

This article was downloaded by: [115.85.25.194]

On: 01 April 2015, At: 00:02

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office:
Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ragn20>

South African Parliament and blurred lines: The ANC Women's League and the African National Congress' gendered political narrative

Lindiwe D. Makhunga

Published online: 08 Jul 2014.



CrossMark

[Click for updates](#)

To cite this article: Lindiwe D. Makhunga (2014) South African Parliament and blurred lines: The ANC Women's League and the African National Congress' gendered political narrative, *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 28:2, 33-47

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2014.931732>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

South African Parliament and blurred lines: The ANC Women's League and the African National Congress' gendered political narrative

Lindiwe D. Makhunga

abstract

Through a consideration of the 20 years that have passed since inauguration of South Africa (SA)'s first democratically elected government and the current relationship between the African National Congress' (ANC) gendered political narrative and the country's state of gender inequality, this article aims to locate the present state of the country's gender equality politics heuristically, through an exploration of women's parliamentary politics. The ruling party's gendered political narrative is referred to as a 'palliative care' approach, because it fails to substantively address root causes of unequal patriarchal gender relations in SA, which are manifested in appalling rates of gender-based violence and the feminisation of poverty.

Using participant observation and semi-structured interviews conducted in National Parliament between June and September 2013, this article argues that SA's 2013 Women's Parliament reflects three important dynamics that currently define the state of the relationship between promotion of gender equality in SA and the gendered political narrative of the ANC. These are explored as: (1) the 'hijacking' of Women's Parliament and its monopolisation by the ANC Women's League, reinforcing a trend established by the organisation in using key State vehicles, i.e. Parliament and the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, to reproduce a conservative, anti-transformative and nationalist gendered political narrative on the ruling party's behalf; and (2) the ruling ANC Government's indecisive, palliative care approach to the well-being of women in SA. The two latter dynamics can be seen to have emerged from the third attribute of parliament: (3) asymmetry between women's considerable presence in SA's Parliament and lack of a substantive women's parliamentary politics in response to the urgent needs and interests of ordinary women, in lieu of patronage politics and party loyalty.

keywords

2013 Women's Parliament, ANC, nationalism, gender inequality, political narrative

Introduction

Twenty years ago South Africa (SA)'s national legislature was inaugurated as the country's primary representative institution, becoming the symbolic site of the State's newly initiated multi-racial political dispensation

and commitment to democratic inclusiveness and diversity. The country's particular historical context and transition to a new political dispensation signified a decisive break with its tragic past, discursively framing the role of Parliament and its processes of legislative

formulation and reform as a historically restorative political project (Freeman, 2005; Hasson, 2010; Murray and Nijzink, 2002). This 'project' promised to address previously marginalised groups, like women, who had been excluded as a politically prioritised demographic for the around 100 years of racist and patriarchal politics preceding 1994.

Collective aspirations for the national legislature's ability to produce substantial outcomes to promote gender equality were raised when, in a matter of weeks in 1994, the number of women in SA's Parliament increased from 2.7% to 27.7% (Britton, 2005; Geisler, 2004; Hassim, 2006; Walsh, 2010). Feminist expectations were further heightened when women's political representation steadily increased with subsequent post-apartheid Parliaments, currently representing one of the highest levels of women's presence in Parliament in the world (44.8%).

The national legislature, as the primary site of political party negotiation over competing interests, therefore reveals important shifts that have emerged in SA's political context with regard to gender equality politics since the African National Congress (ANC)'s ascension to political power as part of a Government of National Unity in 1994. This article attempts to locate the present state of South African gender politics heuristically through an exploration of women's parliamentary politics, metonymically represented by the 2013 annual Women's Parliament held to commemorate South African Women's Month.

I argue that the annual Women's Parliament, which purportedly stands as a testament to the Government's commitment to the well-being of women in SA, realistically performs a selective political narrative that reveals the dynamics concerning the ANC Government's response to the promotion of gender equality. These are manifested as: (1) the 'hijacking' of the event and its monopolisation by the ANC Women's League (ANCWL), reinforcing a trend established by the League's use of key State resources (i.e. Parliament and the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (DWCPD)) to reproduce a conservative, anti-transformative and nationalist gendered political narrative on the ruling party's behalf; and (2) the ruling ANC Government's indecisive palliative care approach to the well-being of women in SA.

Despite the argument that female representation in formal decision-making structures leads to legislative outcomes and implementation that improve women's status in their societies (Mansbridge, 1999, 2006; Phillips, 1991, 1995; Williams 1998; Young 1990, 2000), the two latter dynamics reflect a third aspect of South African gender politics: (3) the asymmetry between high women's parliamentary representation coupled with lack of a substantive women's collective parliamentary politics¹ in response to the urgent needs and interests of ordinary women, in lieu of patronage politics and political party loyalty.

In fulfilling one of its principal mandates to facilitate public participation by creating an interface between South African citizens and their elected representatives, in 2004 the Parliament of the Republic of SA initiated a programme of annual sectoral parliaments that would 'take parliament to the people'. Forming a part of Parliament's Public Participation Model, the sectoral parliaments took the format of an annual Youth Parliament, to take place in Youth Month in June,² a Women's Parliament held during Women's Month in August, and the People's Assembly held in September.³ However, the success of this programme has been mixed, plagued by disorganisation and, as this article argues, being used to propagate the ruling party's dominant narrative in the site of the national legislature.⁴

The annual Women's Parliament coincides with Women's Month in SA, which commemorates the historic women's anti-pass march to the Union Buildings which saw about 20 000 women, led by four women who represented SA's four main legally defined racial groups, protest against pass laws in SA on 9 August 1956 (Figure 1). The theme of the 2013 Women's Parliament was as follows: 'A centenary of working together towards sustainable women's empowerment and gender equality' (Parliament of the Republic of SA, 2013). The event also commemorated the Centenary of the historic 1913 Bloemfontein women's march against pass laws, which saw women in the Orange Free State, organised by struggle stalwart Charlotte Maxeke, protest the extension of pass laws to African women.

The 2013 Women's Parliament was preceded by a gala dinner held at the five-star Mount Nelson Hotel in Cape Town, primarily attended by Government ministers, dignitaries



Figure 1. Leaders of the 1956 Women's March (from left to right: Sophie Williams, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Radima Moosa). Photo: Jurgen Schadeberg

and the press. The next day, 21 August 2013, the official Women's Parliament consisted of two sessions, a panel discussion in the Old National Assembly of Parliament and a thematic Joint Plenary Session Debate (National Assembly and National Council of Provinces) meant to allow ordinary women the opportunity to interact with their elected representatives and the formal processes of Parliament.

