



Commission for Gender Equality  
A society free from gender oppression and inequality

# GIVING WITH ONE HAND, TAKING WITH THE OTHER:

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S 2016  
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS



LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS REPORT



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## FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Elections provide opportunities for citizens to express their levels of satisfaction regarding how effectively government has been able to meet their socio-economic and other needs. Such an opportunity is also important for citizens, those able to exercise the right to vote, to pass judgements on those served with authority in positions of power and in charge of processes of government to make decisions that affect the lives of citizen. South Africans are afforded that opportunity every five years to make such judgements and on 3 August 2016, such an opportunity was provided to South Africans for the fifth time to elect their local public representatives to run the various municipal government structures and deliver services directly to communities across the country.

South Africa's Constitution, through the Section 9 (Bill of Rights) guarantees the right to equality on various grounds, including gender. The work of the Commission for Gender Equality, (CGE) as one of the institutions supporting democracy in South Africa, is to ensure that the provision for gender equality is realised in various spheres of life, including political participation and representation. The Commission does this work in compliance with various policy and legislative frameworks that provide for the promotion of gender equality in South Africa. Some of these frameworks are the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, the Local Government Gender Policy Framework, the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, the Commission for Gender Equality Act, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act and the Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (WEGE) Bill. Most of these legislative and policy frameworks draw their substance from the provisions of relevant regional/international instruments (such as the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights) also intended to promote gender equality.

The CGE draws its mandate from these national and global frameworks to monitor and evaluate the public utterances/pronouncements, policies, legislations, programmes and actions of state and private institutions to assess progress in promoting gender equality and advancing the empowerment of women.

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As this report will illustrate, the CGE's monitoring and assessment of the various aspects of the 2016 Municipal Elections was not only informative, but also indicative of the progress being made and the challenges faced by attempts to promote gender mainstreaming and equality within political parties and in the various institutions of municipal governance. The clear message emerging from this study is that while steady progress is being achieved in improving the overall numbers of women's representation and participation in politics and governance at local level, considerable setbacks have also been experienced, especially for women as Ward Councillors. In addition, Women continue to be under-represented as Office Bearers at local government level.

Important obstacles also remain to be overcome. One of these obstacles is the general failure by many political parties to commit themselves to clear internal policies, strategies and programmes of action to promote gender equality and advance women's empowerment. The findings of this assessment also appear to confirm the view, widely held among activists in the gender sector, that gender quotas are an important and effective tool, for advancing the numbers of women's participation and representation within political parties and institutions of government.

The challenges remain enormous though, including availability of accurate and gender disaggregated information from key role players such as political parties and municipalities to enable the work of institutions such as the Commission for Gender Equality to carry out effective assessments of the country's progress towards gender transformation. We however remain indebted and grateful for the help, cooperation and collaboration received from various institutions, including the IEC, which helped us complete this exercise and compile this report.

The CGE appreciates the work of the Research Department and the team of research officers that compiled and wrote this report (Naledi Selebano, Vernet Napo, Arthur Baloyi and Seladi Mutheiwana), and Thabo Rapoo for editing and finalising it for publication. The CGE encourages South Africans from all walks of life but particularly gender activists, policy makers and everyone concerned with progress in the attainment of gender transformation within politics and government to utilise the findings of this assessment to agitate for more relevant policies, programmes and actions towards this goal.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>ANC:</b>	African National Congress
<b>CEDAW:</b>	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>CGE:</b>	Commission for Gender Equality
<b>DA:</b>	Democratic Alliance
<b>ECD:</b>	Early Childhood Development
<b>ECOWAS:</b>	The Economic Community of Western African States
<b>EFF:</b>	Economic Freedom Fighters
<b>EPWP:</b>	Expanded Public Works Programme
<b>FPTP:</b>	First Past the Post
<b>IEC:</b>	Independent Electoral Commission
<b>IFP:</b>	Inkatha Freedom Party
<b>MMC:</b>	Members of the Mayoral Committee
<b>NFP:</b>	National Freedom Party
<b>PEPUDA:</b>	The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act
<b>PR:</b>	Proportional Representation
<b>SADC-PEMMO:</b>	SADC Principals for Election Management, Monitoring and observation
<b>SADC:</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>UDM:</b>	United Democratic Movement
<b>VF+:</b>	Freedom Front Plus
<b>WEGE:</b>	Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Introduction and brief background

The monitoring and assessment of elections from the viewpoint of a gendered lens remains an important exercise for the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), given its commitment to creating a society that is free from gender discrimination and any other forms of oppression. As a Constitutional body, CGE is established in terms of the CGE Act no. 39 of 1996<sup>1</sup> and has the responsibility to hold government accountable for the commitments it has made to promote gender equality in terms of policy, legislation, and international, continental and regional instruments. Section 187(1) of the Constitution mandates the CGE to promote and protect respect for gender equality. For the purpose of the work of the CGE, this applies to all spheres, including women's participation and representation in politics and in government, including national, provincial and local governments.

An observation of South Africa's elections processes and outcomes reveals that the past two decades of democracy have witnessed a steady increase in the numerical representation of women in political and government institutions at local, provincial and national levels. This is, however, not always accompanied by clear, well defined and sustainable gender mainstreaming programmes and strategies intended to promote and advance gender equality and transformation. As will be discussed in this report, only two political parties (i.e. the African National Congress (ANC) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in South Africa have made clear policy pronouncements and commitments towards voluntary 50/50 gender parity, and this tends to be reflected in the party election candidates' lists of the two parties.

This report is the fourth elections report since 2009, when the Commission initiated its programme of monitoring the country's elections. The first report was released in 2009 and was based on the CGE's assessment and observations of the national and provincial government elections, followed by the 2011 local government elections report. The CGE again in 2014 embarked on the monitoring of national and provincial government elections. This report is based on three phases of the 2016 local government elections processes, namely the pre-election phase, the observation of the elections on Election Day and the post-election phase.

<sup>1</sup> Commission for Gender Equality Act no. 139 of 1996

The pre-election phase contains analyses of party manifestos and candidate nomination lists of the six numerically largest political parties represented in the National Assembly to determine the extent to which they made commitments and prioritised gender issues through their policy statements and manifesto documents during the 2016 local government elections. The six selected political parties are the African National Congress (ANC) Democratic Alliance (DA) Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) which only came into existence before the 2014 national and provincial elections, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) United Democratic Movement (UDM) and Vryheids Front+ (VF+). The National Freedom Party (NFP), which is currently the fifth largest political party represented in the National Assembly, could not be included in this list as it was disqualified from competing in the 2016 municipal elections by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for failing to comply with electoral registration rules.<sup>2</sup>

The key focus area in the second phase was to physically observe the IEC's Election Day procedures and processes to determine if women and men faced any systemic constraints or disadvantages in terms of exercising their right to participate in politics, as well to vote during the elections. Part of the exercise included the analysis of the gender compositions of the IEC's Election Day staff, political party agents deployed by their respective parties to monitor the election processes, and other independent election observers. This was an opportunity for the CGE to measure the extent to which women's participation in elections was being promoted by the IEC, the political parties, and national and international organisations that participate in observer missions. The results also serve as a yardstick to determine the extent to which elections could be declared free and fair from a gendered perspective.

The final phase is concerned with the outcomes/results of the elections, focusing on the numbers, positions and responsibilities assigned to elected female and male Councillors in the newly constituted local government structures. As will be indicated in this report, the findings paint a mixed picture of steady progress in terms of a slight overall increase in the total number of female Councillors after the 2016 local government elections, compared to the 2011 local government elections. However, the findings also show that elected male Councillors continue to outnumber females after the 2016 local government elections.

<sup>2</sup>It appears that the party was allowed to contest only one municipality (i.e. Nguthu Municipality) in a municipality in the KwaZulu-Natal province after it managed to meet the necessary registration requirements for that Ward.

## 1.2. Methodology and project approach

The assessment of the pre-election phase entails analysis of party manifestos of the selected political parties with a focus on determining the extent to which the parties prioritised gender-related issues and gender transformation. It also examines, analyses and compares party candidate election lists to determine the proportions and placing of female candidates in relation to male candidates. Once formally launched, the CGE obtained copies of the manifestos of the selected political parties, as well as copies of official candidates' lists of the selected political parties from the IEC.

In terms of the observations of Election Day proceedings, the CGE had acquired the status of an IEC-approved election observer institution, and deployed a total of 41 CGE staff members and Commissioners to various polling stations across all nine provinces of the country to observe election processes on the day, 3 August 2016. Depending on time constraints and other logistical arrangements, each CGE observer was assigned to observe at least three voting stations for a period of two hours each. An election day observation tool was developed by the research team covering the four stages of the proceedings (i.e. opening, Election Day procedures, closing, and vote counting), paying particular attention to issues of concern from a gender perspective.

CGE observers were trained on the use of the Election Observation Tool<sup>3</sup> and also given Election Day orientation using the *IEC Election Observer Handbook* a month before elections day. An attempt was made to ensure that CGE observers covered voting stations from diverse socio-economic and geographical backgrounds (i.e. urban, peri-urban, rural and informal) and demographic (black/African, predominantly white and mixed residential settlements). However, this was not always possible for a variety of logistical factors, time constraints and other variables. This was as in 2014 not always possible and many of the observations were carried out in predominantly urban and formal settlements, including a few rural areas. A total of 127 polling stations were observed in all the provinces, as shown in Table 1.

<sup>3</sup> A questionnaire tool with various subsections to compile observation information on different aspects of the voting process at specific polling stations on voting day

**Table 1: Number of voting stations observed per province**

<b>Province</b>	<b>No. of Voting Stations Observed</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Eastern Cape Province	18	14%
Free State Province	6	5%
Gauteng Province	38	30%
KwaZulu-Natal Province	12	9%
Limpopo Province	17	13%
Mpumalanga Province	11	9%
Northern Cape Province	5	4%
North West Province	9	7%
Western Cape Province	11	9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CGE

Much of the information used for the post-election phase (elections outcomes/results) was obtained directly from the municipalities, particularly from the offices of council speakers and mayors, including the websites of the various municipalities. Additional information was also obtained from the IEC, independent research organisations, as well as the Commission's own data. An annual publication called the *Local Government Handbook* also served as a valuable source of information on the municipalities.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that for the 2011 period, the figures used in this report were more recent, reflecting the status and gender profiles of the municipalities by May 2015 or at least within a period of a year prior to the 2016 municipal elections.

The accuracy and reliability of much of the figures used in this section of the report depended largely on the sources consulted, especially the information contained in the websites of the municipalities, in addition to the officials who provided the information on request from the Commission staff. Information on the gender profiles of the newly elected (i.e. 2016) Councillors was obtained from the IEC, as well as through direct requests to the offices of council speakers and mayors, especially in those cases where such information had not yet been placed on the official websites of the various municipalities. Therefore, in sections of the report where accurate information was unavailable, this will be indicated clearly. Despite some of the limitations in accessing information soon after the 2016

<sup>4</sup> Yes! Media, *Local Government Handbook (Annual publication)*, [www.municipalities.org.za](http://www.municipalities.org.za)

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municipal elections, much of the information necessary to compile the results section of the report was easily available, particularly for the overall figures of men and women Councillors and the subsection on the eight metros. This information was therefore adequate to ensure valuable observations and analysis of the elections results.

Finally, in the calculations of the numbers of the Members of the Mayoral Committees (MMCs) for the eight metros, only the executive mayors, deputy mayors and other ordinary MMCs are included. Contrary to widespread practice, the speakers and chief whips are excluded as they are not part of the executive in terms of the constitutional principle of separation of powers. The gender profiles of municipal speakers and chief whips for the eight metros are determined and computed separately from other municipal office bearers.

### **1.3. Limitations of the study**

As is always the case with an exercise of this nature, the study faced several limitations, some of which had potential for undermining the robustness of some of the findings and calculations.

Firstly, the CGE could not attain the actual party lists of the selected parties from the IEC other than the summarised figures indicating the total numbers of women and men on the lists. Consequently, the researchers could not examine the actual placements of women and men on the list to determine if particularly women are placed in winnable positions.

Secondly, the CGE could not ensure that the Election Day observers could cover voting stations as represented by their diverse socio-economic, geographical and demographical dynamics due to financial constraints and limited number of staff available for the exercise. Our sampling was thus fundamentally skewed towards voting stations that were based in urban and formal areas.

Another limitation worth noting is that gender disaggregated information relating to the office bearers of municipal councils was not always readily available, which often made it difficult to determine the gender of the office bearers. This posed a potential risk for the computation of the gender profiles of the office bearers and other categories of Councillors.

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Finally, the appointments of new office bearers in the post-2016 election period occurred over a protracted period of time, and some municipal councils had not completed the appointments at the time the CGE was finalising this report. The accuracy and reliability of calculations and much of the figures represented in this report therefore depended largely on the sources consulted and available figures at the time the study was completed. It should also be noted that the gender profile figures of Councillors and office bearers are likely to change for various reasons, including deaths, resignations, promotions, re-deployments to other spheres of government, etc.

#### **1.4. Relevant legislative/policy frameworks and instruments on gender representation**

In addition to CGE's constitutional mandate, the programme on observing elections processes and outcomes is also underpinned by several domestic and international commitments, as well as policy frameworks.

In terms of domestic frameworks, South Africa's Constitution frames gender equality under a provision contained in Chapter 2 Section 9 (1), which states that "the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth." The right not only to vote but also to stand for and hold office is a constitutional right afforded to anyone who qualifies, irrespective of one's gender.

At the national level, there are several policy and legislative frameworks that not only underpin the right to gender equality, besides the country's Constitution, but are relevant for the purpose of this study. One of the frameworks is the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2000). The other one is the Local Government Gender Policy Framework (2000). These frameworks, among others, provide the necessary policy and legislative basis for promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming, including the advancement of women, in all spheres of life, including politics and government. These policy frameworks have been developed to guide and support all sectors to adopt measures and plans to ensure that women and men have equal access to social, economic and political opportunities.

The National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality seeks to give effect to the Constitution and undo the injustices of the past. The policy seeks to advance the status of women as well as the achievement of gender equality. One of the key indicators for monitoring and evaluating progress in this regard is the improvement in the numbers of women participating in politics and senior level decision-making structures.

Other pieces of domestic legislation include the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA), which seeks to eliminate unfair discrimination and promote equality, and contains measures that are designed to advance previously disadvantaged individuals such as women.<sup>5</sup>

The application of the Equality Act extends to all persons and the state,<sup>6</sup> where the state includes all spheres of government (including local government). Therefore, the provisions of the Equality Act are directly applicable to local government.<sup>7</sup> Chapter 2 of the Equality Act deals with the prevention, prohibition and elimination of unfair discrimination. Section 8 prohibits unfair discrimination based on gender.

The Local Government Municipal Structures Act<sup>8</sup> provides for the representation of women in local government. It requires political parties to take practical steps to promote the representation of women. The Act states that "Every party must seek to ensure that 50% of the candidates on the party lists are women and that women and men candidates are evenly distributed through the list." Recently, the government has also promulgated the WEGE (Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill), which stipulates, among others, that 50 % of all positions in senior decision-making structures in the government or private sector should be occupied by women. This also applies to political parties.

South Africa has ratified a number of regional, continental and global instruments that seek to promote gender equality and participation of women in public life. For instance, Article 7 of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provides for state parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and to ensure that women are on equal terms with men about, inter alia, the right to vote and

<sup>5</sup> Preamble, Equality Act

<sup>6</sup> S 5 (1) Equality Act

<sup>7</sup> S 40 (1), The Constitution of South Africa, 1996

<sup>8</sup> Guidance on the analysis of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act emanates from Selokela T.G. "A Research Paper in Local Government Decentralization" University of Western Cape Law Faculty, 2012, p.26-28

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the right to participate in processes of governance. The CGE released a CEDAW Report in 2013<sup>9</sup> which gives details in Article 7 on the political and public lives of women in South Africa. The report states that local government is lagging in terms of South Africa's commitment to gender and international instruments.

Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by over 21 countries, provides that every citizen shall have the right and opportunity, without any form of discrimination, to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives, to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections. There are other commitments that South Africa has signed up to, including the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action which consolidates all the agreements to effect action aimed at realising gender equality.

In Africa, Article 2 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights provides for state parties to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures, which include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments the principle of equality between men and women and ensure its effective application. Furthermore, the 2008 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development requires a 50/50 representation of women in political leadership by 2015. Other instruments with critical provisions relating to the need for and importance of, women's participation include the African Union Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol, the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, as well as the SADC Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (SADC-PEMMO).

<sup>9</sup>CEDAW Report 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx>

## CHAPTER 2: PRE-ELECTION PERIOD

### 2.1. Gender analysis of party manifestos

As in the previous 2009, 2011 and 2014 elections, the focus of this exercise included a gendered analysis of party manifestos of the selected political parties represented in the National Assembly. As already indicated, the 5th largest party (i.e. the NFP) was excluded from this exercise due to problems it experienced with the IEC registration process. The parties that are included in this analysis are all led by men. They are the ruling ANC with 249 seats; official opposition DA with 89 seats; EFF with 25 seats; IFP with 10 seats; and UDM and VF+ with 4 seats each in the National Assembly.

Manifestos are released by the political parties as commitments that they would undertake to fulfil the needs of the electorates during the five-year term when they are in power. A manifesto is a public statement of intent by political parties identifying what they regard as key policy and programme priorities and initiatives for them should they be voted into power. The CGE's role in this instance is to determine the extent to which these manifestos are engendered. One of the key roles of political parties in a democracy is to demonstrate commitment to addressing issues of concern for citizens, which include issues of concern for women, such as greater political representation and participation, as well as outlining the policy options and practical strategies and plans on how to achieve and fulfil these policy commitments. For the purpose of this study, the party manifestos were examined and analysed to determine the nature and extent of concrete political and policy commitments made by the selected political parties to promote gender equality and the needs of women after the 2016 municipal elections.

The analysis of the ANC's 2016 local elections manifesto reveals that the party has made a whole range of statements on previous achievements as well as policy commitments for the next five years on various social policy sectors and service delivery related issues. Much of the document (about 50 %) is dedicated to listing the party's achievements and positive strides made since the 2000 local elections. In terms of gender-related matters, the manifesto identified two issues worth mentioning for the purpose of this report. For instance, the manifesto identified the issue of women's access to clean water, stating that "women in many informal settlements in cities and towns do not have to ask their neighbours for water", and that "far fewer rural women have to travel far distances to

reach wells, dams and rivers to fetch water for their households.” This is an important achievement, although it is not articulated within a context of relevant policies or strategies that signal a clear long-term gender mainstreaming strategic programme of action. Neither does the manifesto articulate such a gender mainstreaming strategy for the next five years after the 2016 local government elections.

Another achievement that the manifesto identifies is the creation of job opportunities for the poor and unemployed women through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) projects. However this is also not part of a broader gender mainstreaming approach or a strategy that prioritises the position and goal of providing greater opportunities for women and girls. It is largely a short-to-medium term labour absorption and income transfer strategy that employs people on a temporary and/or on-going basis. Jobs provided under this programme are not sustainable in the long term, and only provide temporary relief from poverty. Nonetheless, the party asserts that the programme had exceeded the target of 55% for inclusion of women by 2019; the target was exceeded by 5% in 2015. Again, the party fails to make clear pronouncements on how it will advance the status of women in this key policy area given that Stats SA<sup>10</sup> has recorded increasing unemployment rates for women since 2010.

In terms of policy commitment to new priorities and programmes for the next five years, the manifesto identifies a few areas of importance in its commitments. One of these is the area of safety and security. Nonetheless, the party commits to working with all sectors to end violence against women and children. It is clear here that the party acknowledges the vulnerability of women as a specific gender and identifies the need to strengthen interventions across all sectors to improve safety and security. The manifesto, however, lacks clear and concrete details in terms of interventions or programmes proposed by the party to fulfil its commitments.

The ANC also commits itself to supporting Early Childhood Development (ECD) facilities as a priority area. However, the treatment of this issue in the manifesto is weak and superficial, and does not acknowledge and seek to address the issue of low pay that characterises the experiences of the predominantly female teachers in this sector. The EFF has similarly identified the area of ECD as a critical area of policy intervention. The

<sup>10</sup> According to Stats SA, the unemployment rate of women saw an increase of 2.4% between quarter 4 of 2015 and quarter 1 of 2016. The report further shows that the unemployment rate of women is at 29.3% in quarter 1 of 2016, as opposed to 24.6% of men.

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weaknesses of both parties in this area are the failure to come up with adequate policy intervention proposals to address the issue of low pay for the majority of teachers who are female. For the EFF, this issue is the only gender-related priority that was contained in the party's manifesto. The EFF's manifesto is silent on gender transformation and the advancement of gender equality.

The DA as the official opposition also publicised its manifesto to great fanfare and made a wide range of pronouncements and policy commitments like all the other political parties. The manifesto outlined a promise to improve the lives of the citizenry in various thematic areas, including governance, service delivery and job creation. In an attempt to address these areas, the DA appears to take a gender-neutral stance by placing emphasis on the assumption that all citizens are equal. The party was therefore largely silent on issues pertinent to gender mainstreaming. However, the party does place emphasis on disadvantaged communities, without identifying key disadvantaged social groups.

In its 2011 local government elections manifesto, the UDM had committed the party to ensuring "proper representation of stakeholders in ward committees including representatives from the community, Councillors, and key state departments, traditional healers and youth, women and people with disabilities."<sup>11</sup> In the 2016 manifesto, the party emphasises participation of women, the youth and people with disabilities in sustainable development councils, which the party says will be made up of various stakeholders. The party also insists that it would replace the current ward-based electoral system as it has failed. This is a significant policy statement with potentially serious implications for women's participation in politics and government, although the party does not link the two. As the findings in this report will indicate, women tend to do badly as ward candidates, compared to their male counterparts, but the UDM policy commitment to changing this system does not indicate how women would benefit.

While the UDM's manifesto does appear to identify women as one of the key targeted beneficiaries for its proposed policy programmes, it does not outline clear and concrete targeted interventions in this regard. Its commitments to women's representation are vague and nonspecific. It does not appear to propose a specific intervention measure, such as commitment to a 50/50 quota system, or even a 'zebra stripe' strategy as currently

<sup>11</sup> CGE "Gender and the Elections: Local Government Elections Report 2011, P.13

practised by the ANC and EFF.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the UDM's policy commitment that "women, children and people with disabilities will have a direct say in any development project through the Councillors" is commendable but lacks concrete details and specifics. While the party also identified environmental projects as an area of intervention, it didn't link this to the potential benefits for women. In terms of job creation, the UDM stresses that its councils will promote job creation and eradicate poverty by forming partnerships with local communities and businesses to stimulate the economy. The UDM also intends singling out the youth, women and people with disabilities as the main beneficiaries of this programme.

The VF+ manifesto is silent about gender mainstreaming. The focus area of the party manifesto is still embedded in their vision statement and values which are articulated in the founding statement of the party. The VF+ perceives affirmative action, which happens to be one of the current strategies to advance the interest of disadvantaged groups including women, as the root cause of the appointment of incompetent and corrupt municipality officials, hence the party's commitment to eradicating affirmative action. While the party's manifesto identifies eight key areas of priority and focus, none of these commitments make any reference to issues of women's empowerment and gender transformation.

In conclusion, it could be argued that there was generally limited reference to fundamental gender equality and transformation from across all the political party manifestos reviewed in this study. In some cases, this amounted to a certain level of regression compared to the 2011 local government elections where a variety of issues of significance to gender equality and transformation were raised and prioritised through party manifestos. We would also argue that the ANC and the UDM were the only parties that displayed some awareness of issues of significance for purposes of gender mainstreaming. Both parties raised issues of significance for the interests of women, and identified women as beneficiaries of their relevant proposed policy interventions. For the other parties, such as the DA, EFF, IFP and VF+, issues of gender policy importance were simply not raised among a plethora of issues identified in their manifestos.

However, for all the parties there was a general lack of coherent gender mainstreaming approaches, or transformation policies and programmes of action. The manifestos in

<sup>12</sup> While the EFF does not have a written commitment to a 50/50 quota, in practice the party appears to follow this policy approach in compiling its candidates' lists

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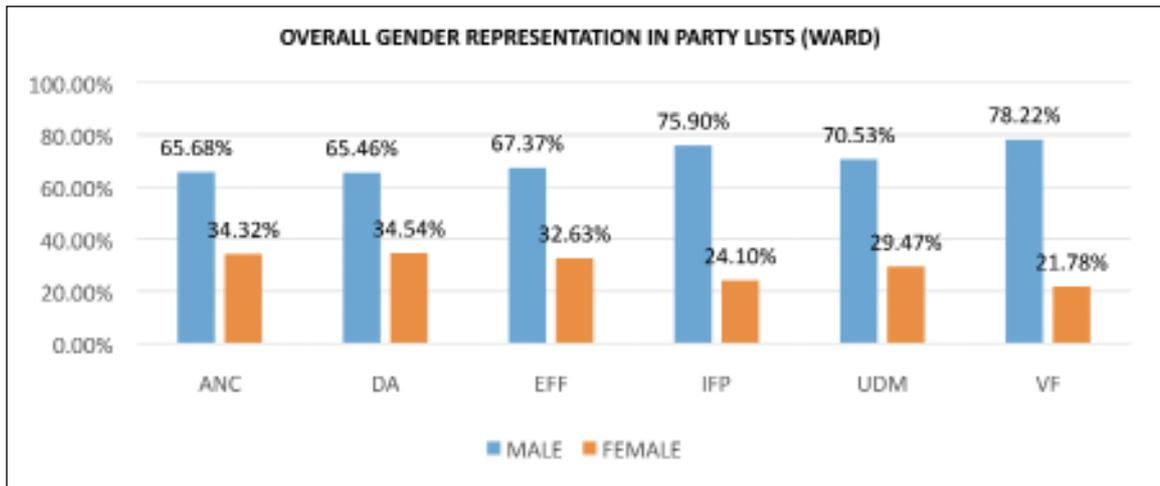
general were articulated in gender- neutral language, except in those specific areas where issues, such as violence against women, were being mentioned, thus betraying a general failure among our political leaders to see gender equality and transformation as key political and strategic policy issues for the country.

## **2.2. Gender analysis of party nominations lists**

Party nomination lists processes are led by the IEC and form part of the pre-election phase. Local elections in South Africa follow a mixed system that involves the proportional representation (PR) and the first past the post (FPTP)/ward systems. Parties submit lists for both PR and wards to the IEC, which in turn approves the final lists of candidates cleared to contest the elections in accordance with the electoral legislation. The PR system allocates political parties seats in a legislative body according to their voting strength. The PR electoral system is based on closed party lists whereby parties determine their own lists of candidates without interference or involvement from the voters. In the FPTP system, on the other hand, voters vote for an individual candidate representing either a political party or an independent candidate in a specified geographic radius referred to as a 'ward'. This means that a fundamental characteristic of FPTPs is that election votes are cast for individuals based on their merits and general support and endorsement from their communities, and are not necessarily a direct vote for a political party.

Party nomination lists serve as important tools for voters to scrutinise candidates prior to casting their votes on Election Day. Apart from that, nomination lists, PR lists in particular, are also important for reflecting the commitments and respect for diversity in terms of gender, age, and race, by the different political parties. This is because parties take full control of decisions made on candidates to be put forward as PR candidates. It is therefore often expected that parties will meet gender parities or over-represent women on PR lists given their control over who makes the list, unlike with ward candidate lists. For the purpose of this study, the analysis of the party nomination lists of the six parties (ANC, DA, EFF, IFP, UDM, and VF +) will be from a gender mainstreaming perspective.

Figure 1: Overall gender representation in party lists (Ward)

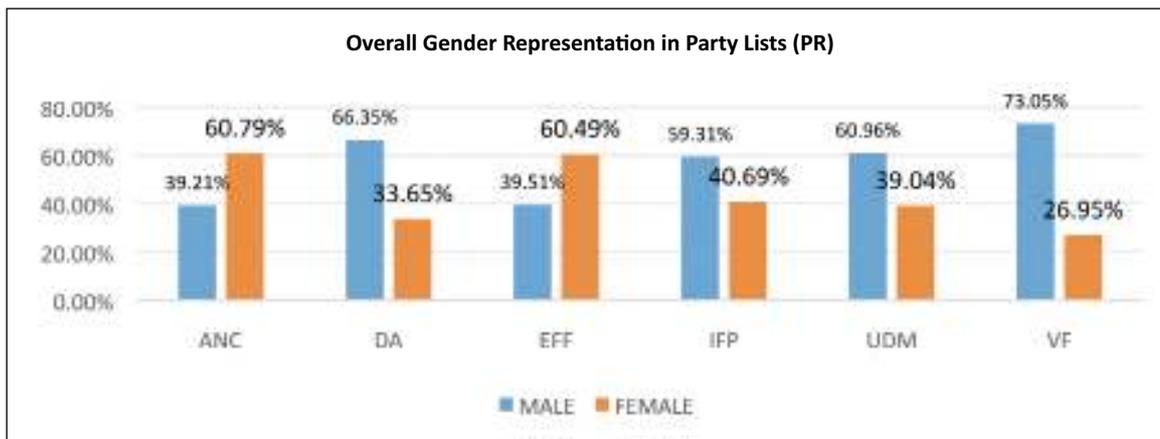


Source: IEC

Figure 1 above shows that none of the six parties achieved or came close to attaining the 50/50 gender parity on ward nomination lists. Men dominated ward lists in all six parties, while women were under-represented. This is no surprise, however, given that it is women, particularly in South Africa, who tend to perform poorly against male candidates, and are often under-represented in election contests for wards. One of the key factors in this regard is the common patriarchal norms that suggest that political leadership is a male domain. This tends to influence voters to trust and elect men over women as 'good' leaders to represent them in ward election contests. In addition, as a matter of general practice, political parties tend to avoid putting up women as ward candidates, especially in safe wards, because women candidates are often perceived as political risks, and that voters or their communities would not accept them as public representatives.

The figures above indicate that the DA had the highest percentage of female ward candidates at 34.54%, followed by the ANC at 34.32%. While the DA openly rejects the idea of gender quotas, the ANC follows a voluntary 50/50 gender quota system as provided for in the Municipal Government Systems Act. It is however clear that a quota system applied to candidates' lists is not necessarily sufficient to guarantee effective and equal representation of women in ward lists, because political party leaderships do not have full control over the gender profiles of candidates for ward elections. Such choices are often subject to a number of factors, such as local party structures and membership choices and the preferences of local communities.

**Figure 2: Overall gender representation in party lists (PR)**



Source: IEC

The EFF, on the other hand, which was contesting local government elections for the first time in 2016, came third at 32.63% and fared much better than the long-standing UDM at 29.47 %, IFP at 24.10 %, and VF+ at 21.78%. The VF+ was the party with the lowest representation of women on ward lists compared to the other five.

In terms of PR party candidate lists, the two parties, i.e. ANC and the ANC breakaway party EFF, exceeded the 50% threshold of the representation of women on party lists. The ANC and the EFF are also the only parties in South Africa that have made pronounced commitments to the 50/50 gender quota system. It therefore appears that these parties have made up for the shortfall in terms of gender disparities apparent in their ward candidate lists by increasing the numbers of women in their PR lists. This however, does not guarantee higher levels of representation for women after the election. This will be seen from the analysis of the post-election results in the relevant sections that follow.

There appeared to be a general improvement of women's representation on PR party lists in comparison to ward lists. On their ward list, IFP had 24.10% of women represented, while there are 40.69% of women on their PR list. UDM similarly fared better on the PR list compared to their ward list, with 39.04 % of women represented on the PR list compared to the 29.47% representation of women witnessed in their ward list. The representation of women on VF+ PR list is also better than their ward list, however remaining in the 20s with 26.95%, thus only witnessing a variation of 5.17% (21.78% ward list) between their ward and PR lists. The DA is the only party that appeared to have not improved the representation of women in PR lists in comparison to their ward lists. The party places emphasis on women being placed on lists based on their individual merit. The representation of women on the DA ward lists was 34.54%, and 33.65% in the party's PR lists.

