

# FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF ANC, EFF and DA MANIFESTOS – IN BRIEF

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**#feministvote #womxnsvote #partiesfailwomxn**

How do top three parties deal with womxn? Not just on GBV and representation - On all areas of life? GBV is an issue of the day – what about land and housing and jobs?

We were 'intersectional' so we asked about womxn who face other layers of exclusion

- young womxn
- poor and working class womxn
- Black womxn
- Womxn with disabilities
- LGBTIQ
- Urban poor and rural womxn
- Groups like sex workers, domestic workers and farm womxn

The ANC leads with jobs and ending poverty; the EFF with land and Jobs; the DA - the economy and anti-ANC messaging.

## 1. GBV

GBV is a flavour for all three parties this election they all say something – this is good.

BUT they don't say enough or with what money.

GBV still extremely high and conviction rates extremely low. Lots of law, strategy and programmes over the past 25 years – will they do the things that have worked? We need accountability and determined leadership to address GBV.

ANC promise more of the same for GBV – and a National Plan of Action – but commitment to the 2018 GBV summit is already going the same way as ANC commitments like this over past 12 years. No budget, and missed deadlines.

EFF some strong promises but they miss the accountability point and no clear strategy for resourcing GBV. They give less detail in this section compared to other sections of the manifesto.

DA some good promises but just big words and ideas – no strategy.

**On policing GBV** – none of them tackle police accountability – they talk about more police and training police – we need accountable police on GBV, there must be consequence management.

No parties talk about specialised policing units.

**Support and health for GBV** – They all will increase Thuthuzela centres. Good.

**On Courts** – The EFF and DA talk about SOCs. Not ANC manifesto – but its in the national plan of action.

The ANC and EFF talk harsher punishment – but you must first fix justice systems before punishment comes into play. The ANC have put stronger laws for sentencing and bail in place two decades ago – these fail because of weak investigation and prosecution – no arrest – no bail; no conviction – no punishment.

## 2. LGBTQI

ANC – Weak on LGBTQI they promise the hate crimes bill that's been on its agenda for years – this is not convincing.

EFF – Strong on LGBTQI generally and include strong legal response to corrective rape.

DA – Good section on LGBTQI but it's mostly about LGBTQI as victims only.

## 3. JOBS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In SA more womxn unemployed and in insecure employment than men.

None of the parties offer anything specific to womxn's employment – at one point the EFF do talk about young men and women – but give no detail on how.

None of the parties address the social factors that keep womxn out of jobs or address this.

None talk to strategies for increasing womxns representation, training, employment in sectors dominated by men.

ANC investments to create jobs are in male dominated sectors (mining, manufacturing etc) they do not say how they will make sure that more (young) womxn are employed in these sectors.

#### **4. WAGE GAP**

No party addresses the gendered wage gap where womxn earn less than men.

The ANC and the EFF reinforce the wage gap through minimum wage positions they take.

ANC – Minimums for domestic work and care work far below national minimum

EFF – Will increase all minimums but in areas women dominate (cleaning/domestic work) much lower than areas where men dominate (mining/petrol attendants/private security).

DA – Propose that employees can 'opt out' of minimum wage. So 'you can have this job if you agree that I pay you less than the minimum'. Wow. Desperate people will take it.

#### **5. WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP**

In SA womxn make up the low paid workforce and men are the bosses. When womxn are on top – its mainly white womxn.

The ANC are going to keep relying on BEE with nothing stronger to change it. It hasn't worked for womxn yet. Incentives and negotiation are not firm enough.

The EFF are going to bring in a law with consequences for business who don't meet the targets. They will monitor this.

The DA is going to overhaul the current BEE – not in a good way.

#### **6. LAND**

ANC – Expropriation without compensation but will define the conditions another day)

EFF – Expropriation without compensation immediately – including urban land.

DA – No expropriation without compensation.

ANC gender-blind on womxn land ownership, don't talk about restitution claims to womxn, title deeds to womxn, expropriation to womxn - don't deal with farm womxn's tenure, only deal with womxn's tenure on communal land.

EFF – ‘women and youth’ to own 50% of land – so what, older men will own 50% of the land? Nothing specific on strategies for each group or young womxn.

DA – gender blind.

## **7. HOMES**

In SA womxn are less likely to own the home they live in than men. When they own it they often don’t control what happens in that home.