This article further argues that Government events like the 2013 Women's Parliament, which are part of a broader programme of State ceremonial events for 'Women's Month', are informed by empty political posturing that epitomises the South African Government's palliative care approach to gender inequality. I refer to this gendered political narrative as a 'palliative care' approach because the response fails to substantively address the root causes of SA's appalling rates of gender-based violence (GBV) and feminisation of poverty, which are rooted in unequal patriarchal gender relations.

In an ironic reflection of the aphorism 'Many a true word spoken in jest', Minister of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, Lulama Xingwana, began her 2013 Women's Parliament speech to the National Assembly with an anecdote, explaining to the Plenary: "I was saying to the chairperson and

an hon. colleague that today women are out of order; they are not supposed to participate. However, he told me that today they are in order; they are allowed; it is their month' (Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) Minutes, 21 August 2013). Minister Xingwana unwittingly revealed the Government's attitude to gender equality as a symbolic annual performance of ceremonial events and dedications, where women are 'allowed' to access and observe spaces denied to them for the other 11 months of the year. She also announced that as a symbolic gesture for Women's Month the Department of Human Settlements had issued 57 houses to rural women in the Eastern Cape province to commemorate and celebrate the 57th anniversary of the 1956 women's march, leading one to wonder if poor South African women only merited houses *and consideration* in August.

This article is organised as follows: the next section explores the ANCWL, its role in South African gender politics and its propagation of the ruling party's struggle narrative. After that the increasing conflation between State and ruling party through the ANCWL's use of Parliament and the DWCPD as ruling political party vehicles is explored. Next I highlight the Government's palliative care-based approach

to gender inequality in SA, and finally I outline the deterioration in non-partisan women's collective parliamentary politics that promoted gender equality in the first post-apartheid Parliament.

ANCWL and its nationalist gendered political narrative: Co-opted struggle history

Arguably, to varying extents, ruling parties in dominant political party regimes largely set the terms of political party engagement within Parliament through majoritarian dominance of the institution. In SA the strength of the ruling political party is particularly pronounced; Butler (2007: 35) argues that the South African political system is largely circumscribed by the ruling party, asserting that the ANC's "own intellectual frameworks and political processes – rather than the institutions of constitutional democracy – will forge the society's sense of collective purpose and make its key political and policy choices".

Like elsewhere in the world, women in SA's Parliament *cannot* be considered independently of the political parties they serve (Caul, 1999; Goetz and Hassim, 2003; Lovenduski and Norris, 1993; Kunovich and Paxton, 2005). The prominence of former national liberation struggle movements turned dominant hegemonic and patriarchal political parties, their impact on the national governance agenda and their interest articulation through the State, constitutes women's political elite mobilisation as a form of 'directed action', and "the absence of internal democracy in most African political parties" has had definitive manifestations for women Members of Parliament (MPs) appointed by political parties (Salih, 2006: 261). Instrumentalisation of women elites, their participation in national representative institutions within political party ambits, and most importantly their role in reproduction of the gendered 'struggle narrative' forms an integral aspect of ways in which the ANC legitimises its political power and authority to govern.

The ANCWL's role as part of a broader women's movement in SA has been indispensable to achievement of many of the crucial legislative and constitutional gains for women in the post-apartheid democracy; the ANCWL was "central to the emergence of gender consciousness in the ANC and in society

more broadly" (Hassim, 2014: 13). In fact, for much of the twentieth century the ANCWL was symbolic of the struggle for gender equality in SA (Kimble and Unterhalter, 1982; Ginwala, 1990; Hassim, 2006, 2014).

However, women as a collective and mobilised group do not participate in all political organisations on the same terms, and ways in which they participate in the same organisation can vary significantly over time, "with the proviso that the degree of direction involved can vary substantially, as can the forms taken by the directing authority" (Molyneux, 1998: 229). In other words, the forms of directed action that inform women's collective mobilisation within political parties not only vary according to political party and context, but can vary within the *same* party over time. This has been the case with the ANCWL, which has changed with shifts in the type of directed women's mobilisation that has informed political party leadership, organisational culture and, most noticeably, the number of women *and men* within the party who explicitly identify as gender champions, have a feminist consciousness, and act in the interests of women.

The prominence of women delegates wearing green, black and gold uniforms at the 2013 Women's Parliament, sitting in the front four rows of seating reserved for the ANCWL, metaphorically captured the usurpation of Parliament and its women's empowerment agenda by the women's wing of the ruling political party. The event's programme indicated that apart from two individuals representing chapter nine institutions (the South African Human Rights Commission and Commission for Gender Equality), every speaker was a senior female member of the ANC. Prominent present and former members of the ANCWL National Executive Committee (NEC) featured foremost at the event, including Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and former ANCWL NEC member Nomalndia Mfeketo. The Chairperson of the parliamentary Multi-party Women's Caucus and Programme Director of the 2013 Women's Parliament, Beauty Dluane, is a present ANCWL NEC member. Deputy Speaker of the National Council of Provinces, Nosipho Ntwanambi, who had a significant presence in the panel discussion, simultaneously serves as ANCWL Deputy President (ANCWL, 2010).

The pretence of appearing non-partisan was not even adopted, as apologies were

given for the absence of ANCWL President Angela Motshegka – the assumption being that her presence was expected in her aforementioned capacity, although this was a State function. A parliamentary source indicates that during planning meetings for parliamentary events related to women, in the deliberate absence of opposition parties, MPs will stress the need to revert to the ANCWL for approval of the programme or indicate that “we need to sanction it with the Women’s League” (interview with parliamentary source, Cape Town, 21 August 2013).

The 2013 Women’s Parliament was dominated by the ANCWL and its affiliated organisations, including the Progressive Women’s Movement (PWM), which seeks to position itself as an autonomous umbrella organisation and

... forum of independent organizations, in which different independent organizations of women, with different ideological backgrounds, come together around common values, common principles, common goals to change the lives of women for the better. (Mayende-Sibiya, 2007)

The PWM is not autonomous from the ANCWL, however, and their National Convenor Hlengiwe Mkhize simultaneously serves as the League’s Treasurer-General (ANCWL, 2010; PWM, 2014). The PWM’s presence at Government meetings and forums serves to legitimise the exclusion of other, more autonomous women’s civil society organisations (CSOs) from engagement with Parliament, allowing the ANCWL to appear more inclusive of civil society than it really is. A parliamentary source confirmed that locating the PWM in this way “is a party alliance tactic” (interview, Cape Town, 21 August 2013).