In terms of how parties fared against each other on the PR lists, ANC had the highest representation of women at 60.79%, followed by the EFF with 60.49%. IFP came third with 40.69, followed by UDM (39.04%), DA (33.65%) and lastly the VF+ (26.95%).

**Table 2: Gender split by ward**

PROVINCE	ANC			DA			EFF			IFP			UDM			VF		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
EASTERN CAPE	461	242	707	455	248	707	373	258	633	0	1	1	260	137	399	97	12	109
	65,58%	34,42%		64,72%	35,28%		59,11%	40,89%		0,00%	100,00%		65,49%	34,51%		88,99%	11,01%	
FREE STATE	224	85	309	214	94	308	219	84	303	18	8	26				233	70	303
	72,49%	27,51%		69,48%	30,52%		72,28%	27,72%		69,23%	30,77%					76,90%	23,10%	
GAUTENG	298	229	527	330	199	529	378	151	529	167	81	248	292	88	380	373	156	529
	56,55%	43,45%		62,38%	37,62%		71,46%	28,54%		67,34%	32,66%		76,84%	23,16%		70,51%	29,49%	
KWA ZULU NATAL	626	244	870	602	263	865	600	233	833	670	168	838	10	3	13	261	25	286
	71,95%	28,05%		69,60%	30,40%		72,03%	27,97%		79,95%	20,05%		76,92%	23,08%		91,26%	8,74%	
LIMPOPO	345	221	566	391	175	566	370	195	565	5	1	6	135	56	199	199	52	251
	60,95%	39,05%		69,08%	30,92%		65,49%	34,51%		83,33%	16,67%		70,68%	29,32%		79,28%	20,72%	
MPUMALANGA	284	116	400	255	130	385	297	100	397	44	27	71	12	5	17	262	37	299
	71,00%	29,00%		66,23%	33,77%		74,81%	25,19%		61,97%	38,03%		70,59%	29,41%		87,63%	12,37%	
NORTH WEST	282	125	407	248	156	404	275	122	397	4	1	5	12	10	22	249	79	328
	69,29%	30,71%		61,39%	38,61%		69,27%	30,73%		80,00%	20,00%		54,55%	45,45%		75,91%	24,09%	
NORTHERN CAPE	113	91	204	129	75	204	116	81	197							132	53	185
	55,39%	44,61%		63,24%	36,76%		58,88%	41,12%								71,35%	28,65%	
WESTERN CAPE	239	148	387	234	168	402	231	161	392	2	2	4	40	19	59	274	95	369
	61,76%	38,24%		58,21%	41,79%		58,93%	41,07%		50,00%	50,00%		67,80%	32,20%		74,25%	25,75%	

Table 2 shows that men dominated ward party lists across the provinces and that political parties in general have failed to achieve gender parity in the representation of men and

women. The only party that appears to have attained or exceeded the 50/50 gender parity is the IFP with 100% in the Eastern Cape and 50% in the Western Cape. However, for the Eastern Cape this might exaggerate the prevailing reality, given that the party put forward only one ward candidate who happens to be female.

The ANC failed to reach gender parity in all nine provinces and has its highest representation of women in the Northern Cape (44.61%), followed by Gauteng (43.45%). These are the only two provinces where the ANC managed to at least exceed 40% in the representation of women on ward lists. Limpopo had a 39.05% representation of women, Western Cape (38.24%), Eastern Cape (34.42%), North West (30.71%), Mpumalanga (29.00%), KwaZulu-Natal (28.05%), and Free State (27.51%). Although it is widely understood that the FPTP system is unfavourable to women, the ANC as the ruling party is expected to take the lead and set a good example for the other political parties. Again, the ANC has the largest and most recognised women's wings in the country. The low representation of women in the party's ward lists thus calls for serious introspection by both the 'mother body' and the ANC Women's League. Nonetheless, the party managed to exceed 40% representation of women in the highly contested economic harbour Gauteng (43.45%). Unsurprisingly, the party has low representations of women in the largely rural and traditional KwaZulu-Natal (28%), where it has its strongest support.

The DA hovered around the 30s in terms of women's representation in all the provinces except for the Western Cape (41.79%) where the party has its strongest political support base. This means that the DA afforded women an opportunity to contest wards in the province where the party is most likely to win. In the North West, women's representation stood at 38.61%, Gauteng 37%, Northern Cape 36.76%, Eastern Cape 35.28%, Mpumalanga 33.77%, Limpopo 30.92%, Free State 30.52%, and finally KwaZulu-Natal 30.40%.

The EFF managed to exceed 40% for the representation of women in three provinces (i.e. Eastern Cape 40.89%, Northern Cape 41.12%, and Western Cape 41.07%) while in two provinces, where the party has its significant numerical strength, it achieved percentage figures in the 30s (i.e. Limpopo 34.51% and North West 30.73%). The representation of women in the four remaining provinces (i.e. Free State 27.72%, Gauteng 28.54%, KwaZulu-Natal 27.97%, and Mpumalanga 25.19%) fell into the 20s in percentages.

As already indicated, the IFP is the only party that met and exceeded the 50% threshold for women's representation on ward party lists in two provinces (Eastern Cape 100% and Western Cape 50%). Percentages in the remaining six provinces dwindle below 40%, with the party's lowest figure at 16.67% in Limpopo. Mpumalanga has a representation of women at 38.03%, Gauteng 32.66%, Free State 30.77%, KwaZulu-Natal 20.05%, North West 20.00%, and Limpopo 16.67%. An interesting observation is that KwaZulu-Natal, where support is split between ANC and IFP, women's representation is at the bottom with North West and Limpopo, provinces where the party doesn't enjoy much support. This means that the IFP failed to prioritise women in both provinces where it anticipated less support as well as where it expected to do well.

The UDM contested local elections in seven provinces as illustrated in the table above. The party broke away from the ANC in 1997, five years before the ANC adopted a 30% voluntary quota, and 12 years before the ANC's subsequent adoption of the 50% voluntary quota policy. It is therefore understandable that the UDM would differ to some extent with the ANC in terms of their approaches to gender mainstreaming-related interventions. North West was the only province where the UDM had a representation of women closer to 50% at 45.45%. Women's representation, however, fell sharply below 40% in other provinces. In the Eastern Cape, women's representation stood at 34.51%, Western Cape (32.20%), Mpumalanga (29.41%), Limpopo (29.32%), Gauteng (23.16%), and KwaZulu-Natal (23.08%).

The national figures for ward lists showed that VF+ came last at 21.78% in comparison to the other five parties. The table also illustrates that the trend for low representations of women was deeply entrenched in the party's ward lists across the provinces, where it contested municipal elections. Furthermore, compared to how other parties fared in the various provinces, VF+ has some of the lowest figures of women candidates and even went below 10% in KwaZulu-Natal. VF+ is also the only party that does not have a province with a representation of women higher than 40%. The party, however, performed better than its national aggregate in five provinces (i.e. Free State 23.10%, Gauteng 29.49%, North West 24.09%, Northern Cape 28.65% and Western Cape 25.75%). Provinces below 21.78% (VF+ national total for women in ward lists) were Eastern Cape (11.01%), KwaZulu-Natal (8.74%), Limpopo (20.72%), and Mpumalanga (12.37%).

In terms of PR party lists, two parties, namely ANC and EFF, have representations of women above the 50% threshold across all nine provinces. The ANC also managed to exceed its

national aggregate of women in PR lists of 60.79% in six provinces, i.e. Eastern Cape 62.86%, Free State 62.35%, KwaZulu-Natal 61.49%, Limpopo 64.35%, Mpumalanga 61.56% and Northern Cape 62.84%. The remaining three provinces came slightly below the national total and those are Gauteng at 56.32%, North West 55.19% and Western Cape 57.45%. While the ANC failed to attain gender balance in its ward lists in all provinces, the party managed to make up for the short fall by putting more women in its PR lists. The analysis however also reveals that men's representation on ward lists where they overwhelmingly dominate lists managed to reach percentages as high as 72.49% (Free State) while the highest representation of women on ANC PR lists only came to 64.35% in Limpopo.

**Table 3: Gender split by PR**

PROVINCE	ANC			DA			EFF			IFP			UDM			VF		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>EASTERN CAPE</b>	293 37.14%	496 62.86%	789	479 64.47%	264 35.53%	743	315 43.51%	409 56.49%	724	1 33.33%	2 66.67%	3	347 57.55%	256 42.45%	603	12 75.00%	4 25.00%	16
<b>FREE STATE</b>	157 37.65%	260 62.35%	417	228 71.03%	93 28.97%	321	150 39.68%	228 60.32%	378	5 62.50%	3 37.50%	8				58 77.33%	17 22.67%	75
<b>GAUTENG</b>	259 43.68%	334 56.32%	593	504 66.32%	256 33.68%	760	219 35.96%	390 64.04%	609	54 65.06%	29 34.94%	83	62 72.09%	24 27.91%	86	82 68.33%	38 31.67%	120
<b>KWA ZULU NATAL</b>	347 38.51%	554 61.49%	901	347 70.82%	143 29.18%	490	385 41.09%	552 58.91%	937	633 59.16%	437 40.84%	1070	12 75.00%	4 25.00%	16	16 76.19%	5 23.81%	21
<b>LIMPOPO</b>	236 35.65%	426 64.35%	662	295 66.74%	147 33.26%	442	238 35.84%	426 64.16%	664	13 76.47%	4 23.53%	17	39 61.90%	24 38.10%	63	14 73.68%	5 26.32%	19
<b>MPUMALANGA</b>	236 38.44%	378 61.56%	614	233 65.63%	122 34.37%	355	153 33.26%	307 66.74%	460	31 53.45%	27 46.55%	58	7 77.78%	2 22.22%	9	52 77.61%	15 22.39%	67
<b>NORTH WEST</b>	207 44.81%	255 55.19%	462	225 69.66%	98 30.34%	323	186 36.33%	326 63.67%	512	13 59.09%	9 40.91%	22	11 55.00%	9 45.00%	20	62 67.39%	30 32.61%	92
<b>NORTHERN CAPE</b>	81 37.16%	137 62.84%	218	167 60.51%	109 39.49%	276	119 43.43%	155 56.57%	274							57 75.00%	19 25.00%	76
<b>WESTERN CAPE</b>	120 42.55%	162 57.45%	282	304 62.94%	179 37.06%	483	206 47.80%	225 52.20%	431	2 28.57%	5 71.43%	7	56 70.89%	23 29.11%	79	21 80.77%	5 19.23%	26

Source: IEC

For the DA, the representation of women in its PR lists came below 40% in all nine provinces. Percentages of women are mainly in the thirties with two provinces (Free State 28.97% and KwaZulu-Natal 29.18%) falling slightly below 30%. Northern Cape has representations of women at 39.49%, Western Cape (37.06%), Eastern Cape (35.53%), Mpumalanga (34.37%), Gauteng (33.68%), and North West (30.34%). The DA's ward and PR lists have similar trends in that men dominate both lists. These figures appear to reflect the party's disdain for gender quotas, instead preferring to allow 'merit' to dictate the level of representation of women in the party's structures and in government.

The EFF, as already indicated, managed to surpass 50% in terms of its representation of women on the PR party lists across all nine provinces. Again, as is the case with the ANC, female domination is lower than that of the males when comparing the ward and PR lists. In the ward lists where males dominated lists, EFF had the highest representation of males at 74.81% in Mpumalanga while females in the PR lists have their highest representation at 66.74%, also in Mpumalanga. Nonetheless, four provinces (Gauteng 64.04%, Limpopo 64.16%, Mpumalanga 66.74%, and North West 63.67%) have representations of women higher than the EFF overall figure of 60.49% for women in PR lists. Provinces that are below the national total are Eastern Cape with 56.49%, Free State 60.32%, KwaZulu-Natal 58.91%, and Northern Cape at 56.57%.

The IFP PR party lists reveal that men generally dominated lists, with the exception of the Eastern Cape (66.67%) and Western Cape (71.43%), as representations of women in those provinces are exceptionally higher than those of men. Furthermore, three of the provinces have representations of women above 40%, which places them in a good position for the attainment of the 50/50 gender parity. Those provinces are Mpumalanga (46.55%), North West (40.91%), and KwaZulu-Natal (40.84%). The rest of the provinces performed poorly and those are the Free State (37.50%), Gauteng (34.94%) and Limpopo (23.53%).

The UDM managed to exceed 40% of women's representations in two (Eastern Cape 42.45% and North West 45.00%) of the seven provinces where the party contested local government elections. The remainder of provinces have lower percentages of women represented in the party's PR lists; those are Limpopo (38.10%), Western Cape (29.11%), Gauteng (27.91%), KwaZulu-Natal (25.00%), and Mpumalanga (22.22%).

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The VF+ performed poorly across all provinces, with the highest percentage of women's representation at 32.61% in North West Province. Gauteng followed with 31.67% while other provinces followed below 30%. Those provinces are: Limpopo (26.32%), Eastern Cape (25.00%), Northern Cape (25.00%), KwaZulu-Natal (23.81%), Free State (22.67%), Mpumalanga (22.39%), and Western Cape (19.23%).

## CHAPTER 3: ELECTIONS DAY OBSERVATIONS

The IEC is an independent constitutional institution that is responsible for the management of free and fair elections. This includes ensuring that voting procedures and other voting regulations are conducted in a transparent manner.<sup>13</sup> Historically, the IEC has executed this task effectively. However, prior to the election some questions were being raised regarding the ability of the commission to hold free and fair elections, particularly in the wake of an earlier Constitutional Court ruling that on the Tlokwe Municipal by-elections declaring that the IEC had committed violations regarding the voters roll.

According to section 16(3) of the Electoral Act 73 of 1998,<sup>14</sup> it is required that contesting candidates are provided with a voters' roll that has the full details and addresses of eligible voters within a particular district. However, the IEC provided to candidates an incomplete voters roll. This was in contravention of the duties of the Commission, and subsequently meant that the Commission was declared to have failed in upholding its constitutional mandate. In addition, this also meant that the results of the election in that particular district would be distorted. The Constitutional Court ruling therefore made provision for the Commission to undertake corrective measures which would ensure that the elections on 3 August 2016 and beyond would meet the criteria for non-biased free and fair elections.

The political climate that characterised the run-up to the 2016 municipal election was also a factor of concern, marred as it was by recurrent violent local protest actions in communities in several provinces, including conflict between parties as well as intra-party conflict particularly (notably within the ANC in Tshwane and KwaZulu-Natal). ANC supporters' dissatisfaction with alleged manipulations of candidates' lists in provinces like KwaZulu-Natal (where incidents of political killings occurred), as well as other factors such as dissatisfaction with service delivery and alleged lack of accountability by local Councillors, served to inflame the political climate and created a tense atmosphere around the time leading to the local elections.

