodianship of the state to enable equal distribution to all. (p28) The EFF commits to demographically representative redistribution and spells out that this means the majority of land will be controlled by African, Black people. It includes the promise to address apartheid spatial planning through expropriation without compensation of land close to cities.

The manifesto commits to 50% of land being controlled by 'women and youth'. Again, assuming that womxn here is primarily African and Black, which would be just and consistent with this policy, this is unclear for youth – who are made up of citizens of all races and men as well. While there may well be value in addressing these as one group, it should be carefully calculated and considered when doing so. There is no reason at all, why on the issue of land control, a targeted approach should be directed to womxn alone. This lends them vulnerable to lip-servicing and grandstanding.

All land will be managed by a People's Land Council, which it will set up. They will however, will still allow traditional leaders the right to allocate and redistribute land. This is inconsistent and will arguably continue to ensure womxn and LGBTQIA+ remain vulnerable to traditional dictatorship which largely conflate patriarchy as inherent to African tradition.

Housing

The manifesto commits to ensuring that access to a home is introduced as an inalienable right in the Constitution (pg. 76). It commits to providing quality, spacious house to all people within sustainable settlements with basic services (water, electricity, sanitation, schools, shopping complexes, sports and recreation grounds, and parks) pg. 75. It promises that government built houses will be accessible to people with disabilities. They go further to make provisions ranging from undoing apartheid spatial planning; regulating rent and; making evictions illegal. This is consistent with their analysis of socio-economic issues and their impact on the physical and

economic safety of womxn and will naturally have positive impact on housing insecurity for womxn and children.

There is no recognition of the need to safeguard women's ownership and control of their homes. Another missed opportunity for a pro-poor, working class political party.

ON WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

Social Development

The EFFs approach to social development and assistance (p99) will be 'underpinned by two pillars: firstly, to primarily safeguard the economic social wellbeing of children, the elderly, pensioners and people with disabilities' (p99). They commit to doubling social grants, and since womxn, ageing and elder womxn in particular, are often disproportionately the primary care-givers in their households, this will have go far alleviating the burden of poverty on womxn. They further indicate that the EFFs ultimate goal is to reduce the number of South Africans solely dependent on social grants to a minimum.

They make other provisions which will primarily benefit womxn exempting recipients of grants from other fees and to provide recipients with free water and electricity; efficient adoption processes (which understood in an African context to currently be a grave impediment to African family structures and their access to basic services) and providing pay points for recipients to get to various pay points. The EFF does not indicate any specific analysis of the above including the impact of social grants on women's lives, this is a generous and considered proposal which will meaningfully impact the lives of womxn and elderly recipients in particular. The EFF commit to making it illegal to make loans to recipients, as well as dispossessing property after 5 years or more of payments.

The analysis, whether intentional or not is good. However, it is once more undermined by lack of detail and budgeting consideration. At this point of the manifesto, one struggles to make the distinction between a justifiable hopefulness towards a new paradigm or sheer recklessness and prying on the fears and insecurity of an increasingly desperate electorate.

Access to services

Do they recognise the deeply gendered effect of ineffective service delivery on womxn and have plans to address this? Water, Electricity, Sanitation

Can be read so in principle, but no explicit gender mainstreaming on their own account.

Water

The manifesto commits to discontinuing private ownership of bulk water infrastructure – build, expand, and repair water treatment centres, employ artisans to repair leaks, it specifies for each province, which towns and townships (urban and rural) will be prioritised. It promises to provide in-house hot running water to all South Africans by 2024.

These measures are positive, and provide specific targets including priority areas and processes that would allow monitoring of this promise which demonstrates more thorough thinking and

planning to accompany their ambitions plans in this regard, in ways seen little where else in their manifesto

Sanitation

The EFF undertake to eradicate bucket toilets, to ensure that all are provided with in-house sanitation with flushing toilets that are connected to the sewage systems, and flushing toilets all by 2024 (pg. 79). It also commits to each school having a flushing toilet by 2021.

These commitments would significantly improve women and girls lives, however it seems to be easy to promise - not convincing that this is achievable.

Energy

The EFF's promises to free electricity and improving the efficiency of Eskom, stabilising energy supply using coal nuclear and renewable resources are typical to previous and existing promises by the ruling party. They do so with little detail around how they plan to execute their ideas (p118)

EDUCATION

Early Childhood Development

The EFF binds the party to provide universal ECD programmes that will be compulsory for all children three years and older for free. To develop common ECD curriculum, to employ all ECD practitioners on a full time basis, with full pay and pension contribution, and to train an additional 40 000 ECD practitioners by 2021; 50% must be women and youth. These commitments are very positive with the potential to impact positively on women – as care givers and as ECD teachers. The timeframes are highly unlikely to be achievable. Interestingly although the target for proportion of women and youth to be trained is set, it is weak.