Within the current ANC the ANCWL is a pivotal part of reproduction of the party’s legitimising struggle narrative. This political narrative relies on a romanticised retrospective engagement with the struggle against apartheid, rooted specifically in women’s anti-apartheid struggles. A press release from Parliament on the occasion of the 2011 Women’s Parliament, which also served as a brief history of the ANCWL, reminded South Africans that women’s contributions to the liberation struggle occurred specifically within the ambit of the ANC, stating that “women were active participants in most of the

passive resistance campaigns, mass protests and demonstrations that took place in the 1930s and 1940s which were led by the African National Congress” (Parliament of SA, 2011). It has consistently reiterated its forefront position in the fight against the immediate and urgent issues facing South African women on various parliamentary platforms, claiming at the Parliamentary Debate on Gender Violence held in the National Assembly in February 2013 that “actually, it is the ANC Women’s League that has in partnership with different progressive forces, led the campaign of no violence against women” (Motshegka, 2013).

Commemorations of the 1913 and 1956 women’s anti-pass marches have been consistently drawn upon to promote the ANCWL’s continuing legitimacy as representatives of South African women’s struggles for gender equality. The 2013 Women’s Parliament was saturated with invocations of the symbolic history of the ANC women’s struggle. At the gala event the previous evening Minister of Public Service and Administration, Lindiwe Sisulu, presented one of the women who led the 1956 women’s march, current ANC MP Sophie de Bruyn, with a gift “as a token of our appreciation for her contribution to our struggle for freedom” (Sisulu, 2013). This stood out as a performative reminder to SA’s women of their indebtedness to not just Sophie de Bruyn but to the ANC, which she currently represents in Parliament, for their freedom as South Africans and *women*. At the parliamentary plenary session on the occasion of Women’s Parliament, Minister Xingwana (PMG Minutes, 21 August 2013) reminded the Joint Sitting of the dedication and naming of the smart ID machines after struggle stalwarts Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophia de Bruyn “to celebrate the restoration of the identity and dignity of the people of South Africa, especially women”.

The ANCWL has undertaken to position itself as the “vanguard organisation and the only legitimate voice of the women of South Africa” (Hassim, 2014: 9). On its official Twitter account (2014) the organisation describes itself as “the custodian of the women’s liberation movement in SA”.

The ANCWL is a deeply conservative organisation, and as Shireen Hassim (2014) persuasively argues, it has never articulated a cohesive feminist ideology or had an easy

relationship with the feminist ideology, as articulated in its various manifestations in SA. In fact, in November 2012, during the weeks preceding the ANC's Mangaung Conference, ANCWL President Angela Motshegka categorically "denied that the women's league was a 'feminist organisation' who was 'hostile' to male leaders" (*City Press*, 27 November 2012). The ANCWL has consistently propagated a conservative gender ideology, one that emphasises traditional heteronormative family values and selectively politicises the roles of women as wives and mothers, following the 'motherist' politics it espoused within the broader national liberation struggle (Chadya, 2003; Hassim, 1991, 2014; Hassim and Gouws, 1998; Wells, 1998).

The ANCWL's approach to gender equality epitomises a paternalistic, welfarist approach to the needs and interests of South African women. A consistent narrative specifically has been advanced which relies on the prevalent attribution of victimhood to South African women, who are portrayed as suffering an intractable 'triple burden of oppression', synonymous with the disempowered, voiceless and resigned mother-of-many, held hostage by tradition and back-breaking labour and poverty. At the Welcome Address of the Women's Parliament the Deputy Speaker, Nomalndia Mfeketo (21 August, 2013), spoke about the fact that "women have endured the triple oppression of race, gender and class; they have endured the yoke of sexual harassment and become victims of civil wars ... Women have at all times remained the face of hunger and oppression." Later that day, in her 2013 Women's Parliament speech to the National Assembly, Minister Xingwana had "to mention that women still bear a disproportionate burden of the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment". The ANCWL has positioned itself as the saviour of these powerless and ubiquitous women who lack individual or collective agency because, according to League President Angela Motshegka (2013), "by the look of things, a woman's life seems far cheaper than a black life in the days of slavery".

ANCWL, the DWCPD and Women's Parliament: Blurred lines

The 2013 Women's Parliament speaks to a wider trend that the ANCWL has established

in blurring the lines between ruling party and State by using national and provincial legislature resources as *de facto* party rallies for the ANC and forums for reproducing the ruling party's gender ideology in the public domain. It is *not* an unsymbiotic relationship devoid of women's individual and collective agency. The ANCWL has not been an exception to the type of women's political participation that has characterised representational politics in other post-colonial African states like Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi (Geisler, 2004; Hassim and Goetz, 2003; Tamale, 1999, 2000; Tripp, 2001). Women are active participants in ruling party/State conflated patronage politics, and historically women's wings within ruling parties – particularly in post-colonial African contexts – have facilitated this type of politics and acted as institutions of patronage (Tripp, 2001). As Tripp (2001: 41) argues, through the mechanism of "dangling patronage in front of organization's leaders, the state was able to keep them focused on what they could gain personally rather than addressing real issues or the broader interests of the leadership".

Sylvia Tamale (2000: 11) highlights the politics of party patronage as a distinct disadvantage in the articulation of women's interests by female parliamentarians within political parties, stating that "with husbands, brothers and fathers occupying some of the most powerful positions in the country, they have too much at stake to query certain practices, let alone take action to oppose the power structure". The issue of patronage politics highlights the importance of Government's political will towards gender equality and the need for political party agendas and ideologies to respond to gender equality mandates. Although overwhelmingly so in the South African context, partisan politics and indiscriminate party loyalty have not been consistently disadvantageous to the pursuit of gender-equality objectives in Parliament, and their differentiated impact on substantive women's representation can be seen as ambiguous. The passage of the 1996 Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act clearly illustrates how the party line has facilitated promotion of women's strategic interests within South African society, in this case reproductive rights. Many ANC members, including women, were opposed to legislating abortion and indicated that they would vote against

the proposed legislation (Britton, 2005). The ANC instituted a closed vote, instructing MPs to vote according to the official party line, which favoured the legalisation of abortion. The legislation therefore passed, and it is debatable whether it would have done so had the ANC not instructed its MPs to vote favourably. In this sense, political party discipline advanced women's interests, specifically reproductive rights, highlighting the need for political party agendas and ideologies to respond to gender equality mandates in that "one advantage of strong party discipline ... is that once a party includes women's rights in its platform parliamentarians are largely bound to uphold them, regardless of personal views" (Sawer *et al*, 2006: 4). All indications are that ANC internal party discipline has remained strong, but commitment to women's rights has not.