Nonetheless, on Election Day there were only minor incidents reported in the media reports of protests that threatened the possibility of peaceful elections. Overall though, Election Day went reasonably smoothly, as more than 57.97% of the registered voters cast their votes. This was slightly higher than the 57.64% voter turnout that was recorded in the

<sup>13</sup> The Independent Commission of South Africa, <http://www.elections.org.za>. (accessed in March 2017)

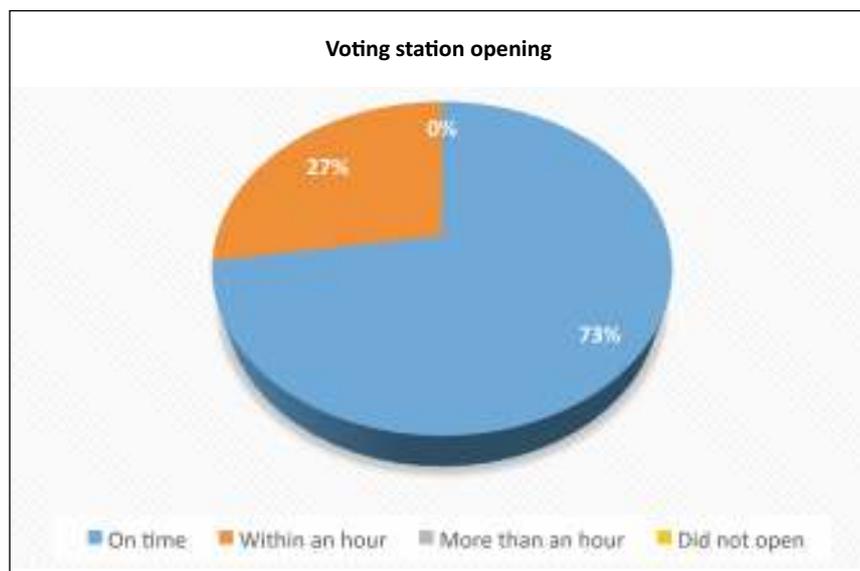
<sup>14</sup> Electoral Act 73 of 1998; s (16) ;(3)

2011 municipal elections.<sup>15</sup> In general, the CGE's Election Day observations revealed no evidence of systemic prejudice or discrimination towards any voters, men or women, on the basis of their gender or anyone from the LGBTI community on the basis of their sexual orientation. However, observations did reveal a number of practical issues and challenges that might have affected the smooth running of voting proceedings in some areas, as will be discussed below.

### 3.1 Voting procedures

There are often conditions surrounding voting processes that tend to impede the rights of certain voters, including women, to exercise their right to vote. For instance, the accessibility of voting stations can impede the ability of the elderly or pregnant women to cast their vote. The IEC had therefore made special arrangements, particularly the Special Voting Day, to allow voters who were unable to present themselves for voting on the allotted day. However, some of these voters did not take advantage of these special arrangements, because some of the CGE election observers noted significant numbers of pregnant women, the elderly, women with children as well as persons with disabilities. However, in most voting stations IEC officials did manage to accommodate these voters through effective management of queues and often giving such voters priority to go to the front of the voting queues. Our observers did notice a few incidents in some provinces, such as Mpumalanga and Free State, where such voters were not accommodated and given priority, resulting in some of them waiting for long periods of time, while others preferred to leave before casting their votes.

Figure 3: The opening of voting stations



Source: CGE (August 2016)

<sup>15</sup> Highest voter turnout ever recorded for local elections. News 24.07 August 2016. <http://www.news24.com>. (Accessed:7 Oct2016)

The graphic representation above reflects feedback obtained from the CGE observers regarding the timely opening of voting station observed. Generally, the observations revealed that opening and closing times of voting stations differed across stations in provinces. Figure 3 indicates that the majority (73%) of the voting stations observed by the CGE observers opened at the prescribed time. Despite the fact that systems were put in place to ensure that voting stations opened on time, 27% of the voting stations observed, particularly in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, only opened slightly later than was scheduled but still within the hour of prescribed opening time. In terms of closing it was reported that the majority of stations managed to close within the prescribed time with only one incident of a voting station in EThekweni closing 20 minutes after the closing time.

Our observers identified a number of emerging factors that delayed proceedings from these stations which mainly included bad weather, the late arrival of voting material, and a general lack of preparation from voting staff. Observers reported that voters had to wait for the voting station to be set up, for the arrival of party agents and voting material and other equipment. Observers also reported that the scanners used to identify voters had technical problems. In some instances, the scanners identified voters as either deceased, registered at another voting station or mistaken details. In light of these reports, observers also noted a lack of communication from officials with regard to the experienced delays. One of the key observations made by our election observations, especially during opening proceedings, was the significant numbers of voters that presented themselves at wrong voting stations. Some of the voters had failed to bring correct identity documents. The majority of these happened in tribal/rural villages and urban informal settlements in provinces such as Eastern Cape and Limpopo. This could reflect the inadequacy of voter registration and voter education drives in some of these areas.

In terms of voting stations covered by our election observers, particularly the prescribed procedures followed by voting station election staff, our observations showed that generally, voting and counting procedures were adhered to between 90% and 100% of the time. There were minor instances in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo where observers reported that procedures were irregularly or never followed. Observers reported two incidents in Ekurhuleni and City of Johannesburg where observers found that the presiding officer did not verify that ballot boxes were empty. Information obtained

through our observer team showed that 8% of the voting stations observed had irregularly/inconsistently applied prescribed procedures or instructions to voters, whilst only 2% of stations never applied such procedures/voters instructions as required or prescribed.

It appears that these irregular or inconsistent applications of prescribed procedures occurred mainly in informal, urban and tribal areas, where our observers had noted quite a number of voters who needed assistance. There was also one incident in the Buffalo City area where our observer reported that the results slip was not sealed in the tamper-proof evidence bag. While these incidents were few and far between, it would appear that where they occurred, this could have been due to poor/inadequate training of voting station officials or just pure negligence on the day.

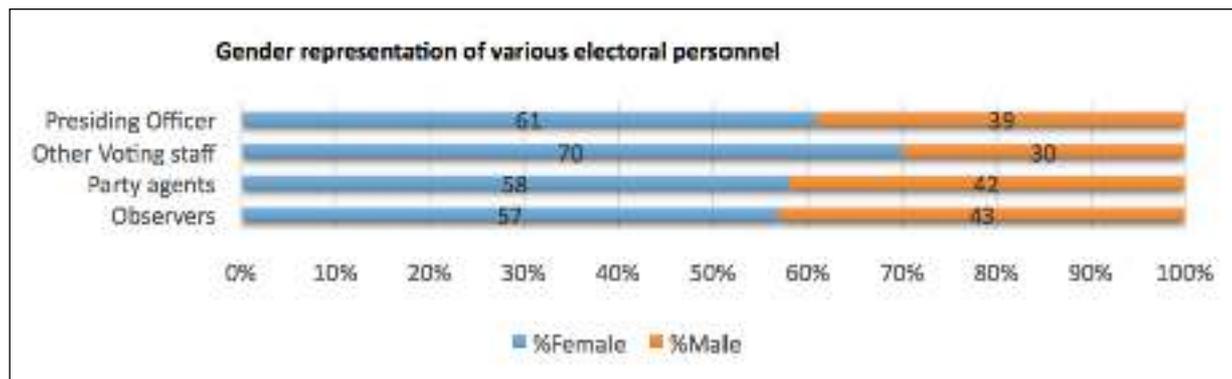
### **3.2 Gender participation on Election Day**

Women's participation in the elections is a key observation variable that the CGE was monitoring for the 2016 municipal elections. This is because it is widely known that the sphere of political participation in South Africa is largely male dominated. However, across all voting stations observed, our observers noted a fairly equal distribution of women and men in voting queues. According to the IEC,<sup>16</sup> 54.93% of the registered to vote in the 2016 municipal elections were female, compared to 54.95% for the 2011<sup>17</sup> municipal elections. This indicates that there had been a minor (0.2%) decline in the number of registered female voters for the 2016 municipal elections. In comparison to their male counterparts, it emerged that the overall number of registered male voters for 2016 increased to 45.07% compared to 45.05% in 2011. Despite the minor 0.2% increase in male registration, females continue to dominate the number of registered voters. Although it is evident that there is active participation of women during elections, this does not necessarily translate into high representation of women across the political spectrum.

During pre-elections, as indicated in this report, men usually comprise the majority of candidates contesting seats, despite the fact that women make up more than 50% of registered voters.

<sup>16</sup> The Independent Commission of South Africa, <http://www.elections.org.za>.(2017)  
<sup>17</sup> CGE.2011 Gender and the Elections: Local Government Elections Report.

**Figure 4: Gender profile of various electoral personnel**



Source: CGE

Numerous factors could account for this. For instance, the lack of support and few opportunities for women to become full-time political activists, high levels of internal/intra-party political intimidation, political violence, as well as the general lack of acceptance of women as political leaders in many communities in South Africa, could serve as important factors that discourage women from putting themselves forward as candidates. Our observations revealed nonetheless that there was a high turnout of women at the voting stations covered by our observer team. Also, our observers noted a high level of representation of women among IEC polling station officials in all the stations covered.

For instance, the position of voting station presiding officer, the highest position of authority among polling staff in a voting station, was mainly occupied by women. Presiding officers are responsible for ensuring that the station runs efficiently. This includes the management of the station, all polling officials and, most importantly, voting procedures. It is therefore a position that is often sought after by both men and women as it carries a lot of responsibility and prestige. Figure 4 above indicates that the majority (61%) of presiding officers were women compared to 39% of men at the voting stations that the CGE observer team covered. In terms of the general IEC voting staff officials, there were also a significant number of women (70%) in comparison to 30% of men. Information gathered through our observer team also shows significant representation of women among party agents deployed by their parties to observe proceedings at voting stations, had a majority (58%) of women. Election observers also had a large representation of women (57%) compared to (43%) of men. So once again, CGE did not uncover any evidence of systemic exclusion, discrimination or marginalisation of women in terms of representation in the various categories of officials in the voting stations covered by our election observer team.

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The overall high representation of women indicates significant improvements, particularly in leadership positions where the potential of women is often needlessly undermined by gender-based stereotypes. From the above figures it seems that the IEC is steadily creating opportunities to advance women, even in polling station management positions. In some cases, this has led to an over-representation of women among voting station officials.

Overall, though, our observations indicate that Election Day was peaceful, with minor issues that caused slight delays in the opening and closing procedures of some of the voting stations. Our conclusion in this regard appears to be consistent with those of other local and international observers.

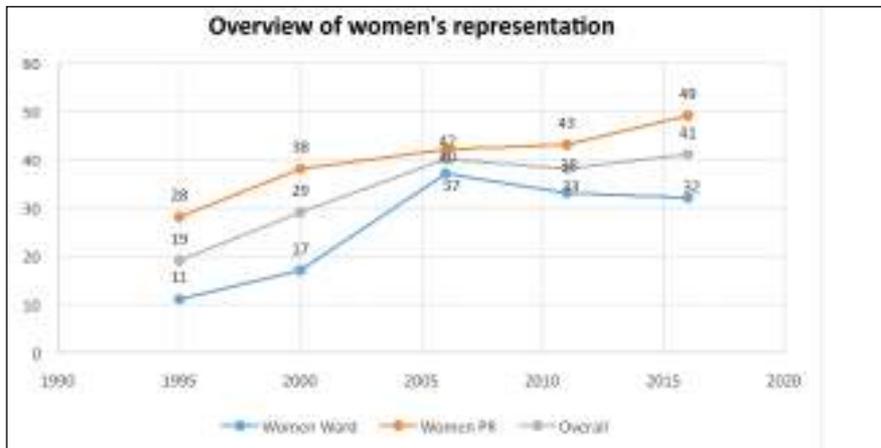
## CHAPTER 4: POST ELECTION PERIOD

Chapters 4 and 5 of this report provide the analysis and discussion of various outcomes of the elections, placing emphasis on the placement of women in relation to key structures of government at municipal level. Close attention will be paid to the gender profiles of local Councillors by Ward and PR categories, as well as the category of office bearers across the three categories of municipalities (i.e. Category A: metropolitans, Category B: local municipalities and Category C: District municipalities). The analysis and discussion of the results for the country's eight metropolitan municipalities will be contained in Chapter 5 of the report.

There are 257 municipalities in South Africa made up of eight metropolitans, 44 district municipalities and 205 local municipalities.<sup>18</sup> Metros are found in South Africa's biggest cities and they are: Buffalo City, City of Cape Town, City of Johannesburg, City of Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, EThekweni, Mangaung, and Nelson Mandela Bay. South Africa initially consisted of six metros until the announcement by the Municipal Demarcation Board that there would be an addition of the two cities, Buffalo City and Mangaung, after the 2011 local government elections. Local municipalities on the other hand are classified into four categories, which are: B1, also referred to as secondary cities; B2 which are large towns; B3 characterised by relatively small populations, urban areas in a few small towns and rural areas with commercial farms; and lastly B4 which is mostly rural areas located in former homelands. District municipalities are usually formed by between 3-6 local municipalities with which they share functions of local government.

### 4.1. Overview of the total gender representation

Figure 5: Trends in women's representation in the local government (1995-2016)



Source: Various

<sup>18</sup> Electoral Commission of South Africa, *200 parties, 61 000 candidates to contest 2016 Municipal Elections*, <http://www.elections.org.za/content/About-Us/News/200-parties,-61-000-candidates-to-contest-2016-Municipal-Elections/> (March 2017)

The 2016 local government elections witnessed an overall increase in the representation of women at local government level in South Africa since the first democratic local government elections were held in 1995. The total percentage of women has also doubled from 19% in 1995 to 41% in 2016 (Figure 5). Women's figures have generally been on the rise in each election since 1995. The 2000 (29%) elections saw a 10% increase, while the 2006 (40%) elections witnessed an increase of 11%.<sup>19</sup> This came to a halt in 2011 however, when women's representation decreased by a disheartening 2%. This means that women's representation in local government has only increased by 1% in 2016 since its peak in 2006.

**Table 4: Gender representation of 2011 and 2016 elections outcomes**

Year	Women		Men	
	2011	2016	2011	2016
PR	43%	49%	57%	51%
Ward	33%	32%	67%	68%
TOTAL %	38 %	41%	62%	59%

Source: Gender links<sup>20</sup>

Table 4 shows that the overall representation of women increased by 3% in 2016 (41%), from 38% in 2011. This in turn meant a 3% drop in the representation of men, even though they continued to be in the lead with 59% in 2016 from 62% in 2011. Thus, even though women's representation improved in 2016, they still fall short of the 50% representation as purported by the Municipal Structures Act No. 11 (3) of 1998 and the SADC Gender Protocol. There is evidence that there were more women PR Councillors in the 2016 elections, compared to women in Ward seats. PR seats for women fell slightly below the 50% threshold at 49%, while Ward seats did not even pass 40%, standing at 32%.

Women's representation as PR Councillors saw a significant increase of 6% between 2011 (43%) and 2016 (49%). The 2016 figure is the highest so far since the 1995 elections.<sup>21</sup> In terms of Ward seats, men's representation remained high in 2016 as it was in the 2011 period. Men's Ward seats saw a 1% increase from 67% in 2011 to 68% in 2016. A historical trend analysis confirms that women's representation has always been relatively low in

<sup>19</sup> Gender Links, *Gender in the 2011 South African Local Government Elections*, [http://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/13193\\_gender\\_in\\_the\\_2011\\_south\\_african\\_localgvt\\_elections\\_final\\_\\_nmclm\\_062011.pdf](http://genderlinks.org.za/wp-content/uploads/imported/articles/attachments/13193_gender_in_the_2011_south_african_localgvt_elections_final__nmclm_062011.pdf) (November 2016)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

Ward seats compared to the representation figures for men. Even through the 1% overall decline for women is a slight setback for the objective of reaching the 50% parity level, it is less than the 4% decline that occurred in 2011.

**Table 5: Overall women's representation by province in 2011 and 2016**

<b>Province</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2016</b>
<b>Eastern Cape</b>	38%	43%
<b>Free State</b>	35%	38%
<b>Gauteng</b>	40%	39%
<b>KwaZulu-Natal</b>	34%	36%
<b>Limpopo</b>	39%	46%
<b>Mpumalanga</b>	36%	44%
<b>North West</b>	40%	40%
<b>Northern Cape</b>	40%	44%
<b>Western Cape</b>	33%	39%

Source: Gender Links<sup>22</sup>

A comparative analysis of the 2016 and 2011 data reveals that there has been a significant improvement in women's representation in eight of the nine provinces: Eastern Cape (from 38% to 43%); Free State (from 35% to 38%); KwaZulu-Natal (from 34% to 36%); Limpopo (from 39% to 46%); Mpumalanga (from 36% to 44%); Northern Cape (from 40% to 44%) and Western Cape (from 33% to 39%). While the Western Cape province had the lowest female representation figures in 2011, there has been a notable improvement in the wake of the 2016 municipal elections. Two provinces (Gauteng and North West) have not recorded an increase in women's representation figures for PR. Gauteng has actually experienced a minor decline from 40% to 39%, while the North West has remained the same for the two consecutive municipal elections, at 40% for female PR representation. It is not clear what the underlying causes are for the overall increase but a number of possibilities can be identified. The arrival of the EFF (with its application of the 50/50 quota policy for men and women), the Municipal Demarcation Board's review and re-demarcation of Wards leading to fewer Ward seats to be contested during the 2016 municipal elections, and finally the fact that many of the political parties had increased the number of women candidates in their PR lists, as a response to the lower numbers of women candidates contesting Ward Council seats.