All three parties are silent on womxns ownership, title deeds or control of homes they own.

## **8. POLICE RESOURCES**

ANC and EFF talk about spatial planning in urban areas to address apartheid structures, the DA only weakly, but none commit to shifting the apartheid police resourcing that sees police resources centred in middle class areas.

## **9. ECD**

ANC – More ECD through 2 years grade R in schools. They will increase the number of ECD workers. Not good enough.

EFF – Free ECD from age 3 up – Increase number of ECD workers, with protections for decent employment – very good. With what money we don’t know – is this overpromise?

DA – Improve access to grade R – weak

## **10. BASIC EDUCATION (School infrastructure and quality teaching and learning)**

ANC – Offer more of the same for basic education infrastructure and teaching that has failed over the past 10 years.

EFF – Offer basic education utopia – we will have EVERYTHING in all schools in the next few years – is this recklessness? Very difficult to believe, theres no actual plan or resourcing.

DA – An okay but not strong strategy for some aspects of school infrastructure.

## 11. INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

About 100 000 children with barriers to learning are out of school in SA. Many more are in school but not being taught anything.

All are silent on inclusive education – EFF do talk about special schools but none talk about inclusive education for all children with barriers to learning.

## 12. VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

All parties weak, nothing on teachers getting away with staggering rates of corporal punishment, and hardly anything on sexual violence against girls in school.

## 13. SANITARY PRODUCTS

EFF – Will deliver sanitary products to all schools immediately

ANC – More of the same, don't say how they will make sure the sanitary products actually will get to the schools.

DA – Silent.

## 14. HIGHER EDUCATION

ANC – Keep extending free Higher education under current model.

EFF – Will provide four years of compulsory, free higher education all.

DA – Will offer bursaries on a sliding scale.

None say anything about the **sexism and barriers** that keep womxn down the ranks in academia.

EFF – has plan to address **GBV on campuses** – but not the DA or ANC.

## 15. HEALTH

ANC – NHI same as current plan, not convincing they will do anything different or better on access to PHC. ANC have targeted strategy to increase the number of community health workers. Good.

EFF – Utopian approach to universal health coverage – good on it's own but no good strategy or budget ideas. Recklessness or deliverable?

DA – modest approach to increasing access to PHC, (maybe more realistic than EFF and not much different to ANC). No to NHI but they will set up some kind of fund – they prefer to make private sector stronger and more affordable to more people.

## 16. TERMINATION OF PREGNANCY – safe, dignified abortions.

ANC – Silent.

EFF – Strong on increasing access to dignified abortions.

DA – Silent.

## 17. SEX WORK

ANC – Silent

EFF – Legalise it but nothing on greater protections to sex workers.

DA – law reform and some minor e-learning course for police to protect sex workers – no commitment to police accountability or consequence management.

## 18. RURAL WOMXN

ANC – Integrate village and township small business in economy sections – by default this serves womxn but they are not specific.

EFF – work with Contralesa to abolish cultural practices that tolerate GBV and discrimination of Rural womxn.

ANC – About to pass it's new TCB that has taken out protections to womxn.

DA – Don't address the rural womxn's context.

## 19. URBAN POOR WOMXN

EFF and ANC have strategies that would make a difference IF they fund and implement them.

DA – nothing.

## 20. OVERALL

Manifestos and party lists tell us everything and nothing

None of the parties talk about womxn having power and influence.

The DA appears deliberately gender-blind.

The EFF has strongest provisions to tackle patriarchy and it centres on Black womxn, poor people and working class people. But they do not have a plan of how to implement and sustain it or how they will overcome the challenges of the present government since not much of their offering is new.

The ANC are in the middle and seem to have reached the ceiling on their 25 year plans to increase womxn's seniority and leadership.

None of the parties have integrated the question of womxn's lives through their manifestos. They focus mainly on GBV.

The ANC mention women in lists of other groups with no specific strategies for each group in the list.

The EFF talk 'youth and women' not specific for each grouping, and not even about young womxn.

The Feminist View of Political Parties analysis was produced by the Womxn and Democracy Initiative, Dullah Omar Institute, UWC. We aimed to provide a feminist perspective on key political party manifestos. For more information go to: <https://dullahomarinstitute.org.za/women-and-democracy/feminist-view-of-political-parties>

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