Formation of the Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities in 2009 and continuing tenure of the ANCWL President Angela Motshekga as Minister for Basic Education serve as two perfect examples of how patronage politics can negatively affect the effective pursuit of democratic mandates by the State – in this case the gender equality mandate to promote a non-sexist South African society and provide decent basic education for the country. Firstly, the ANCWL support of the Jacob Zuma faction in the months leading up to the Polokwane Conference, which led to Thabo Mbeki's recall, was effectively rewarded with establishment of the Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities, which the ANCWL has advocated for a number of years (P. Gobodo-Madikizela, 19 October 2012, 'Not all is well with Zuma's soul', *Mail and Guardian*).

Through the vehicle of the DWCPD, Government and State events which are meant to be non-partisan have actively been appropriated and monopolised by the ANCWL as party platforms. The use of State resources to pursue a partisan agenda by the ANCWL has actually become more prominent since formation of the Women's Ministry, where the ANC's gender ideology is most worryingly visible. Democratic Alliance MP and Shadow Minister of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, Helen Lamoela puts it bluntly when describing the Department: "they cannot draw a line between party and state" (interview, Cape Town, 17 September 2013).

In August 2013 the Congress of the People (COPE) accused the Eastern Cape ANC of using the Eastern Cape Women's Day event held at the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature as a party electioneering platform, when ANC voter registration posters were displayed at the venue and women arrived wearing ANCWL uniform (Democratic Alliance Bisho, 2013). Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) MP Liezl van der Merwe described the DWCPD's closing event for the 16 Days of Activism of No Violence against Women and Children as follows (interview, Cape Town, 17 September 2013):

they used taxpayer's money and turned it into an ANC event ... shouting 'Long live the ANC, long live', 'Long live Zuma'. It was a few days before Mangaung so the whole hall broke down into pro-Zuma songs, pro-Motlantle songs.

In 2011 the DWCPD, with State resources, hosted a Women's Month Conference where ANC and ANCWL paraphernalia (including Jacob Zuma mirror covers) were on sale (Du Plessis, 2011). Attendance at the event was by invitation, and the majority of delegates present were conspicuously from the ANCWL and in uniform. United Democratic Movement Women's Organisation Secretary General Thandi Nontenja (2011) issued a statement during the 4-day conference urging that "the ruling party must desist from turning National Events into its rallies, as it is a disguised form of misuse of State resources to fund its political programmes". ANCWL Chairperson Angela Motshekga did not deny this, and in a clear partisan conflation of party and State that disadvantaged opposition parties, explained that "invitations to Women's Day events happen proportionally to the party's representation in Parliament" (Du Plessis, 2011). Motshekga did not provide an explanation as to why, in her capacity as ANCWL President, she was providing an official explanation for the DWCPD's event admission policy or the reason why a Government department, using State resources, had adopted the proportional representation system of the legislature (which in itself is supposed to be a non-partisan entity) to guide allocation of invitations.

At the end of 2013 DA Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Lindiwe Mazibuko, issued a statement complaining about

increasing conflation between ruling party and State personified by the State-financed launch of the Saldanha Bay Industrial Development Zone, where “the ANC bussed in supporters and handed out party T-shirts to attendees as though it was a political rally” (Mazibuko, 2013). While the trend became more distinct as electioneering before SA’s fifth post-apartheid election on 7 May 2014 gained momentum, it has been a definitive feature of State functions for some time (Murray and Nijzink, 2002).

GBV and political will: Palliative care politics

The scope and brutality of the violence inflicted against women and girls actually serves as an indicator of the extent of gender inequality within a society (Pillay, 2001). Analysing government responses to violence against women acts as a barometer and function of a state’s political will and substantive commitment to women’s rights. Although the 2013 Women’s Parliament was saturated with discussions about GBV, as Rebecca Davis (21 August, 2013) observed, the inability to locate GBV within a wider narrative of a denial of socio-economic rights speaks to a palliative-based care approach to a trend of epidemic proportions. SA’s astounding levels of GBV are an indication of the deeply embedded nature of gender inequality within the country, where the roots of violence against women are structurally constructed, cultivated and reproduced while simultaneously serving as the means through which it is legitimised and permitted (Connell, 2002). This violence is therefore the manifestation of male domination and female subordination within society, and functions as an invisible but pervasive and defining relational foundation that serves to perpetuate many forms of violence against women and girls. In other words, GBV is a symptom, not a cause, of a deeper systemic issue and needs to be addressed as such.

Analysing government responses to violence against women acts as a barometer and function of a state’s political will and substantive commitment to women’s rights.

Historically and presently, South African women’s activism has not had an easy relationship with feminism as an ideology that

acknowledges embedded unequal structural gender relations within society or that sees the gender equality mandate as a fundamentally transformative project. The fundamental question that needs to be addressed, not only within the political discourse of gender as a structure within society that perpetuates gender inequality, but in terms of the impact and ability of the State to actively and fundamentally alter the social foundations of social injustice: Is there the political will to do so? Examining the notion of political will requires that one engages not only with political will as a set of commitments reflected by empty government rhetoric, ribbon-cutting and establishment of under-resourced Government departments, but requires us to engage with political will as action and accomplishment.

Rather interestingly, the former notion of the ‘performance’ of political will seems to be the ruling party’s chosen response to dealing with many of the critical issues facing SA. Drafting declarations, making commitments and announcing a state of ‘being gravely concerned’ often constitutes the full ambit of the Government’s response. The DWCPD actually lists the issuing of statements as a departmental outcome (PMG Minutes, 24 July 2013). Substantiating the notion of a palliative care-based approach even further is the increasing trend of attending court cases in order to commiserate with victims’ families. While this demonstrates an awareness of the situation, it is the equivalent of putting antiseptic on a broken arm and does very little to address the root cause of the issue, which is unequal gender relations within South African society.

The gala dinner held the evening before the Women’s Day Parliament was described by DA member Denise Robinson as “sumptuous” (*Hansard*, 2 November, 1998: 7179). The fact that South African Parliament, a State institution that is meant to promote accountable governance held an event to promote the well-being of women at the five-star Mount Nelson Hotel, one of the most expensive in SA, when women’s organisations like Rape Crisis and the Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children are reducing their services and closing down due to lack of funding (Davis, 2012; Mudavanhu and Radloff, 2013), is obscene. Ironically, these are the same organisations who remain unrepresented at parliamentary events, in lieu of the aforementioned PWM,

but are essentially subsidising the South African Government by providing crucial services to victims of GBV.