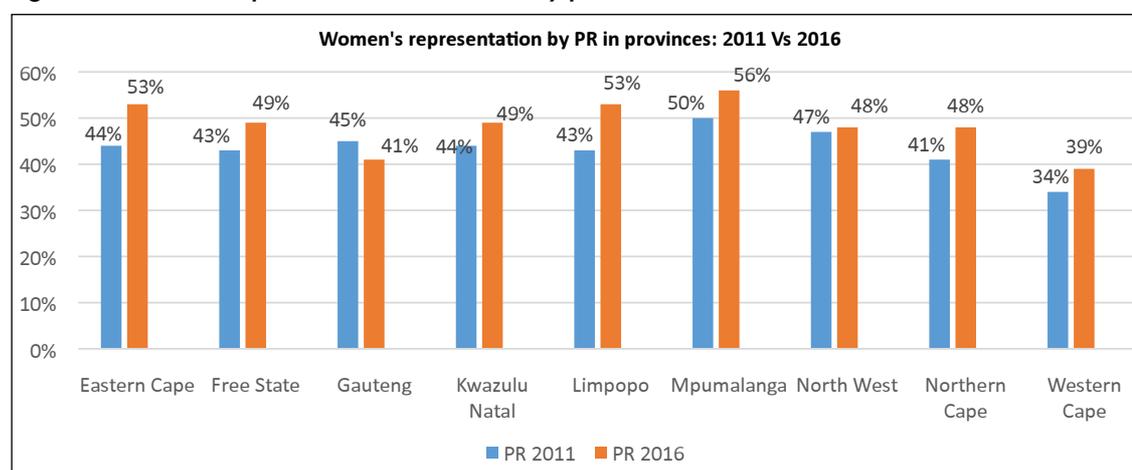
<sup>22</sup> Ibid

## 4.2. Women's representation in PR seats per province in 2011 and 2016

PR seats for women saw significant increases in eight out of nine provinces, while Gauteng was the only province to show a decline in the PR category of women's representation. Another notable stride is that three provinces (Eastern Cape 53%, Limpopo 53%, and Mpumalanga 56%) have exceeded the 50% threshold after the 2016 municipal elections, compared to the 2011 period when only one province (Mpumalanga 50%) had managed to reach gender parity in women's representation as PR Councillors (see Figure 6 below).

Furthermore, in 2016 five provinces (Eastern Cape 53%, Free State 49%, KwaZulu-Natal 49%, Limpopo 53%, and Mpumalanga 56%) have either met or exceeded the national aggregate of 49% representation for women as PR Councillors. As reflected in Figure 6 below, the Eastern Cape saw a 9% increase in its representation of women occupying PR seats (from 44% to 53%), while the Free State witnessed an increase of 6% (from 43% to 49%). In KwaZulu-Natal, a 5% increase was noted (from 44% to 49%), a 10% increase in Limpopo (from 43% to 53%), a 6% increase in Mpumalanga (from 50% to 56%), a percentage (1%) increase in North West (from 47% to 48%), a 7% increase in the Northern Cape (from 41% to 48%) and a 5% percent increase in the Western Cape (from 34% to 39%).

**Figure 6: Women's representation in PR seats by province in 2011 and 2016**



Source: Gender Links<sup>23</sup> and IEC

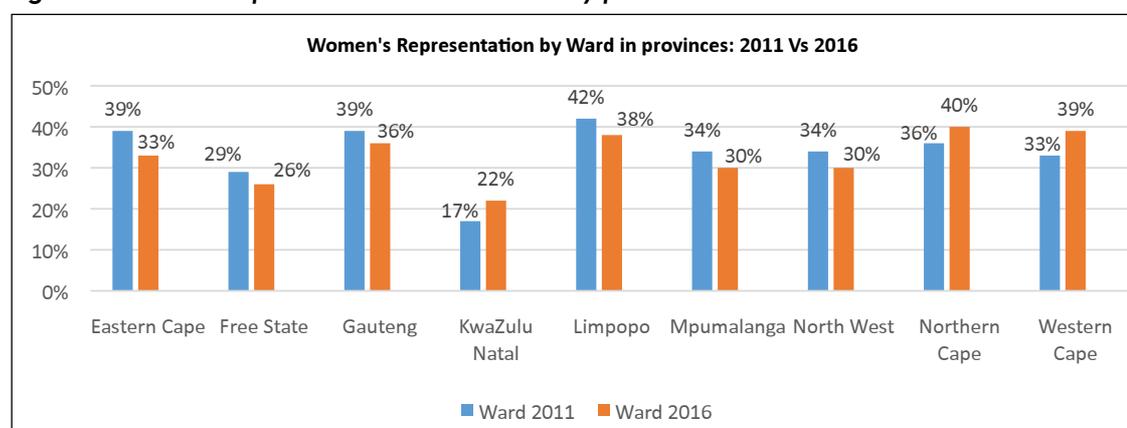
It is noted therefore that most provinces witnessed significant increases in women's representation as PR Councillors, ranging between 5% and 10%. Figure 6 also indicates that in both 2011 and 2016, Western Cape was the only province that achieved below 40% in women as PR Councillors. Gauteng stands at 41% in women's representation as PR Councillors, which is a 4% decline in 2016 compared to 45% in the 2011 period.

<sup>23</sup>bid

### 4.3. Women's representation in Ward seats per province in 2011 and 2016

In 2016, women's representation in Ward seats declined in seven provinces compared to 2011. Only three provinces (i.e. KwaZulu-Natal from 17% in 2011 to 22% in 2016, Northern Cape from 36% to 40% and Western Cape from 33% to 39%) had made improvements in women's representation as Ward Councillors, although they remained well below the 50% mark (see Figure 7 below). In fact, despite KwaZulu-Natal's notable increase of 5% between 2011 and 2016, the province remained the worst, retaining its bottom position in terms of women's representation in ward seats.

**Figure 7: Women's representation in Ward seats by province in 2011 and 2016**



Source: Genderlinks<sup>24</sup> and IEC

The Northern Cape was the only province that achieved 40% in women's representation in Ward council seats after the 2016 municipal elections. The others fell below the 40% mark: Western Cape stands at 39%, Limpopo fell from 42% to 38%; Gauteng had a 3% decline from 39% to 36%; Eastern Cape a 6% decline from 39% to 33% in 2016; Free State a 3% decline from 29% to 26%. Both Mpumalanga and North West experienced a 4% drop from 34% to 30% each. Therefore, women's representation as Ward Councillors remains a point of weakness in South Africa as already indicated, and an obvious area of targeted intervention for policy makers.

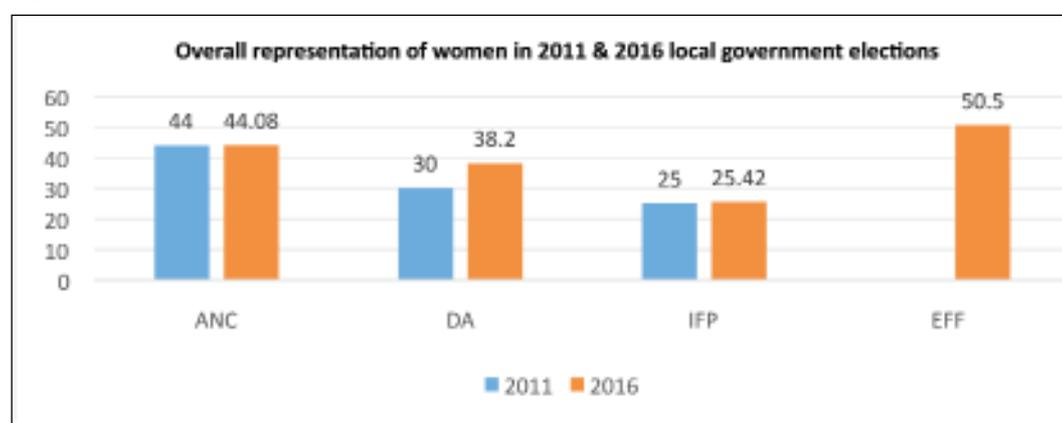
### 4.4. Overall gender representation by six selected political parties

This section on the comparative analysis of seats gained by women in PR and Ward councils in terms of the selected political parties was done to the exclusion of the UDM and VF+. This is because gendered data from 2011 by the two parties could not be obtained. The analysis thus focuses on the ANC, DA, IFP and EFF.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

The current electoral system at the local government level provides for local council seats to be equally divided between PR and Ward seats. However, the Local Government Municipal Structures Act only requires gender equality to be taken into account in the selection of PR candidates. There are no similar legal provisions in this Act for gender equality in the selection of Ward candidates. As a result, there are inevitable imbalances in the numbers of female PR Councillors compared to female Ward Councillors. In other words, more women are predicted to become PR Councillors than Ward Councillors, which in turn has a significant effect on the overall number of seats gained by women compared to men as Councillors. Figure 8 below illustrates trends in gender distribution of elected Councillors for the selected political parties across two election periods.

**Figure 8: Comparative analysis of the overall representation of women (2011 & 2016)**



Source: Gender Links<sup>25</sup> and IEC

The figures reveal that, with the exception of the EFF, political parties are still failing to achieve the 50% target for women's representation in the wake of the 2016 municipal elections. It should be noted that data for the EFF is only restricted to the 2016 elections. This is because the party was only founded in 2013, so no comparative data exist for the party's electoral performance in this regard prior to the 2016 municipal elections. Another noticeable trend is that the proportion of women for both the ANC and the IFP remained more or less similar for both election periods. The overall percentage of women in the ANC was 44% in 2011 and 44.08% in 2016. For the IFP the figures remained at 25% for both election periods. The DA, however, experienced a notable increase, from 30% in 2011 to 38.2% in 2016.

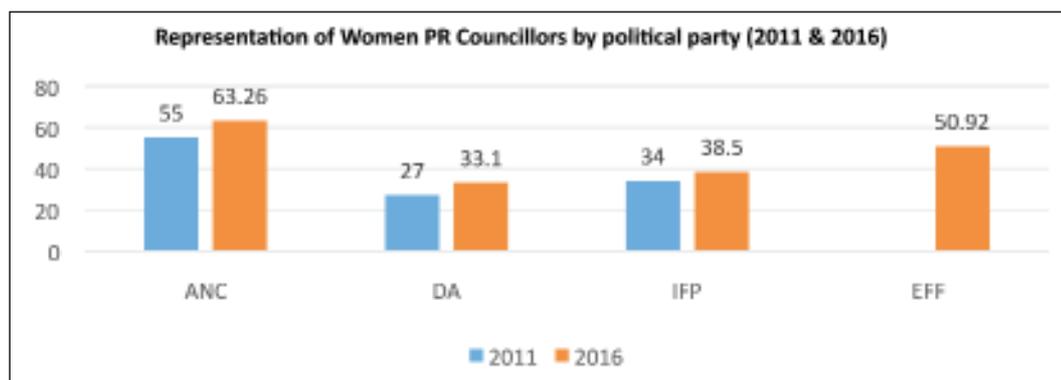
<sup>25</sup> Ibid

#### 4.5. Gender profiles of PR Councillors by political party

The impact of voluntary quotas has been clearly demonstrated in the 2016 local government results, as illustrated in Figure 9 below, in that the political parties without voluntary quotas were less likely to include significant numbers of female compared to male candidates in their PR lists, predictably resulting in fewer female than male Councillors. This trend was also evident in the 2011 local government elections results. For instance, the ANC, which has a voluntary quota policy, attained the highest percentage of women occupying PR seats at 55%. Other parties, which have no such policies, saw women achieve far fewer seats than their male counterparts: the IFP achieved 34% and the DA achieved 27%.

Figure 9 below shows that the number of women occupying PR seats has increased significantly for all the parties in the 2016 municipal elections, with the ANC gaining the most in the percentage of female PR Councillors increasing from 55% in 2011 to 63.26% in 2016. For the same two election periods, the DA also made some gains, from 27% to 33.1%, followed by the IFP (34% to 38.5%). As indicated earlier, no comparative data exists for the EFF in 2011. The point being made here is that while other parties have experienced increases in the numbers of female PR Councillors in 2016, the parties currently practising the voluntary quota policies (i.e. ANC and EFF) have higher numbers of female compared to male PR Councillors. This confirms the effectiveness of the quota system as a policy tool to demonstrate political commitment to gender equality. Also, it should be noted that the overall increase in the number of women PR Councillors across the board in 2016 seems to signal the fact that the political parties are taking on board the message on the need for greater women's representation in politics and government.

**Figure 9: Trends in women representation of PR seats gained by political parties from 2011 to 2016 local government elections**



Source: IEC

Figure 9 presents a detailed analysis of PR seats gained by political parties in the wake of the recent 2016 elections. The figure shows that some of the parties failed to attain the 50/50 target, while the ANC and the EFF did, or even exceeded it. Both parties exceeded the 50% target, with the ANC achieving the highest figure of 63.26% female PR Councillors, followed by the EFF at 50.92%. For the parties that failed to achieve the target, the IFP got 38.5%, and the DA 33.1%.

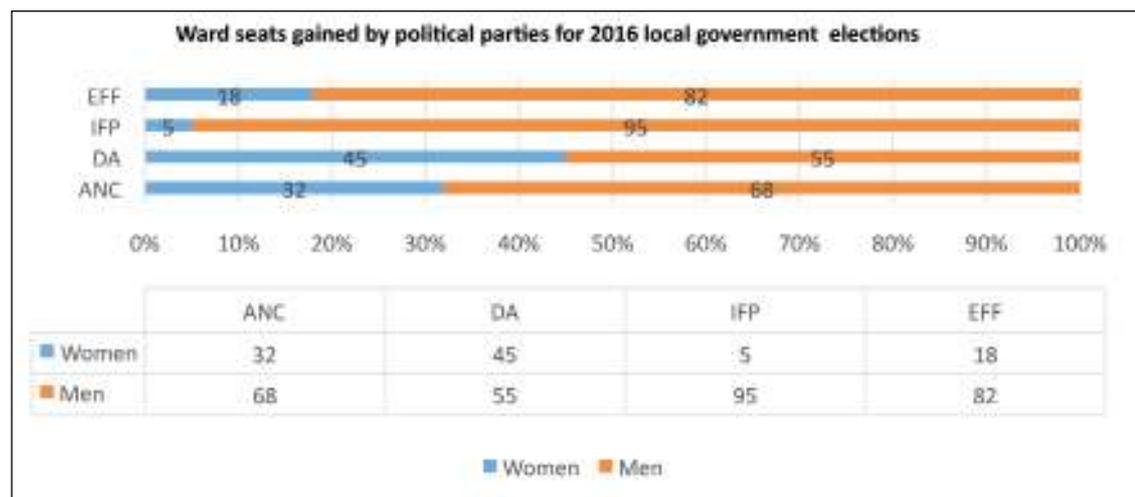
As indicated already, both the ANC and the EFF are currently practicing the 50/50 quota system for the selection of males and female Councillors, and this practice seems to be effective in the allocation of PR seats. The opposite seems to be the case for parties without the quota system, which explains why these parties (DA and IFP) seem to be struggling to come even close to the 50% target in the numbers of female PR Councillors.

#### **4.6. Gender profiles of Ward Councillors by political party**

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, the current electoral system applicable at local government level provides for council seats to be split equally (50/50) between PR and Ward seats. The Municipal Structures Act promotes and encourages gender equality in the selection of PR candidates and Councillors, while it is silent on the selection of Ward candidates and Councillors. This is one of the key factors in the resulting imbalance in the numbers of women as PR and Ward Councillors.