Basic Education

Here, the grandiosity of the EFF's commitments is in full view. They hit the mark on everything and paint the perfect picture for the educationalist's utopia. There is also very little gender mainstreaming and no gender sensitive approach in this regard. Their promises are far reaching with no direction whatsoever in terms of policy implementation and monitoring, which must be expected for the level of detail in which they sketch their commitments. Some of the highlights for our current purposes, include committing to introducing free decolonized education for all and prioritizing indigenous ways of teaching, vernacular languages; a 'one education system, one country'; and addressing school infrastructure by ensuring that all schools have electricity, clean water, safe flushing toilets and libraries; improving teacher pupil ratios; appointing two social workers, one nurse, one orthodontist per school and to provide one arts and culture teacher per grade. It will also introduce driving schools for all learners and subsidise the costs of tests. They provide detail regarding which wards in each province will be prioritised for the building of new schools. The EFF undertake to provide two nutritious meals to learners in all schools by 2020 and to ensure that learning and teaching materials are delivered before the start of the new school year in the preceding year and, providing transport to all learners living more than 2km from the school.

They also commit to providing transport, mobility, technological and human aids for all learners with disabilities. The party will also introduce basic sign language to all learners.

In addition the Manifesto commits to appointing The EFF commits to take a number of measures to improve teaching, including the personal and professional needs of teachers that range from debt management and emotional wellness. They plan to build high-technology teacher training colleges.

The manifesto undertakes to build new 'special schools' by 2021 – no indication of the targets or spread of these schools is provided. Again, of concern is the lack of specificity and the unlikelihood that targets can be achieved, Further the EFF does not indicate a commitment to Inclusive education.

Do they recognise the reasons why girls are out of school – family childcare and household responsibilities; menstruation; sexual violence in schools; pregnancy and motherhood; no/unsafe transport to school.

No.

Plans for sanitary products

They commit to provide sanitary products and distribute them for free in all clinics and hospital across the country by 2020 p100. They also promise to provide sanitary towels to all learners in public schools immediately.

Plans for addressing sexual violence – by teachers and other learners

Not explicit but can be read in as one of the ways this will be addressed by their intervention of public education programs across sectors and institutions.

Improve policy adherence on pregnancy and motherhood in schools

They note that teenage pregnancy is high, but no analysis or mention of rape culture as one of the core consequences of patriarchy which contribute to this. They do not offer any plan to deal with the issue of teenage pregnancy.

Safe and accessible transport, including recognising sexual violence against girls on public and DBE transport

No mention of this.

Womxn's Access to Higher Education

Similar critique as articulated above. From p60, the EFF commit to introducing insourcing for all staff and free decolonised education for all, including making pursuit of post-secondary school education compulsory. It states that it will achieve this through 'state assistance and massive expansion'. The first degree will be provided free and scholarships will be provided for postgraduate studies. It will also increase intake at institutions by 20% annually. Learning materials at institutions must provide learning materials in the three most spoken languages in that area and 50% of all courses must be taught in a South African language that is not English or Afrikaans. They will provide free accommodation, two warm meals a day, free travel on public transport, place a

price cap on food sold on campuses, provide free learning materials, free data, and free laptops and free sanitary towels. All nursing and teacher training colleges that were closed will be reopened and an additional five new teacher training colleges will be opened by 2023. The EFF undertakes to incentivise doctoral study for people with disabilities through providing scholarships and it will make institutions 'friendly' to people with disabilities.

They commit to making it mandatory for each campus to have security, and a sexual crimes unit which is staffed by at least 70% women. Women's reproductive health justice and services are not specifically addressed, however the sexual crimes units offer promise.

HEALTH AND SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE RIGHTS

Have they taken any action to improve implementation of law and access?

Partly

The EFF commits to attaining Universal Health Coverage and to the adoption of a national health care system focussed on primary health care, quality clinics and disease profiling through public health care facilities. The EFF will build and upgrade hospitals to ensure every district has a regional or tertiary hospital – the manifesto provides specifics of where it will build these in each province, it commits to building one clinic per ward and it will build specialised hospitals focussed on specific disease categories. It commits to building consulting rooms for traditional and indigenous health care practitioners. They will ensure immunisation and vaccination programme covering 100% of South Africans by 2024.

The EFF commit to initiatives to increase the number of health care practitioners and provides specifics on their plans for training including post-sexual trauma centres good. Community health Workers will, under the EFF, be fully integrated as state employees. They also commit to working with the SABC to produce health education content for TV and radio

The EFF bind themselves to building 24-hour integrated post-sexual trauma centres in all district hospitals for urgent medical, forensic, psychological and social assistance, directly linked to policing and detective directorates, by 2021 (p 68). It commits to non-discriminatory services to sexual and gender minorities (p68).