This palliative-based care approach simultaneously locates the causes of GBV within an increasing moral degeneration and erosion of traditional family values in South African society, while at the same time absolving Government of any responsibility for addressing it. Programme Director and Deputy Chairperson of the Multi-party Women's Caucus, Beauty Dlulane, spoke about the violent manifestations of 'Satanism' and the need to deny empowerment and basic human rights to men in jails for GBV-related crimes, simultaneously attributing SA's gender inequality ills to a spiritual paucity and denying the human rights of prisoners (field notes, 21 August 2014). At a parliamentary round-table held to discuss multisectoral responses to GBV (after arriving four hours later than scheduled) the Minister for Women, Children and People with Disabilities spoke extensively about the scourge of Satanism in South African society. In addition to the increasingly disturbing invocation of 'Satanism' and 'witchcraft' as one of the main contributing factors to the scourge of SA's violence, other factors invoked included drug and alcohol abuse (Davis, 22 April 2013). As Rebecca Davis (22 April 2013) argues, outsourcing "the threat of gender-based violence to 'Satanists' or 'witches' means that we avoid focusing on the everyday systemic conditions and gender inequalities that can give rise to such violence".

The shifting substance of women's representation: In the beginning there was 1994...

The first session of the 2013 Women's Parliament was noticeable for the conspicuous absence of women MPs from political parties in parliamentary opposition to the ruling ANC (field notes, 21 August 2014). Opposition party members on the parliamentary Portfolio Committee for Women, Youth, Children, and People with Disabilities (Portfolio Committee on WYCPD) expressed the collective sentiment that attending these parliamentary events was effectively a waste of time, as their partisan nature negated any potential contributions from opposition MPs (focus group discussion with members of the

Portfolio Committee for WYCPD, Cape Town, 17 September, 2013). This revealed that a definitive sense of collective women's political mobilisation in South African Parliament, promoting a women's empowerment and gender-equality agenda, does not exist anymore.

a definitive sense of collective women's political mobilisation in South African Parliament, promoting a women's empowerment and gender-equality agenda, does not exist anymore

This was not always the case, however, and the continent's most gender-progressive legal framework was achieved by a collective women's activism during the 4-year transition period, which continued into the first post-apartheid Parliament. South African women MPs from across the political party spectrum collectively mobilised to pursue a transformative legislative agenda for women (Britton, 2005; Hassim, 2006; Vetten *et al*, 2012), with the first post-apartheid Parliament seen to represent a period of women's 'legislative activism' (Walsh, 2010: 6) on a number of fronts.

Harnessing the non-partisan networks that had been formed within the Women's National Coalition,⁵ women MPs formalised meeting structures to articulate feminist solidarity within Parliament and strategised ways in which policy and legislative outputs could be engendered (Vetten *et al*, 2012). An ad hoc Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women, led by ANC MP Pregs Govender (Figure 2), was established in 1996 and became a permanent parliamentary committee in 1998. Women MPs on this body responded to concerns and the lobbying of women's CSOs and, in conjunction with women's CSOs and other portfolio committees, specifically the Justice Portfolio, mobilised and collectively lobbied for the fast-tracking and passage of three crucial gender-equality laws in 1998: the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act, the Maintenance Act and the Domestic Violence Act (Meintjes, 2003; Vetten *et al*, 2012).

In addition to the Joint Committee, non-partisan parliamentary caucuses were bodies like the Women's Empowerment Unit and Parliamentary Women's Group which had a



Figure 2. A principled stand against the party line led Pregaluxmi (Pregs) Govender to leave Parliament. Photo: South African Human Rights Commission (of which she is now Deputy Chairperson).

membership that included all female parliamentarians, regardless of political party affiliation (Britton, 2005; Vetten *et al.*, 2012). These caucuses functioned simultaneously as support for women parliamentarians and for a consideration of issues pertinent to women's interests and gender equality. The Women's Empowerment Unit supported women parliamentarians in gaining technical capacity and familiarising themselves with the legislative process, while the Parliamentary Women's Group assisted them in learning about strategies involved in passing gender-responsive legislation. However, these caucuses were not institutionalised within Parliament, and did not receive support from institutional resources (Vetten *et al.*, 2012). By 2002 both caucuses had largely fizzled out.

The first South African post-apartheid Parliament saw a distinct trend in women's collective parliamentary politics and gender-equality legislative outcomes. The shift of feminist activism from the ranks of civil society to Parliament, however, can largely be seen to have demobilised the non-partisan effect of

women's collective parliamentary politics that defined the WNC (Britton, 2005). As political parties became institutionalised within the legislature and the fragile compromise of the Government of National Unity disintegrated into adversarial parliamentary politics, the demands of partisan politics overtook those of women's collective politics and the party line became the only line.

Partisan politics similarly extended to the functioning of women's parliamentary caucuses like the Women's Empowerment Unit and Parliamentary Women's Group: "some MPs also commented that the idea of a caucus that was not subject to the authority of party whips was increasingly seen as problematic to party hierarchies" (Vetten *et al.*, 2012: 11).

The demobilisation of women's parliamentary activism was further augmented by two trends that occurred after the second national elections in 1999: (1) deterioration in the strategic relationship between women MPs and women's grassroots organisations, exacerbated by the decision taken by the WNC that women who had been elected to provincial and national Parliament could not be on the WNC's national committee (Horn, 1994); and (2) the exodus of close to a third of the ANC's first term of women MPs from Parliament. Most of the women who exited Parliament after 1999, like Lydia Kompe and Getrude Fester, were women with activist backgrounds who were replaced by technocratic and professionalised women politicians. A parliamentary source (interview, Cape Town, 21 August 2013) cites this as one of the major reasons for Parliament's deprioritisation of gender issues:

in the early days, there were activists who came in who were still fresh from the struggle and they wanted to change the world. Many members, they're just not the same calibre, there's an increasing professionalisation of members who are here to do a professional job ... They've got a technical, professional understanding of what they're meant to do and they're going to do it.

The momentum built by the women's movement during the political transition and democratic negotiations around entrenching women's rights in the new democratic dispensation was not sustained in the post-apartheid

period, and promoting the status of women in SA has gradually become a symbolic rather than substantive effort, ghettoised to an annual event that occurs within a designated Women's Month.