The results displayed in Figure 10 below illustrate the point. For instance, all the political parties failed to achieve the 50% target for women's representation as Ward Councillors. However, interestingly the DA achieved the highest percentage of female Ward Councillors (at 45%) compared to any of the other parties. The reason for this is not immediately clear, given that the party has no policy commitment to gender quotas for women. It is plausible though that the DA benefited from the electoral collapse of the ANC, which helped the party get many of its Ward candidate elected, both men and women. The ANC came second to the DA, with 32% for women Ward Councillors. The other parties performed dismally, with the EFF achieving only 18% and the IFP a mere 5%. In general, though, it would appear that while the political parties appear willing to put more women forward as PR candidates, they are not as willing to push for women as Ward Councillors, hence the poor performance of women against men as Ward Councillors as illustrated in Figure 10.

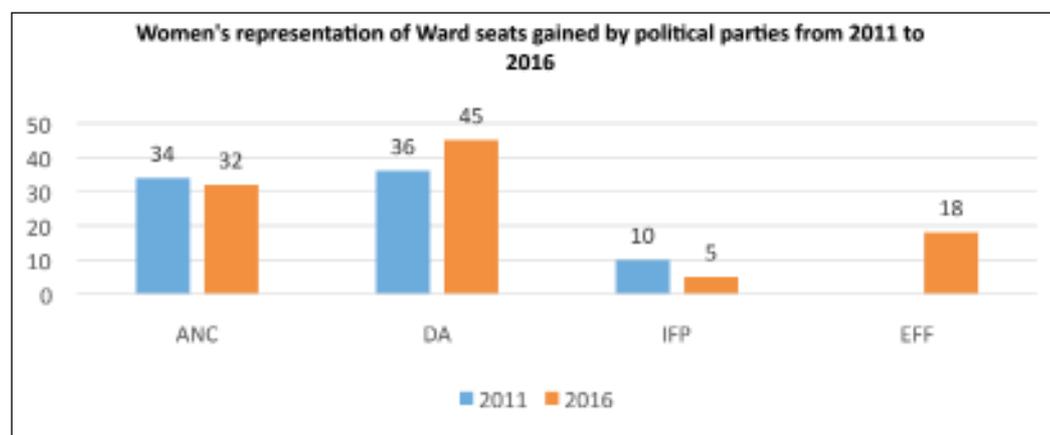
**Figure 10: Gender representation of Ward seats gained by political parties for 2016 local government elections**



Source: IEC

Figure 11 below presents a gender analysis of ward seats gained by political parties for both the 2011 and 2016 election periods. Women's representation for the ANC declined from 34% in 2011 to 32% in 2016. The IFP also followed a similar trend, with a percentage decrease from 10% in 2011 to 5% in 2016. For the DA, the number of female Ward Councillors increased from 36% in 2011 to 45% in 2016. This is a significant increase, especially for a party that has stated openly its disapproval of gender quotas.

**Figure 11: Trends in women's representation - Ward seats gained by political parties from 2011 to 2016**



Source: Gender Links and IEC

#### 4.7. Gender representation of office bearers (speakers and mayors)

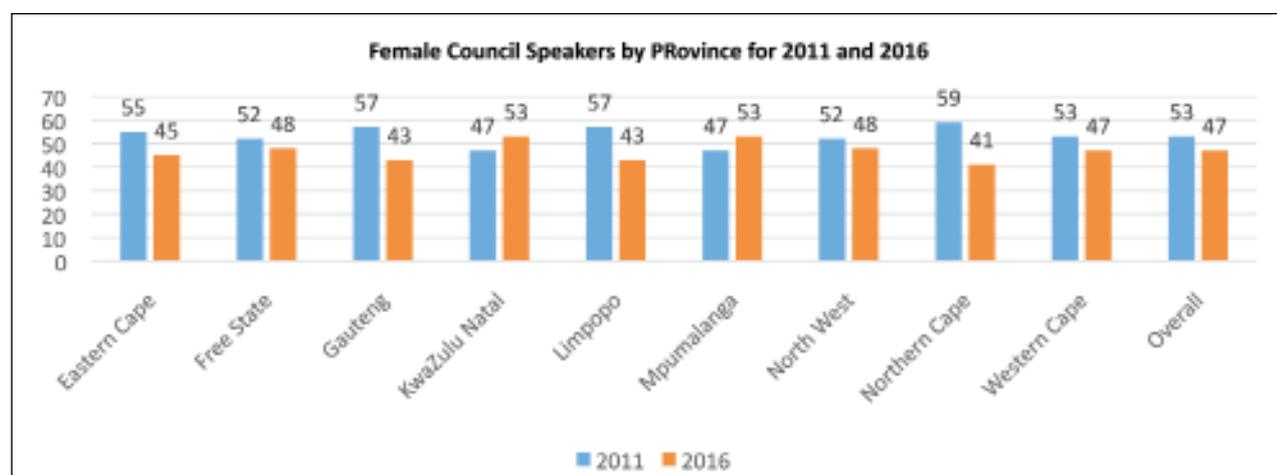
Office bearers are also an important category of representation at local government level given that the responsibility to exercise power and authority in the way the processes of local government are conducted resides here. This is a leadership category of representation where seniority is both a criterion for selection as well as a mark of

recognition of prior experience in leadership structures at party level. It therefore provides an opportunity for those appointed as office bearers to play an important role, not only in guiding the work of municipalities, but also in determining strategic policy and service delivery priorities as well as allocating budgetary resources to achieve these strategic and policy priorities over the next five years. For the CGE, the principle and constitutional requirement to promote and advance gender equality should be observed by all political parties in the appointment of office bearers.

#### 4.7.1. Gender representation of overall speakers and per province

One of the key office bearer positions at municipal council level is that of speaker. The incumbent in this position plays a leading role in ensuring that the rights and privileges of the sitting council are upheld. In Figure 12, the gender profiles of municipal council speakers are displayed to reveal trends between the 2011 and 2016 election periods. The data shows that the current average percentage of women speakers is 47%. The overall figure therefore reveals a 6% decrease from 53% in 2011 to 47% in 2016. In the two election periods, the provinces that presented the most losses in terms of declines in female council speaker numbers are Northern Cape (18%), Limpopo (14%), Gauteng (14%) and Eastern Cape (10%). Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal are the only provinces that performed well by increasing their numbers of female council speakers in 2016, compared to 2011. They both registered similar percentage increases (from 47% in 2011 to 53% in 2016) in the numbers of female council speakers.

**Figure 12: Comparative analysis of gender profiles of council speakers by province (2011 and 2016 municipal elections)**

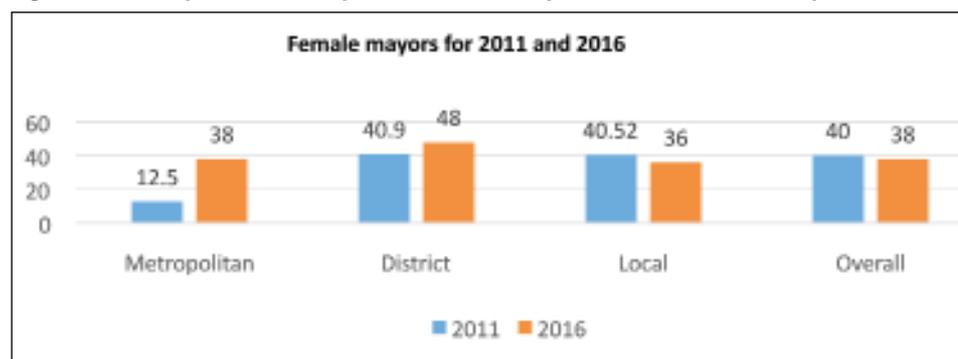


Sources: Various (<http://www.localgovernment.co.za/>), SALGA and CGE)

#### 4.7.2. Gender profiles of municipal mayors by province

This subsection presents and discusses the current gender representation profile of municipal mayors in the wake of the 2016 municipal elections. Figure 12 below presents the comparative data for the 2011 and 2016 election periods by category of municipality, showing clearly that the overall figure for the representation of women amongst municipal mayors fell slightly from 40% in 2011 to 38% in 2016.

**Figure 13: Comparative analysis of female mayors for 2011 and 2016 post-election period**



Sources: Various (<http://www.localgovernment.co.za/>), SALGA and CGE

The biggest contributor to this overall decrease in the number of female municipal mayors seems to have come from the local municipality category, which fell from 40.52% in 2011, to 36% in 2016. This appears to be the only category of municipality that suffered a decline in female speakership positions in the 2016 elections, while the other categories of municipalities have experienced increases to varying degrees. For instance, the highest gains for women municipal mayors occurred in the eight metropolitan councils, increasing from 12.5% in 2011 to 38% in 2016. The category of district municipalities also registered an increase in the number of mayors, from 40.9% in 2011 to 48% in 2016. Table 6 below gives the figures broken down into males and female mayors (and percentages) per province.

**Table 6: Total number of executive mayors for 2016 post-election period**

Province	Mayors				
	Total	Male	%	Female	%
Eastern Cape	39	20	51	19	49
Free State	13	11	48	12	52
Gauteng	11	8	73	3	27
KwaZulu-Natal	50	39	78	11	22
Limpopo	26	11	42	15	58

Table 6 continued ...

Province	Mayors				
	Total	Male	%	Female	%
<b>Mpumalanga</b>	31	19	61	12	39
<b>North West</b>	22	13	59	9	41
<b>Northern Cape</b>	31	19	61	12	39
<b>Western Cape</b>	30	24	80	6	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>38</b>

Sources: Various (The Local Government Handbook-A complete guide to municipalities in South Africa Municipalities, SALGA and CGE)

As Table 6 clearly illustrates, political parties have appointed more males than females to occupy mayoral positions after the 2016 municipal elections. As a result, the 2016 election period saw 38% of the municipal mayoral positions allocated to women, while male municipal mayors occupied an overwhelming 62%. In other words, there is a 60%/40% split in the representation of male and female municipal mayors in South Africa after the 2016 municipal elections.

Most of the provinces (6 out of 9) have failed to reach the 50% target: North West (41%), Northern Cape (39%), Mpumalanga (39%), Gauteng (27%), KwaZulu-Natal (22%), and Western Cape (20%). Three provinces performed well in relation to the 50% target for female mayors' positions: Limpopo (58%) and Free State (52%) exceeded the target, with the Eastern Cape virtually achieving the target at 49%.

## CHAPTER 5: GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE 8 METROS

### 5.1. Overall gender representation and balance in the eight metros

Based on the data currently available for the eight metros, it is clear that overwhelmingly more male Councillors were elected compared to females. This is also the case when comparing male and female Ward and PR Councillors. None of the eight metros achieved overall gender parity of 50/50 in terms of female and male representation, including for Ward council seats. However, for PR council seats/representation, only EThekwini metro has managed to exceed the 50% parity level for female representation, as illustrated in Table 10.

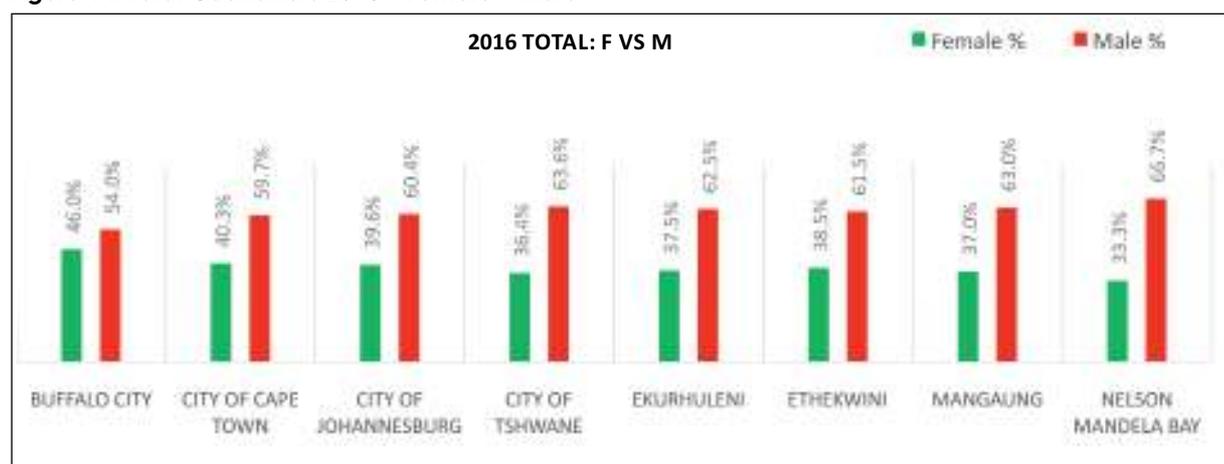
In terms of overall gender balance/representation, out of the overall total of 1477 Councillors across the eight metros, only 569 (38.5%) were female. The overwhelming majority (i.e. 908 or 61.5%) of the 1477 newly elected metro Councillors are males (See Table 7).

**Table 7: Total Councillors 2016 – Female v Male**

Metro	Councillors		
	Total	Female	Male
Buffalo City	100	46	54
City of Cape Town	231	93	138
City of Johannesburg	270	107	163
City of Tshwane	214	78	136
Ekurhuleni	224	84	140
EThekwini	218	84	134
Mangaung	100	37	63
Nelson Mandela Bay	120	40	80
Totals	1477	569	908
Percentage	100%	38.5%	61.5%

Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

**Figure 14: Total Councillors 2016 – Female v Male**



Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

At this stage, we do not have accurate information to carry out a comparison of the total/overall number of Councillors in the eight metros to determine whether overall representation for women Councillors has declined, increased or remained the same for the two periods (prior to 2016, and after the 2016 municipal elections). In general, though, and based on the analysis and discussion presented in the rest of this report, we can deduce that the overall level of women's representation in the eight metros is not only lower, it has also declined compared to male representation after the 2016 municipal elections. This is based on numerous research findings in the past which have argued that the fortunes and progress of women's representation in South African politics tends to be closely tied to the political fortunes of the ANC.

The key reason for this is that the ANC is the only political party in South Africa currently committed not only to a voluntary 50/50 quota gender equality policy, but it has also largely successfully implemented it through the so-called 'zebra stripe' strategy which ensures that women are given equal chances to be elected in terms of their placing as candidates. Therefore, over the years the ANC has been more successful compared to other political parties in terms of ensuring that women are selected as candidates and elected as political representatives at local, provincial and national levels. The negative consequence of this is that if and when the ANC suffers electoral decline, this has generally translated into significant net losses and declines in the numbers of women in politics.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Gender Links (2014), *Southern Africa: 50/50 By 2015 Remains an Elusive Dream* (<http://genderlinks.org.za/csw-newsletter/Southern-africa-5050...>); See also CGE (2014), *From Rhetoric to Gender Reality: Women's Participation and Representation in South Africa's 2014 Election*.

The figures in the graph above show that some of the metros are performing worse than others. For instance, the Buffalo City municipality (46.0%) appears to have a higher representation of female Councillors compared to the others. The second highest metro is the City of Cape Town (40.3%), followed by City of Johannesburg (39.6%), EThekweni (38.5%), Ekurhuleni (37.5%), Mangaung (37.0%), City of Tshwane (36.4%) and Nelson Mandela Bay (33.3%) with the least representation of women within its council.

This means that male Councillors continue to dominate local government politics, with the Nelson Mandela Bay and City of Tshwane metros performing worse than the others in terms of overall women's representation in their councils.