They faint a fairly positive generic picture of how healthcare would be managed under the leadership. Their manifesto missed the opportunity to mainstream this issue by laying out a position on reproductive health and justice in particular, including family planning and paternity leave for fathers for example.

How did they respond to recent ACDP call for reform on termination of pregnancy?

EFF MPs voted against the proposed bill by the ACDP. Their MPs are generally known to take a firm stance in supporting reproductive and sexual health policy. They do not have a strong advocacy track-record around this but there are individual EFF womxn leaders who do champion this publicly.

WOMXN WHO EXPERIENCE MULTIPLE LAYERS OF EXCLUSION, VIOLATION OR DISCRIMINATION

Do they have a strong position on sex work and decriminalization?

In their manifesto, EFF take a position of legalization of sex work and not decriminalization. Whether this is deliberate or a matter of languaging is unclear in their manifesto.

Do they recognise and respond to the specific context of rural women in relation to the above issues?

Not much distinction is made between access issues in relation to rural womxn and the urban poor. In context however, this does not indicate a deliberate or even reckless omission. In the Health section, the EFF indicates that they will establish polyclinics in rural wards with more than one village per ward (p69).

Do they take a position and what is it on rural women's economic participation, their subjectivity in relation to traditional leadership? Have they taken on the TKLB?

Partly recognized. No clear position on TKLB.

The EFF promises to give full recognition to the central role of Traditional Leaders. It indicates that western democracy must be aligned with and adapted to African systems. It commits to working with traditional leaders and CONTRALESA on discouraging rural to urban migration; capacitating rural co-operatives; redistribution of land; community participation in mining and economic activity; defining roles and building cooperation between traditional leaders and democratically elected councillors. Their manifesto also specifies mainstreaming indigenous/customary law into the justice system as well as curbing the deaths of young boys at initiation schools. The manifesto commits to conducting a full legislative review, amending and repealing legislation - in particular the Traditional Leadership and Governance Frameworks Act.

The role of traditional leadership is not clearly defined, and there is no indication a one liner on the role of socialized cultural patriarchal indoctrination and engineering and its impact on the lives of womxn. Recognizes the sovereignty of traditional leadership, albeit within a particular framework alone without a strong stance against the above leaves womxn vulnerable to the abuse of the institution of traditional leadership.

Do they explicitly address the lives of women with disabilities – are there policy and programmatic responses?

Yes.

The manifesto is specific about its intentions to address discrimination against people with disabilities (p81). This includes ensuring two sign language speakers in every public institution; ensuring that there is accessible transport and all government facilities are accessible; providing

scholarship for people with disabilities for doctoral study (p65); and introducing modules on disability in school and inclusivity trainings in public education (p59). The EFF promises to add monitoring mechanism through requiring the president to report on progress on the protections to people with disabilities annually.

They commit to imposing measurable goals & targets for the recruitment, employment and retention of people with disabilities to promote their economic independence & reduce their dependence on charity & welfare

The EFF's specifics are encouraging, however they miss some important opportunities - most notably to drive and ensure the implementation of Education White Paper 6 which provides for Inclusive Education but which has been exceedingly sluggish in implementation.

The section on Health commits to focusing attention on capacity to treat and respond to autism (p69.)

Overall they have managed to provide a clear, intersectional and strong stance of ableism and the pervasive nature of this system of oppression in the lives of disabled people. This is impressive particularly in relation to the offering of other parties in this regard.

ON VIOLENCE AND POLICING

General

The manifesto also includes specific measures to deal with stock theft, gun control, gangsterism and drugs (this last point is limited to the Cape Flats and considering South Africa's context, past and present, this is strange and narrow-minded).

The measures relating to gun control do not make any specific mention of the use of guns in the context of intimate partner violence. The EFF again exposes their limitation in their manifesto, which attempts to incorporate broad-church politics, like the ANC, in order to capture a larger share of the South African audience. This is not unusual for a mass-based party like the EFF, however, they have attempted to incorporate into this broad-churchism an appropriation of feminist and gender sensitive politics. It is easy to then see this appropriation for what it is since their manifesto misses the mark on key issues, and this is one of them which are unjustifiable.

The EFF does rightly recognise that crime is linked to a socio-economic context and that developing communities economically will 'fundamentally uproot' crime. It commits to numerous actions to address the unequal, apartheid based police resourcing. Their proposal on this includes expanding, re-equipping, and improving all police stations ensuring proper training and equipment; establishing satellite police stations in every ward of the country where there is currently and ensuring that for each police station, the number of police officials allocated will relate to the number of people that the police station serves. They also undertake to employ 100 000 new police officers by 2023, absorb police reservists and security guards into government, and repair and buy new police vehicles. At a community level, the EFF promises to reward citizens who provide evidence on alleged crime. This makes specific mention of including evidence on domestic

violence. They also commit to setting up minimum reporting standards on the SABC for crime prevention and community policing in order to equip citizens with information (p52).