The significance of 'critical actors' championing progressive gender agendas within parliamentary structures specifically for women (Childs and Krook, 2006, 2009; Dahlerup, 1988), was starkly illustrated after Pregs Govender's departure from Parliament in 2002 (Govender, 2002). In the midst of a fervent atmosphere of AIDS denialism by President Thabo Mbeki, implicitly sanctioned by the ruling party's deafening silence on the issue and explicitly championed by woman parliamentarian Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, Pregs Govender took a principled stand. In her capacity as Chairperson of the Joint Monitoring Committee on Improvement of the Quality of Life and the Status of Women, Govender held public hearings on HIV/AIDS in order to understand the gendered impact of the pandemic (Govender, 2007). In a report tabled in her committee and Parliament, against the wishes of the ANC Parliamentary Caucus, Govender completely contradicted the Mbeki denialist stance (PMG Minutes, 14 November 2001). In this case Govender's politics of principle conflicted with her politics of survival, and she found it untenable to remain in Parliament and effectively "resigned under political duress" (interview with parliamentary source, Cape Town, 21 August 2013) after abstaining from the Arms Deal vote.

The Joint Monitoring Committee on Improvement of the Quality of Life and the Status of Women rapidly deteriorated after Govender's departure, and only met once at the beginning of 2004 (PMG Minutes, 19 February 2004; Vetten *et al*, 2012). Pregs Govender stands as testimony, for many within the ruling party, of what can happen to a party member if they do not toe the party line, and allow their personal politics and principles to determine their political behaviour. This had ramifications for ANC MPs generally and women specifically that went far beyond the individual incidents of disagreement with the caucus: it established a cautionary precedent in indicating the political party's response to dissent. It is suggested that this cautionary message was clearly received and effectively internalised, judging from subsequent political behaviour

by both male and female MPs (interview with parliamentary source, Cape Town, 21 August 2013). This represents a shift in the political landscape from the first post-apartheid Parliament to the present situation, where public contestation has significantly diminished.

Locating the lack of ANC women MPs willing to be vocal in a context where women privilege the politics of survival, a parliamentary source argues that "people don't speak out, they know what, at the end of the day, puts bread and butter on their table" (interview, Cape Town, 21 August 2013). When speaking about the political behaviour of her ANC colleagues on the Portfolio Committee for WCYPD, IFP opposition MP Liezl van der Merwe concurred, asserting simply that "the nature of our political system doesn't allow for Members to speak out" (interview, Cape Town, 17 September 2013).

Interestingly, it seems that the individuals who have had the most resistance to the ANC's internal culture of obedience to the party line, and have emerged as 'critical actors'⁶ in the parliamentary arena, have been individuals whose 'politics of principle' were established by participation in anti-apartheid struggle activism within the country within the United Democratic Front. The most critical women were, in fact, "gender activists [who] had come through the ranks of the internal women's organisations and their positions in the ANCWL were not strong" (Hassim, 2014: 122). These include women like Pregs Govender, Barbara Hogan and Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, who were effectively removed from government for taking principled stands rooted in activist sensibilities.

Conclusion

The 4-year protracted negotiating process initiated in 1990 invested the post-apartheid South African parliamentary institution not just with the pivotal role of drafting a final Constitution for the country, but with the additional role of establishing and safeguarding the previously denied central tenets of accountable representation and substantive participation for South African citizens. The shifts and transformation of gender politics that have occurred in the domain of the South African Parliament could not possibly have been foreseen when women, the majority of whom had participated in anti-apartheid women's CSOs, entered the institution in

unprecedented numbers in 1994. Currently the country's parliamentary gendered politics of representation reflect trends that have developed within the national legislature since 1994 which point to the increasingly partisan nature of parliamentary engagement, conflation of ruling party and State to the detriment of accountability and responsiveness to the needs of ordinary women and, most worryingly, in the absence of gender-equality champions who actively advocate for gender equality and women's empowerment in the site of legislature, the lack of sustained and collective leadership on gender equality and women's rights.

The 2013 Women's Parliament reflects the contentious dynamics of the ruling ANC Government's indecisive palliative care-based approach to the well-being of women in SA. According to the Parliament of the Republic of SA (2008: 9), for the duration of Women's Parliament "Parliament becomes the listening forum for women to relay their experiences directly to Members of Parliament. This positions the annual event as an important consultative forum for mutually beneficial dialogue between policy-makers and women". The 2013 session of the Women's Parliament did not reflect that; instead it testified to the extent that the ANCWL has developed as a political organisation that encapsulates the murky relationship between ruling party and State and its abuse of Parliament in the reproduction of a conservative gender agenda on behalf of the ruling party. If a participatory process does, in fact, exist for integrating the views and needs of ordinary women into parliamentary processes, the Women's Parliament is definitely not that forum.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to acknowledge the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Next Generation in Africa Dissertation Research Fellowship with funds from the Carnegie Corporation, and the Mellon Humanities Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for supporting the fieldwork that made this research possible.

Notes

1. Hanna Pitkin (1967), whose contribution to the debate on political representation is considered seminal, proposes a theoretical framework that distinguishes four kinds of political representation, namely formalistic representation, symbolic representation, descriptive representation, and substantive

representation. The majority of feminist political studies on political representation, however, mainly address the last two forms of representation, frequently distinguishing between *descriptive* representation and *substantive* representation. Descriptive representation refers to the formal composition of parliament and is concerned with the presence of individuals who are *ascriptive* of a particular social, economic or political group, share similar characteristics and stand for that group within a representative body. Substantive representation refers to representation where the actions of representatives have tangible consequences and can potentially lead to favourable policy and legislative outcomes for the represented.