## 5.2. Ward and PR gender representation and balance

### 5.2.1. Female Ward Councillors

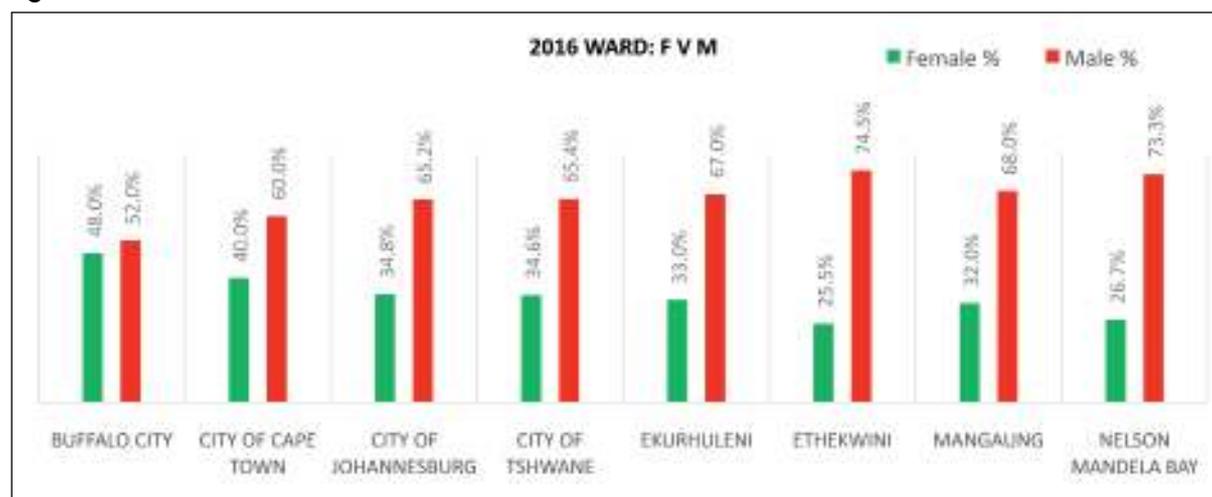
In terms of gender representation for combined Ward council seats, the general picture of under-representation for women remains dismal in that more male Councillors were elected across the eight metros compared to females. For instance, out of a total of 739 Ward Councillors elected across the eight metros, only 251 (34.0%) of them were female, compared to 488 (66.0%) males.

**Table 8: 2016 Ward Councillors – Female v Male**

Metro	Ward Total				
	Total	Female	%	Male	%
<b>Buffalo City</b>	50	24	48,0%	26	52,0%
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	115	46	40,0%	69	60,0%
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	135	47	34,8%	88	65,2%
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	107	37	34,6%	70	65,4%
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	112	37	33,0%	75	67,0%
<b>EThekweni</b>	110	28	25,5%	82	74,5%
<b>Mangaung</b>	50	16	32,0%	34	68,0%
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	60	16	26,7%	44	73,3%
<b>Total</b>	739	251	34,0%	488	66,0%

Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

**Figure 15: 2016 Ward Councillors – Female v Male**



Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

The figures in the table and graph above clearly indicate that none of the eight metros had reached the 50% voluntary target for women's representation. Many of the metros display large gaps between female and male representation for Ward council seats, with EThekweni (a 49.0% gap) and Nelson Mandela Bay (46.6% gap) displaying the largest gaps between male and female Ward representation. Only the Buffalo City metro (48.0%) came close to the 50% parity level of female/male representation. The Buffalo City municipality has therefore performed better than the others, followed by City of Cape Town (40.0%), City of Johannesburg (34.8%), City of Tshwane (34.6%), Ekurhuleni (33.0%), Mangaung (32.0%), Nelson Mandela Bay (26.7%) and EThekweni (25.5%). Clearly in terms of the representation of women as Ward Councillors the two metros of EThekweni and Nelson Mandela Bay performed worse than the others. Therefore, the Buffalo City and the City of Cape Town metros performed best compared to the rest.

Available information<sup>27</sup> on women's representation as Ward Councillors immediately prior to the 2016 municipal elections shows that out of a total of 695 Councillors elected in the 2011 period, only 239 (34.4%) of them were female.

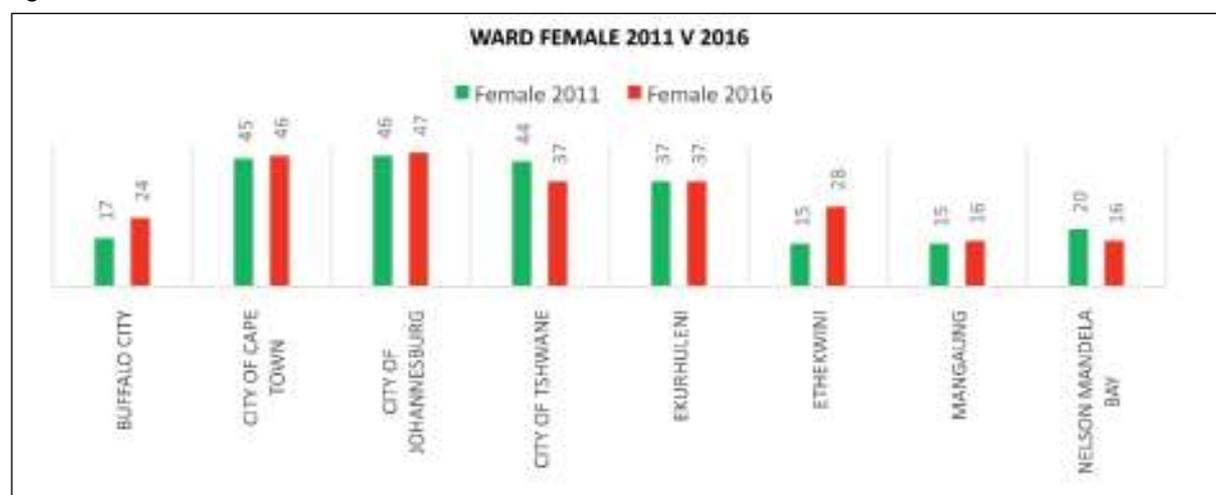
<sup>27</sup> Information obtained from the websites of the 8 metro Councils as well as other independent sources

**Table 9: Female Ward Councillors – 2011 v 2016**

Metro	Ward	Ward
	Female 2011	Female 2016
Buffalo City	17	24
City of Cape Town	45	46
City of Johannesburg	46	47
City of Tshwane	44	37
Ekurhuleni	37	37
EThekweni	15	28
Mangaung	15	16
Nelson Mandela Bay	20	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>251</b>

Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

**Figure 16: Female Ward Councillors – 2011 v 2016**



Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

Figure 16 illustrates that the numbers of women Ward Councillors has slightly increased across five of the eight metros (Buffalo City, City of Cape Town, City of Johannesburg, EThekweni and Mangaung), while remaining the same in one metro (Ekurhuleni) and dropping in the City of Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay. The largest increase was in EThekweni (from 15 to 28), with Buffalo City displaying the second largest number of increase (from 17 to 24). The largest drop in the number of female Ward Councillors was in the City of Tshwane (from 44 to 37).

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While there has been a significant increase in real numbers for female Ward Councillors from 239 prior to the recent elections to 251 in 2016, in percentage terms this translated into a slight drop from 34.4% to 34.0%. The number of male Ward Councillors, on the other hand, has also increased significantly from 456 (65.6%) prior to the recent elections, to 488 (66.0%) in 2016 – this is therefore a net increase of 0.4% for male Ward Councillors.

### **5.2.2. Female PR Councillors**

It is widely understood that the masculine nature of politics is one of the key reasons as to why female candidates fare worse than male candidates at Ward level. Therefore, usually fewer women tend to contest elections at Ward level. It is also clear that citizens at community level, including party activists and branch leaders are more likely to prefer male candidates over female candidates. In other words, there appears to be entrenched prejudice, reinforced by negative perceptions and patriarchal attitudes against women as political leaders at local community/Ward level. This tends to lead to political parties favouring or putting forward male candidates on the basis that they have better prospects for winning Wards for their parties compared to female candidates.

It is often therefore expected that political parties would compensate for the usually poor representation of female Ward Councillors by nominating more female candidates for PR council seats. This is because unlike the Ward council seats where the selection of party candidates is often fiercely contested with political risks involved when party leadership structures impose their own preferred candidates, for PR council seats party leadership can exercise greater leeway and discretion to select candidates, taking into account considerations such as gender, race, geography, age, disability and so on. This is therefore the category of party representation where female candidates stand a better chance of being elected through party leadership discretionary candidate selection processes.

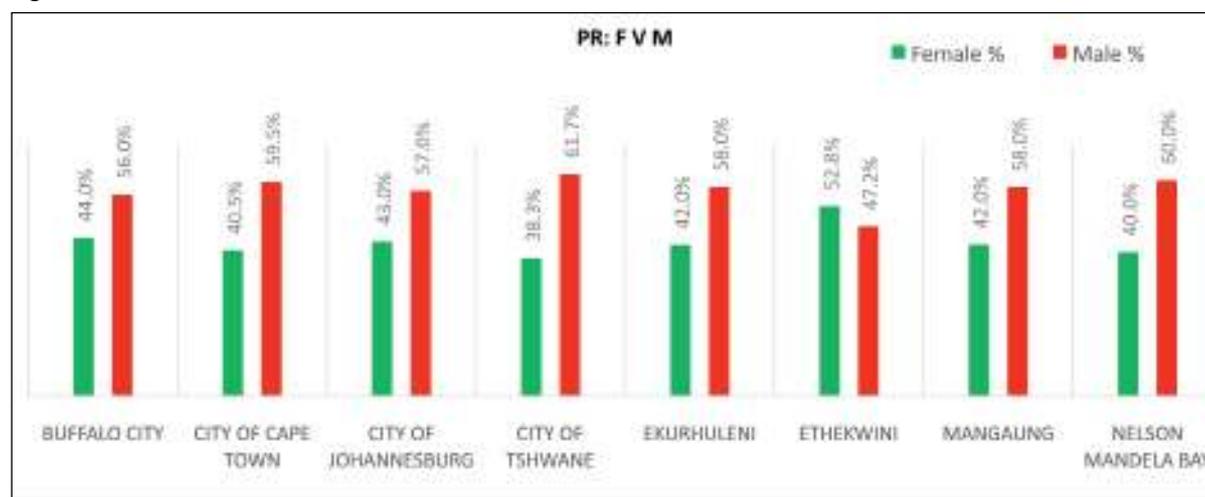
However, the available figures from the eight metros appear not to support this expectation. Instead the figures in the table below clearly show that the most of the political parties have failed to compensate for the inadequate representation of women as Ward Councillors.

**Table 10: 2016 PR Councillors – Female v Male**

Metro	PR				
	Total	Female	%	Male	%
<b>Buffalo City</b>	50	22	44,0%	28	56,0%
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	116	47	40,5%	69	59,5%
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	135	58	43,0%	77	57,0%
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	107	41	38,3%	66	61,7%
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	112	47	42,0%	65	58,0%
<b>EThekwini</b>	108	57	52,8%	51	47,2%
<b>Mangaung</b>	50	21	42,0%	29	58,0%
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	60	24	40,0%	36	60,0%
<b>Total</b>	738	317	43,0%	421	57,0%

Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

**Figure 17: 2016 PR Councillors – Female v Male**



Sources: Various (Municipalities, IEC, CGE, etc.)

So, more male PR Councillors were elected across the eight metros compared to female Councillors in the 2016 municipal elections. For instance, out of the total number (738) of all PR Councillors elected across the eight metros, 317 (43%) of them are female while the majority (421) or 57% are male Councillors (See Table 10). In other words, even in this category of representation where it should have been relatively easier for women to outnumber male candidates, women's representation remains comparatively lower, and has also failed to reach the 50% parity mark.

In terms of the performance of individual metros, the EThekweni Metro (52.8%) not only achieved the highest level of female representation for PR Councillors, it has also exceeded the 50% parity threshold. It is the only metro to reach and exceed the 50% parity level. The others fell significantly below the 50% parity mark. EThekweni is followed by Buffalo City (44.0%), City of Johannesburg (43.0%), Mangaung (42.0%), Ekurhuleni (42.0%), City of Cape Town (40.5%), Nelson Mandela Bay (40.0%) and City of Tshwane (38.3%) (See Figure 17). In this category of female representation, the City of Tshwane is clearly the worst performer, being the only metro with a figure for female PR representation below 40%. The metros with the largest gap between female and male representation are City of Tshwane (23.4% gap) and Nelson Mandela Bay Metro (20.0% gap). We do not have accurate information to compare the representation of female PR Councillors in 2016 to the period prior to the recent elections.

### **5.3. Office bearers (speakers, chief whips, mayors and mayoral committee members)**

Based on available figures, as will be discussed in this section (see the table below for example), it is clear that there is also general under-representation of women, in this case among office bearers, across the eight metros.

#### **5.3.1. Council speaker positions**

The position of speaker is one of most important leadership positions after that of mayor. The speaker is a leader who controls and manages the business of the municipal council chamber on a day-to-day basis and presides over important functions of the council chamber such as the election of the mayor soon after the election, council debates, oversight work by the council committees as well as exercising general oversight over, including punishing misbehaviour of, Councillors, irrespective of party affiliations.

The position of council speaker is usually assigned to a relatively senior political leader from the governing party or coalition. Therefore, in this case also the principle of, and requirement for, gender equality and balance should be observed in the appointment of council speakers.

From the information currently available as indicated in the table below, six or 75% of the current eight council speakers are males.

**Table 11: Speakership positions by Gender – 2011 v 2016**

<b>Speaker Position (Female v Male)</b>				
	Female 2011	Female 2016	Male 2011	Male 2016
<b>Buffalo City</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>EThekweni</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Mangaung</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	4	2	4	6

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

Only two of the current council speakers in 2016 (City of Tshwane and Ekurhuleni) are females. This is a decline from four in the 2011 period, to two in the 2016 period. It is a decline for female council speakers compared to the number of males in 2016 because the 50/50 gender parity that prevailed for male and female council speaker positions in the 2011 period has now been replaced by gender inequality in the 2016 period, with males making up the majority of the council speakers in the eight metros. None of the metros currently has created a position of deputy speaker.

Four of the eight metros (i.e. Buffalo City, City of Cape Town, EThekweni and Mangaung) had male speakers prior to the 2016 local elections. The same situation prevails after the 2016 elections. Only two metros (Ekurhuleni and City of Tshwane) had female speakers prior to 2016, and have ensured that they retained women in those positions after the 2016 elections. For the City of Johannesburg and the Nelson Mandela Bay metros, female speakers were replaced by male speakers in 2016. All in all, no male council speaker was replaced with a female speaker after the 2016 elections.

### **5.3.2. Council chief whip positions**

The position of chief whip plays an important role as it is responsible for keeping the 'troops' for the governing party or coalition well-behaved in terms of the business of the

Council Chamber, including votes or divisions on motions placed before council. This is a strategically important position as it ensures that the members are assigned tasks and responsibilities in accordance with their strengths, abilities and skills for maximum impact and to ensure that the business of the governing party or coalition is conducted effectively to achieve its strategic political objectives. This position is therefore usually allocated to a senior political leader in the party.

**Table 12: Chief Whip positions by Gender – 2011 v 2016**

<b>Chief Whip Position (Females v Males)</b>				
	Female 2011	Female 2016	Male 2011	Male 2016
<b>Buffalo City</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>EThekweni</b>	0	1	1	0
<b>Mangaung</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	2	1	6	7

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

Available figures from the eight metros show that only one chief whip, from EThekweni, is female while the rest (87.5%) are males (Table 12). This represents a decline in the number of female chief whips from two in the 2011 period, while the number of male chief whips, which was already high compared to females, increased slightly from six to seven. Two metros (City of Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay) have replaced female chief whips with males, whereas only one metro (EThekweni) appointed a female to replace a male. Based on current information, it would appear that the majority of the metros (5 out of 8) had not appointed female chief whips before.

### **5.3.3. Executive mayor and deputy mayor positions**

The position of mayor is very important as it is the key executive leadership position and role, and also leader of government at local government level. It is the chief political

head of government at local government level and chief policy and decision maker. The privilege to become mayor is fiercely in demand and all the political party leadership structures jealously guard their prerogative to choose who becomes executive mayor after the local government elections. Executive mayors exercise relatively significant powers and have enormous responsibilities, including the power to choose or dismiss (within the context of their party political protocols) the members of the mayoral committees for the different portfolios.