Gender Based Violence

Beyond lip-servicing, is their analysis on GBV far reaching? Do they have a concrete plan on addressing this?

No.

The manifesto commits to introducing provisions through constitutional amendments that are aimed at protecting 'vulnerable groups', in particular women, children, people with disabilities and the LGBTQI community. Whether this is further politic speak is unclear as they do unpack what this "additional measures" would be.

The manifesto includes specific measures targeted at improving policing and support to survivors of sexual violence and abuse. While a narrow intervention in the broader scheme of things, they commit to introducing whistle-blowing mechanisms for reporting all sexual harassment. This is a somewhat narrow intervention. They include in this specialised officials at each police station and retraining of all police officers from the way they process and investigate sexual crimes, and they appear to take into account the short and long term impact on the mental and physical health of survivors. They have also committed to ensuring that by the end of 2019, all police have DNA kits.

These measures are good, they would be improved by further commitments to increase accountability of police officials at all levels with regard to the quality of their service and investigation, incorporating systematic feedback from complainants and realistic case measures of success. A commitment to removing the current disincentive to reduce the rate of sexual offences will also address some of the motivation for cases being refused or withdrawn. It is worth noting that they have not taken the approach of creating units at each police station- the specialised unit model has shown greater promise than allocating a single officer to these cases.

Overall, the EFF are not offering anything new or ground-breaking in this regard. For such an issue, one would expect some level of unpacking as to how their interventions will be managed differently or better which would be informed by their analysis on the issue. This is not the case for the EFF.

Do they put plans forward on how they will address policing and access to justice? Do they have plans for increasing psychosocial support services?

Yes.

Increased policing

They make measurable and specific commitments to policing, visibility and reporting on crime. This is definitely a positive.

Psychosocial support

The EFF commit to building multi-sectoral facilities, shelters and social service centres to work with survivors of domestic and sexual violence (p100). These provisions would be important and on the face of it the promise is positive, however the section seems rhetorical, since it lacks the specifics of

budgeting and targets. For this issue in particular, the expectation is fair to expect a little more. The manifesto also commits to providing treatment, care and rehabilitation for people 'suffering from drug abuse and violence'.

Do they have a strong position on xenophobia and the rights of non-South African nationals, particularly womxn and children?

No.

The EFF recognize the increase in xenophobic violence and it being a consequence of anti-Black racism (p24). They do not engage further beyond this point enough to determine their position on this, particular in relation to the robust social and economic debate around this. They only offer more confusion in their proposal of documenting 'immigrants' at Home Affairs *p125). Is this for the purpose of increase policing/monitoring or to facilitate ease of social and economic life for foreign nationals and refugees? This is uncertain.

On the Justice System and Correctional Services

Do they have a strong analysis on the correlation between policing and the justice system in relation to 'economic crimes' and sexual and domestic crimes?

Yes.

Economic crimes

The EFF (p121) commits to a range of strong legal system reforms. These include providing ordinary people with access to quality legal representatives; ensuring equality before the law; reform through introducing law for the transformation of the legal profession through 'imposing strictly monitored and enforced targets for briefing' historically disadvantaged, women, and Black practitioners. It also promises to introduce economic justice courts.

It also undertakes a significant shift in the focus of correctional services - to ensure that they are corrective, not punitive. This includes ensuring substantive rehabilitation programmes, counselling, skills development and academic training for reintegration. It commits to strong measures to deal differently with the petty offences and less serious crime - including scrapping criminal records for these and abolishing bail system for minor infractions. Other measures committed to are scrapping privatisation in correctional services, increasing human resources at correctional facilities - with specifics given per province, and increase accommodation at correctional facilities to address overcrowding.

Sexual and domestic violence

The manifesto includes specific commitments that relate to sexual violence, these include, incorporate a functional and effective juvenile and sexual offences arm into the legal system and doubling the number of sexual offenses courts by 2024, they also commit to requiring training in law faculties on how to protect the short and long term mental and physical health of 'victims'. The manifesto goes further to promise to develop an online database of all sexual predators, along with their relatives, which any member of the public would be able to access at any time, by 2020.

There is no specific mention, as in other sections of the manifesto, of where the additional sexual offences courts will be introduced, nor is there any indication of the nature of the services that will be offered at these or how much budget will be allocated for this purpose. On that basis this promise reads as only aspirational. The measures they will introduce for the register are problematic and potentially dangerous in general and in particular with regard to the addition of relative's names to this public register. Particularly because this is not justified.

Other than their distinction and promotion thereof of recognizing economic crimes in context, the EFF do not demonstrate a necessarily different approach taken to correctional services and rehabilitation in general.