2. In SA June is designated 'Youth Month', honouring 16 June 1976 when students from Soweto, protesting the introduction of Afrikaans into schools as the sole medium of instruction, were shot at by the apartheid police force.
3. In SA September is designated 'Heritage Month' and is meant to celebrate the country's diversity of race, language, ethnicity and culture.
4. The Democratic Alliance (DA) formally complained about the 2012 Youth Parliament, stating that "the dysfunctional organisation of the event raises serious concerns about its legitimacy as a so-called sectoral Parliamentary event", after the party did not receive a formal invitation or programme despite representing the official Opposition Party in Parliament (DA, 21 June 2012). The People's Assembly for 2012 was cancelled to "enable thorough assessment of all sectoral Parliaments" (Parliament of SA, 30 August 2012) and without any notice the 2013 Women's Parliament, which was meant to have taken place over two days commencing on 14 August 2013, was changed to a one-day event and rescheduled to 21 August 2013. The only non-governmental organisation on the programme for the event, Sonke Gender Justice, did not attend because of confusion with their official invitation.
5. Despite apartheid's legacy of divisive and hierarchical identity politics, the exclusion of most women from constitutional negotiations, held under the multi-party banner of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), provided the catalyst and political opportunity needed for *women to mobilise as women* under the banner of the Women's National Coalition. The Women's National Coalition succeeded in overcoming political cleavages in order to advance women's political, economic and social interests during the negotiation process, and was formed as a broad-based coalition of over 90 political parties and CSOs with different affiliations that aimed to attain crucial formal guarantees for women's status in the new democratic SA. Among their successes are the drafting of a Women's Charter and the successful process of lobbying for an equality clause to be included in the 1996 Constitution. Its autonomous organisation outside of the Mass Democratic Movement and Tripartite Alliance is cited as a reason for its broad-based character and success in articulating its demands (Hassim, 2006, 2009). In the South African political context this was especially important because for the duration of the liberation

struggle women's demands for equality had been relegated to the demands of the non-racial struggle against apartheid. Although women were active participants in the liberation movement in various roles, "formal membership of political parties and liberation movements had not increased women's political power to any significant degree" (Hassim, 2003: 82).

6. The term 'critical actors' operates on two levels in this context: an individual who is critical of or opposed to a stated platform, or someone who is important or central to a process.

References

- African National Congress Women's League (2010) 'ANC Women's League National Executive Committees from 1991 – 2008', available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/wl/show.php?id=6727>, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- African National Congress Women's League (2014) 'ANC Women's League' [Twitter Profile], available at: <https://twitter.com/ANCWomensLeague>, site accessed March 13, 2014.
- African National Congress (2013, 8 October). 'ANCWL Statement on reports that SA is not ready for a female President', available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/wl/show.php?id=10563>, site accessed March 15, 2014.
- Britton HE (2005) *Women in the South African Parliament: From Resistance to Governance*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Butler A (2007) 'The state of the African National Congress', in S Buhlungu, J Daniel, and R Southall (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council Press.
- Caul M (1999) 'Women's representation in Parliament: The role of political parties', in *Party Politics*, 5, 1, 79–98. doi:10.1177/1354068899005001005
- Chadya JM (2003) 'Mother politics: Anti-colonial nationalism and the woman question in Africa', in *Journal of Women's History*, 15, 3, 153–157. doi:10.1353/jowh.2003.0064
- Childs S & Krook ML (2006) 'Should feminists give up on critical mass? A contingent yes', *Politics & Gender*, 2, 4, 522–530.
- Childs S & Krook ML (2009) 'Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors', in *Government and Opposition*, 44, 2, 125–145. doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.2009.01279.x
- Connell RW (2002) *Gender*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dahlerup D (1988) 'From a small to a large minority: women in Scandinavian politics', in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11, 4, 275–298. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9477.1988.tb00372.x
- Davis R (2012, 23 July) 'The Great NGO funding crisis', *Daily Maverick*, available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-07-23-the-great-ngo-funding-crisis/#.Uw0DAYUyKGw>, site accessed February 25, 2014.
- Davis R (2013, 21 August) 'Analysis: Gender-based violence and the SA women's other problems', *Daily Maverick*, available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-22-analysis-gender-based-violence-and-the-sa-womens-other-problems/#.UySIJlUbyGw>, site accessed March 11, 2014.
- Davis R (2013, 22 April), 'Analysis: Is moralising helpful to the gender agenda?' *Daily Maverick*, available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-04-23-analysis-is-moralising-helpful-to-the-gender-agenda/#.Ux8-y4VvpLL>, site accessed March 11, 2014.
- Democratic Alliance (2012, 21 June) 'South Africa: Youth Parliament – a Wasted Opportunity to Help Our Youth' [Press release], available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201206220059.html>, site accessed March 14, 2014.
- Democratic Alliance Bisho (2013) 'Cope accuses ANC of hijacking Women's Day event: Daily Dispatch', available at: <http://www.dabhisheo.org.za/2013/08/20/cope-accuses-anc-of-hijacking-womens-day-event-daily-dispatch/>, site accessed March 13, 2014.
- Du Plessis C (2011, 4 August) 'Women's Month has ANC petticoats showing again', *Daily Maverick*, available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2011-08-04-womens-month-has-anc-petticoats-showing-again/#.UyBpmYVvpLL>, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Freeman M (2005) *Making reconciliation work: the role of parliaments*, Cape Town: International Institution for Democracy and Electoral Assistance and International Parliamentary Union.
- Geisler G (2004) *Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa: Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.
- Ginwala F (1990) 'Women and the African National Congress 1912–1943', *Agenda*, 8, 77–93. doi:10.2307/4065639
- Goetz AM and Hassim S (2003) 'Introduction: Women in power in Uganda and South Africa', in Goetz AM and Hassim S (eds) *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, London and New York: Zed Books.
- Govender P (2002) 'Farewell Speech by Pregs Govender, Chairperson of the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women', *Agenda*, 52, 95–98.
- Govender P (2007) *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media.
- Hassim S (1991) 'Gender, social location and feminist politics in South Africa', *Transformation*, 15, 65–82.
- Hassim S (2003) 'Representation, participation and democratic effectiveness; Feminist challenges to representative democracy in South Africa' in AM Goetz & S Hassim (eds) *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, pp. 81–109, London and New York: Zed Books.
- Hassim S (2006) *Women's organizations and democracy in South Africa: contesting authority*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hassim S (2009) 'Perverse consequences? The impact of quotas for women on democratization in Africa', in I Shapiro, SC Stokes, EJ Wood & AS Kirshner (eds) *Political Representation*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hassim S (2014) *The ANC Women's League: Sex, gender, politics*, Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Hassim S & Gouws A (1998) 'Redefining the public space: women's organisations, gender consciousness and civil society in South Africa', in *Politikon* 25, 2, 53–76. doi:10.1080/02589349808705064