The executive mayors also preside over huge budgets in order to fulfil the constitutional roles and responsibilities of their governments to deliver services to their communities. Symbolically this position is crucial as it is the first citizen of the metro, and is therefore politically responsible and accountable for service delivery and the use or abuse of council resources. Thus, for CGE, the principle and constitutional requirement for gender equality should be observed in the appointment of mayors. Current figures from the election results show that out of the eight metro executive mayors, only three or 37.5% are female (See Table 13). Therefore, five or 62.5% of the eight newly elected executive mayors are male.

**Table 13: Executive Mayor Positions by gender – 2011 v 2016**

<b>Executive Mayor Position (Females v Males)</b>				
	Female 2011	Female 2016	Male 2011	Male 2016
<b>Buffalo City</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>EThekweni</b>	0	1	1	0
<b>Mangaung</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Totals</b>	2	1	6	7

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

This represents a slight increase in the number female executive mayors compared to the 2011 period when there was only one female in this position in the City of Cape Town Metro.

This is one of the very few categories of representation where the number of women increased compared to the 2011 period. Nonetheless while there has been a slight drop in the number of male executive mayors in 2016 compared to the 2011 period, the males still outnumber the females in 2016.

In addition to the City of Cape Town, which has always been led by a female executive mayor, two other metros (i.e. EThekweni and Mangaung), previously led by males, are now led by female executive mayors. The rest of the metros (i.e. City of Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela Bay, Buffalo City, Ekurhuleni and City of Tshwane) were led by male executive mayors immediately prior to the 2016 local government elections, and are still led by males after the 2016 local government elections.

**Table 14: Deputy Mayor Positions by gender – 2011 v 2016**

<b>Deputy Mayor Position (Females v Males)</b>				
	Female 2011	Female 2016	Male 2011	Male 2016
<b>Buffalo City</b>	0	1	1	0
<b>City of Cape Town</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>City of Johannesburg</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>City of Tshwane</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>EThekweni</b>	1	1	0	-
<b>Mangaung</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Nelson Mandela Bay</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	3	2	2	3

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

Five of the eight metro councils (especially EThekweni, Buffalo City, Mangaung, City of Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay) have created the position of deputy executive mayor. Out of the five, two are female (from Buffalo City and EThekweni) while the other three (from the Mangaung, City of Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay metros) are male. This represents a slight drop in the number of females and a slight increase in the number of males in 2016 compared to the 2011 period (Table 14).

### 5.3.4. Members of Mayoral Committees (MMCs) positions

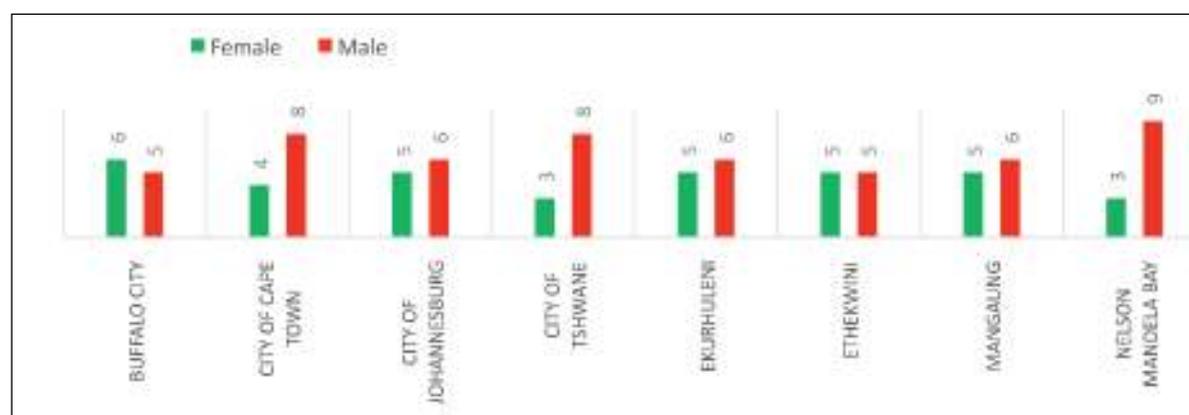
Members of the mayoral committees are appointed by the executive mayors, not only to be in their municipality's highest decision-making and municipal executive structure, but also to serve as political heads of the various portfolio committees such as housing, transport, infrastructures, etc. These are the office bearers on whom the ability and capacity of the municipality to meet the needs of citizens rely. These positions therefore hold enormous responsibility in terms of executive leadership, and therefore the requirement for gender equality should be prioritised in the appointment of MMCs.

Table 15: 2016 MMCs (Female v Male)

Metro	MMC's				
	Total	Female	%	Male	%
Buffalo City	11	6	54,5%	5	45,5%
City of Cape Town	12	4	33,3%	8	66,7%
City of Johannesburg	11	5	45,5%	6	54,5%
City of Tshwane	11	3	27,3%	8	72,7%
Ekurhuleni	11	5	45,5%	6	54,5%
EThekweni	10	5	50,5%	5	50,0%
Mangaung	11	5	45,5%	6	54,5%
Nelson Mandela Bay	12	3	25,0%	9	75,0%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>40,5%</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>59,5%</b>

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

Figure 18: 2016 MMCs (Female v Male)



Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

Based on available information obtained from the eight metros after the 2016 elections, there is a total of 89 (MMCs). This total includes the executive mayors, deputy mayors and ordinary MMCs. Out of this total, 36 (40.4%) are female MMCs while the majority of 53 (59.6%) are males. Therefore, women are once again under-represented in this category of office bearers as MMCs in the eight metros combined.

In terms of the performance of individual metros, the best performing Metros regarding female representation among MMCs are Buffalo City with 6 (54.5%) out of the 11) MMCs. In fact, Buffalo City is the only metro that has exceeded the 50% parity level, with more female than male MMCs in the mayoral committee. The EThekweni municipality comes second, reaching the 50% parity level of five females and five male MMCs.

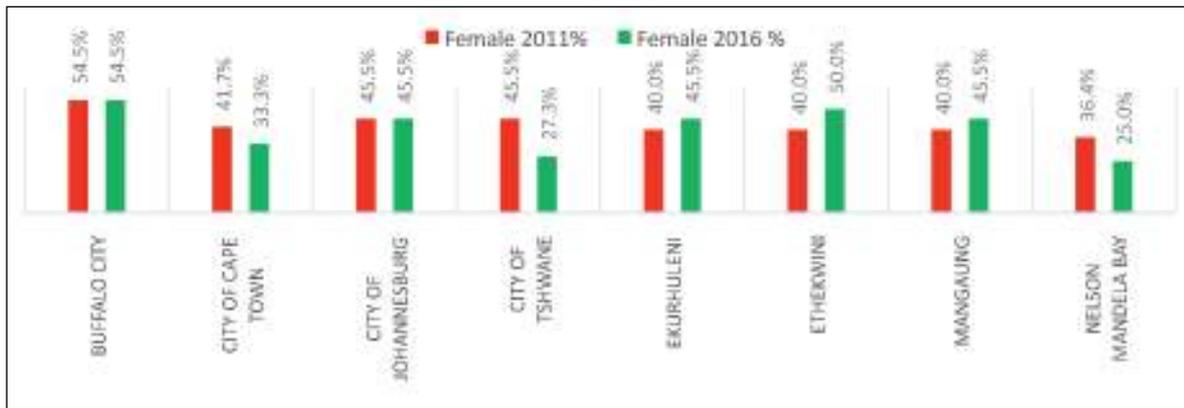
In third place are the three municipalities of City of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Mangaung – each with 5 (45.5%) female MMCs out of a total of 11 MMCs each. The City of Cape Town places 4th in the ranking order, with 4 (33.3%) female MMCs out of 12.

The worst performing metros in terms of women's representation in the mayoral committees are the City of Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay. For instance, the City of Tshwane has appointed only three or 27.3% female MMCs out of the total of 11. The Nelson Mandela Bay metro has also appointed only three or 25.0% female MMCs out of a total of 12 after the 2016 local government elections.

Three metros – Nelson Mandela Bay, City of Tshwane and City of Cape Town (in that order) – have the largest gaps between female and male representation among MMCs (50.0%, 45.5% and 33.3%) respectively. Only one metro (EThekweni) has achieved a 50/50 parity target between female and male MMCs, and thus has no gap. Three metros (i.e. City of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Mangaung) have moderate negative gaps of 9.1% in favour of male MMCs, while Buffalo City is the metro with a 9.1% positive gap in favour of female MMCs.

Compared to the period immediately prior to the 2016 local government elections, the situation still looked fairly dismal for women's representation among MMCs. Figure 19 shows the comparison between female MMCs in the 2011 period and after the 2016 local government elections.

**Figure 19: Percentages Female MMCs – 2011 v 2016**



Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

In general, there were slightly more male MMCs (49 out of 86, or 57.0%) compared to female MMCs (37 or 43.0%) in the 2011 period immediately prior to the 2016 local government elections. This situation changed only marginally after the recent municipal elections. For instance, the number of male MMCs increased from 49 out of 86 in the 2011 period before the 2016 municipal elections, to 53 (or 59.6%) out of 89 after the 2016 municipal elections. For female MMCs, the number decreased slightly from 37 (43.0%) out of 86 in the 2011 period to 36 (40.4%) out of 89 MMCs in the 2016 period. In percentage terms this was a decrease of 2.6% (from 43.0% to 40.4%) for female MMCs.

What all this means is that the situation regarding the under-representation of females among MMCs in the eight metros has worsened slightly (by one MMC) compared to the 2011 period just before the 2016 municipal elections. Therefore, male MMCs (53) continued to outnumber female MMCs (36) after the 2016 municipal elections.

Table 16: Female MMCs gender profile changes – 2011 v 2016

Metro	Female MMCs 2011	Female MMCs 2016	Gender profile changes
Buffalo City	6	6	↔
City of Johannesburg	5	5	↔
Ekurhuleni	4	5	↑
EThekweni	4	5	↑
Mangaung	4	5	↑
City of Cape Town	5	4	↓
City of Tshwane	5	3	↓
Nelson Mandela Bay	4	3	↓
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36</b>	↓

Sources: Various (Municipalities, CGE, etc.)

In terms of comparing individual metros between the 2011 period immediately prior to, and after the 2016 municipal elections, the figures reveal that women's representation increased marginally in three of the eight metros – EThekweni (from 4 to 5), Mangaung (from 4 to 5) and Ekurhuleni (from 4 to 5).

In two metros – City of Johannesburg (5) and Buffalo City (6) the number of female MMCs remained the same as it was in the 2011 period immediately prior to the 2016 municipal elections. In three metros – City of Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay and City of Cape Town – the representation of women among MMCs declined significantly: from 5 to 3 in the City of Tshwane, from 4 to 3 in the Nelson Mandela Bay and from 5 to 4 in the City of Cape Town metro.

An obvious point to make here is that none of the metros currently under the control of the ANC has had a decline in the number of female MMCs compared to the 2011 period just before the 2016 municipal elections. However, this is the case in three of the four metros currently under the control of the DA, Therefore, it would appear that three metros (City of Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay and Cape Town), were the contributors to the significant decline in the number of female MMCs after the 2016 municipal elections compared to the 2011 period just before the elections.

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## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1. Conclusions

This report is the result of the review and assessment from a gender perspective of various aspects of the South African Municipal Elections that took place on 3 August 2016. The assessment covered various aspects such as the party manifesto campaigns, the Election Day activities and the results/outcomes of the elections. Based on this assessment, we reach the following conclusions:

Firstly, we concluded that steady progress is being achieved in the overall participation and representation of women within political parties and institutions of local government in South Africa. The overall number of women's representation as local Councillors has increased in the wake of the 2016 Municipal Elections. This increase was seen mostly in the PR category of Councillors where the highest number in this regards was achieved since the first democratic elections in 1995.

Secondly, we conclude that political commitments towards gender mainstreaming, accompanied by a clear policy and practice on gender quotas, are critical factors towards improving women's representation and participation within political parties and institutions of government in South Africa. This was illustrated clearly by the number of seats gained by the two political parties that have openly adopted and continue to practise the system (i.e. the ANC and EFF). For instance, the ANC achieved the highest number of women elected as PR Councillors during the 2016 Municipal Elections, followed by the EFF.

Thirdly, women continue to experience difficulties and perform poorly as Ward Councillors compared to their male counterparts. Many political parties perform poorly in terms of promoting and advancing women as Ward Councillors. While the DA appears to perform better than the other political parties in achieving the highest proportion of female Ward Councillors, this was in spite of rather than because of a clear, effective and sustained strategy and programme of promoting gender transformation within the party.

Fourthly, in spite of the progress achieved in terms increased numerical representation figures for women's representation as local Councillors, women continue to experience

obstacles in appointments to senior level/office bearer positions in institutions of government at local level. In other words, women continue to be under-represented compared to men especially in important leadership positions such as council speakers, executive mayors and chief whips, among others. For instance, when compared to the 2011 figures, there has been a clear decrease in the representation of women both as council speakers and as executive mayors after the 2016 Municipal Elections. This is in spite of the overall increase in the overall figure for women's representation after the 2016 elections.

Finally, we note that many political parties do not utilise their party manifestos effectively as tools for communicating to voters their policy commitments and statements of intention on gender mainstreaming and gender transformation as they do with other policy issues. Many of the party manifestos displayed a clear lack of attention to issues of significance from a gender policy perspective.

## **6.2. Recommendations**

In spite of the challenges and gaps highlighted in this report, opportunities exist for the creation of necessary changes in the attempt to address inequality between men and women in terms of participation and representation in political parties and institutions of government. The recommendations that follow are based on the discussion of the findings contained in this report:

- The government should review constitution and legislative frameworks such as the Municipal Structures Act to appropriately address women underrepresentation by closing in on the current gaps.
- The government should legislate for a 50/50 quota system for women's representation into law, and make its implementation mandatory for all political parties. The Act should set criteria to regulate the election of Councillors in the executive structures in order to accommodate the gender distribution within councils.
- The quota system should be supplemented with other practical empowerment initiatives, including capacity building and skills development to ensure that women are able to take up leadership positions in the long term.

- A range of punitive measures should be implemented for non-compliance, and parties that do not abide by the law should be subjected to public funding allocation cuts.
- In the absence of legislated gender quota, political parties are encouraged to apply a 50/50 voluntary quota system for women at all levels of political representation, including meaningful leadership positions.
- Electoral authorities and party nomination committees should not accept party electoral lists that do not comply or place women in 'winnable' positions.
- Political parties need to pay greater attention to addressing gender in their manifestos by outlining concrete set measures to promote gender equality, address gendered needs and enhance the lives of women.
- Political parties must ensure that their manifestos, policies and priorities are responsive to the needs of both women and men, in terms of gender-specific policy reforms and to ensure that gender is mainstreamed into all party policies and practices.
- Political parties should set up transformation structures to address gender inequality in candidate lists and leadership structures.
- Political parties should ensure that women candidates replace exiting women representatives in any vacant seats at all levels of government. This means that any vacated seat should be filled by women to maintain the gains in the proportion of women in the structures of governance.
- Political parties should provide skills training and mentorship for women candidates, especially during election campaigning periods. This should be done with the aim of strengthening their campaigning skills (The training should focus on fundraising skills, message development, working with the media, campaign planning, voter outreach programmes and communication skills).
- The women's wings of the various political parties should serve as effective lobby/advocacy action groups to push for internal measures to promote women's candidacies, including lobbying to ensure women candidates are placed higher up the party lists during elections.
- Political parties should develop clear guidelines for the operation of candidate nominations and recruitment committees to promote diversity by including more women in the recruitment and nomination of candidates.
- Parties should ensure that strict enforcement mechanisms are in place, to enable relevant party structures to reject party lists or internal processes that do not adhere to gender quotas.
- Civil society organisations, the CGE, and other key role players in the gender sector

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should continue to monitor and pursue action against threats to or violation of the gains made in women's representation through the necessary measures, including advocacy and public interest litigation.

- Civil society in general, including key role players such as the CGE, political parties and others, should establish an inter-sectoral forum aimed at maintaining consistent interaction among organisations in the pursuit of strategies supporting and increasing women's representation in political leadership. Such structures should avoid duplication of efforts by encouraging a culture of collaboration.







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