- Hasson V (2010) 'Rules and rituals: The case of South Africa's new committee system', in *Journal of Legislative Studies*, 16, 3, 366–379. doi:10.1080/13572334.2010.498104
- Horn P (1994) 'Whither the WNC?', in *Agenda*, 10, 23, 64–66. doi:10.2307/4065950
- Kimble J & Unterhalter E (1982) "'We opened the road for you, you must go forward": ANC Women's Struggles, 1912–1982', in *Feminist Review*, 12, 11–35. doi:10.1057/fr.1982.27
- Kunovich S & Paxton P (2005) 'Pathways to power: The role of political parties in women's national political representation', *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 2, 505–552. doi:10.1086/444445
- Lovenduski J & Norris J (eds) (1993) *Gender and Party Politics*, London: Sage.
- Mansbridge J (1999) 'Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"', in *Journal of Politics*, 61, 3, 628–657. doi:10.2307/2647821
- Mansbridge J (2006) 'Quota problems: Combating the dangers of essentialism', in *Politics and Gender*, 1, 4, 621–638.
- Mayenda-Sibiya N (2007, 9 August) 'Address by Ms. Noluthando Mayende Sibiya to the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa', in *Nehawu Speeches*, available at: www.nehawu.org.za/speech05.html, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Mazibuko L (2013, 1 November) 'ANC using state functions for electioneering', in *Politicsweb*, available at: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71654?oid=441295&sn=Detail&pid=71654>, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Meintjes S (2003) 'The politics of engagement: Women transforming the policy process – domestic violence legislation in South Africa' in *No Shortcuts to Power. African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, London/New York: Zed Books.
- Molyneux M (1998) 'Analysing women's movements', in *Development and Change*, 29(2), 219–245. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00077
- Motshekga A (February 26, 2013) 'Address at Parliamentary Debate on Gender Violence by Mrs Angie Motshekga, Minister of Basic Education, National Assembly, Cape Town', available at: <http://www.education.gov.za/Newsroom/Speeches/tabid/298/ctl/Details/mid/2341/ItemID/3591/Default.aspx>, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Mudavanhu S & Radloff J (2013) 'Taking feminist activist online: reflections on the 'Keep Saartjie Baartman Centre Open' e-campaign', in *Gender and Development*, 21, 3, 327–341. doi:10.1080/13552074.2013.802881
- Murray C & Nijzink C (2002) *Building Representative Democracy: South Africa's legislatures and the Constitution*, Cape Town: Parliamentary Support Programme.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (July 2008) 'Parliament Engages the People', in *In Session Magazine*, available at: <http://www.parliament.gov.za/content/in-session%2015.08.081~1~1.pdf>, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2011) 'Women's Parliament 2011', available at: http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=1619, site accessed February 3, 2014.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2011, 22 August) 'Women's Parliament 2011: Working together to enhance Women's Economic Empowerment through Skills Development and Sustainable Job Creation', available at: http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=1619, site accessed March 11, 2014.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2012, 30 August) 'People's Assembly on hold for this year' [Press release], available at: http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=2397, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2013, 21 August) 'South Africa: 2013 Women's Parliament Welcome Address by the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Hon N Mfeketo' [press release], available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201308221084.html>, site accessed March 8, 2014.
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2013, 21 August) '2013 Women's Parliament Programme', available at: <http://www.parliament.gov.za/content/Womens%20Parl.pdf>, site accessed March 14, 2014.
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2001, 14 November) 'HIV/AIDS Committee Report: adoption. Minutes for the Joint Monitoring Committee on Improvement of Quality of Life & Status of Women', available at: <http://www.pmg.org.za/minutes/20011113-hiv-aids-committee-report-adoption>, site accessed March 6, 2014.
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2013, 24 July) 'Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities 2nd, 3rd and 4th Quarterly Reports for 2012/13: Researchers and Content Adviser briefing; Committee reports: adoption. Minutes for the Portfolio Committee on Women, Youth, Children and People with Disabilities', available at: http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20130724-department-women-children-and-people-disabilities-2nd-3rd-and-4th-quarterly-reports-for-201213-researchers-and?utm_source=Drupal&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Free%20Alerts, site accessed March 10, 2014.
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2013, 24 July) 'NA: Questions for oral reply Deputy President', unrevised *Hansard* Proceedings of the National Assembly, available at: <http://www.pmg.org.za/hansard/20130821-naquestions-for-oral-reply-deputy-president>, site accessed May 13, 2014.
- Pillay A (2001) 'Violence against women in the aftermath', in S Meintjes, A Pillay & M Turshen (eds), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, London: Zed Books.
- Phillips A (1991) *Engendering Democracy*, Oxford and University Park: Polity Press and Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Phillips A (1995) *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pitkin HF (1967) *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Progressive Women's Movement (2014) 'PWMSA leadership', available at: http://www.pwmsa.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=17&Itemid=20, site accessed March 12, 2014.
- Salih MAM (2006) 'Introduction', in MAM Salih (ed.) *African Parliaments: Between Governance and Government*, Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

- Sawer M et al (2006) 'Introduction: patterns and practice in the parliamentary representation of women', in M Sawer, M Tremblay & L Trimble (ed.) *Representing Women in Parliament: A comparative study*, New York: Routledge.
- Sisulu L (2013, 20 August) 'Speech by Honourable Speaker, Ms Sisulu, At the Gala Dinner for the Women's Parliament, 20 August 2013', available at: http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=3910, site accessed May 13, 2014.
- Tamale S (1999) *When Hens Begin To Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Tamale S (2000) "'Point of order, Mr Speaker": African women claiming their space in parliament', in *Gender and Development*, 8, 3, 8–15. doi:10.1080/741923783
- Tripp AM (2001) 'Women's Movements and challenges to neo-patrimonial rule: Preliminary Observations from Africa', in *Development and Change*, 32, 33–54. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00195
- United Democratic Movement (2011, 2 August) 'ANC must stop hijacking national events' [press release], available at: http://www.link2media.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12997&Itemid=12, site accessed March 13, 2014.
- Vetten L, Makhunga L, & Leisegang A (2012) *Making Women's Representation in Parliament Count: The Case of Violence against Women*, Johannesburg: Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre.
- Walsh DM (2010) *Women's Rights in Democratizing States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells J (1998) 'Maternal politics in organizing black South African women: The historical lessons' in O Nnaemeka (ed.), *Sisterhood Feminism and Power*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Williams MS (1998) *Voice, trust and memory: Marginalized groups and the failings of liberal representation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Young IM (1990) *Justice and the politics of difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Young IM (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.



LINDIWE MAKHUNGA is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, and researches primarily in the field of gendered relations in post-conflict settings, governance, and legislative politics. She has travelled extensively on the African continent and her PhD dissertation is a comparative study of women's parliamentary representation in post-genocide Rwanda and post-apartheid South Africa. She holds an MA degree (with distinction) in Gender and Development from the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University. She completed her undergraduate degree in Politics at the University of Witwatersrand. Email: L.Makhunga@gmail.com