Democracy and Gender Equality in South Africa
- A Case Study about South Africa’s consolidation of democracy with the perspective of gender equality

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Abstract
Currently, women in South Africa are profoundly vulnerable. Femicide and violence against women have increased significantly in recent years. Meanwhile, South Africa has been considered a democratic state since the first general election in 1994. The aim with this research has been to examine to what degree South Africa can be considered a fully consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality. Thus, the study’s comprehensive and consistent research question have been the following: can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality?

The research is formulated as a case study and has in accordance with Linz and Stephan (1996) theory about consolidated democracies, investigated South Africa’s: a) political society, b) economic society and c) civil society in relation to the perspective of gender equality. Later, the key findings of the stated societies have been concluded with Linz and Stephan’s three vital dimensions for democratic states to become consolidated: the behavioral, the attitudinal and the constitutional dimensions.

South African can be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality to a certain extent. The main conclusion conducted is that the behavioral and constitutional dimensions are considered achieved in the three societies examined. However, there is an obvious need for the attitudinal dimension to develop. Based on this research, only when the public attitudes recognize the democratic value of gender equality can South Africa be considered a fully consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality.
Key words
South Africa, case study, democracy, consolidated democracy, gender equality, gender-based violence, political society, economic society, civil society

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I. Introduction

Uyinene Mrwetyana, a nineteen-year-old female student from Cape Town South Africa, was on the 24th of August 2019 brutally murdered and raped by an employee of a post office near her university. Female abuse, murder and sexual violence are widespread issues in South Africa and discussions about how to make these actions cease is ongoing. Femicide is a term frequently used to describe gender-based murder of women. Alarming figures of femicide in the Republic shows the murder rate of women increased with 117 percent between the years of 2015 and 2016/2017 (The Republic of South Africa, 2018).

Additionally, abuse and sexual violence targeted against females have also increased drastically during recent years. Amnesty’s report from 2017 stated that over 39,000 cases of rape was reported that year. According to The South African Police Service, the reported sexual offences during 2017/2018 were at 50,108 cases, and by 2018/2019 they had increased to the number of 52,420 cases (Presence, 2019, 12 September).

Although, there is currently a crisis in South Africa on how to stop the epidemic harassments, discriminations and femicides of women, South Africa’s constitution is seen as one of the most liberal constitutions in the world were the importance of gender equality is clearly stated. Further, the Republic recently celebrated 25 years as a recognized democratic state, but by what means can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy based on the current situation of widespread gender discrimination? A democratic regime first becomes consolidated when “democratic structures and processes become completely and irrevocably embedded in society” (Kondlo, 2017, p.2). Hence, regimes can be considered democratic, but doesn’t necessarily have to be completely consolidated with democratic values, processes and structures.
I.1 Aim and research question with the study

The aim with this study is to examine to what degree South Africa can be considered a fully consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality. The research finds its relevance in gender equality being a fundamental value of democracy and how it is being expressed in a country where women are currently facing a critical vulnerability. Thus, the study’s comprehensive and consistent research question is the following: can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality?

I.2 Material

The material used in the research are secondary sources. They have all been retrieved from primary sources and re-analyzed in the context of the study. South Africa’s official websites have been used as one of the main sources. Governmental statistics and reports have been used in the empirical review of the study, to analyze the institutions and policies which are formulated to promote gender equality. The research has also implemented information from independent organizations such as Gender Links and Freedomhouse to get an overview of the freedom rate of the country and the measurements which have been made for gender equality. To provide essential information about South Africa’s political system has the book ’Government and politics in South Africa: Coming of Age’ (2017), been frequently used as a source.

Mainly two notions are worth mentioning with the instance of criticism concerning the material chosen for the research. Some information which is provided in the empirical review of the study are retrieved from articles in South African news channels. The profound disadvantaged with these types of sources is that they have not been peer-reviewed by scientific measurements and can be based on opinions of the writer rather than objective facts. The reason why this type of information has been used is because official websites, like the South African government, have not
provided information relevant to the specific context needed. A second bias which can occur with using secondary sources, is that the facts are formulated to the interest of the source. For instance, Halperin & Heath (2017) argues, ‘’Government statistics such as crime or poverty can be very sensitive- and in some cases government agencies may try to ‘manage’ the figures to present the government in a more favorable light’’ (p.181).

I.3 Demarcations & selections

Further, to provide validity for the research it is of importance to present the demarcations and selections which has been made throughout the study. First and foremost, the selection of research field. The choice of gender equality as a tool to measure South Africa’s extent of consolidated democracy was made because of the critical environment women are currently facing in South Africa. The research intends to combine examining the actual conditions women receive in the Republic, with investigating to what extent South Africa’s democracy can be considered consolidated.

The choice of case study as the leading method is based on the aspiration of the research to examine a single case (South Africa) and not several. Since the research had a limited timeframe, the most reasonable approach to obtain resources was through consuming a developed and existing theory. Linz and Stephan’s theory were selected because it outlined clear conditions for consolidated democracies which later could be implemented to the current study. Notable, is also that a demarcation occurred relating to the chosen theory. Linz and Stephan’s theory presents five conditions for democracies to become consolidated, in the context of this study only three of them were selected. The selection is based on the timeframe of the research as well as the empirical findings. The political, economic and civil society can all be implemented in the discussion of gender equality in a democracy.
State bureaucracy and rule of law, which are presented as the other two conditions within the theory, was determined to be less accessible when it came to obtaining data and information for the purpose of the research.

Lastly, the final demarcation that was made was within the empirical review. In the arena of the political society six institutions were presented as vital within Linz and Stephan’s theory. The study concluded that the institution ‘interparty alliance’ did not bring as much relevance to the discussion of gender equality in South Africa as the other five institutions of: political parties, legislatures, elections, electoral rules and political leadership, did.

I.4 Disposition of the study
To bring relevance and background to the study, the first part presents previous research in the area of democracy, gender-based violence and gender equality in South Africa. Further, Linz and Stephan’s (1996) theory about consolidated democracies is distinguished due to its role as the main theory of the study. Thereafter, the chosen methodology is presented followed by the empirical review and the analysis of the research. Hence, Linz and Stephan’s theory will guide the structure of the paper and their theory’s following arenas are examined in relation to gender equality in South Africa; a) The political society, b) The economic society, and c) the civil society. The final part of the paper will conclude the main findings of the three mentioned arenas in accordance with the research question: can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality?
II. Previous research & Theory

II.1 Previous research

To get a greater understanding of the current situation concerning democracy and gender equality in South Africa, it is of essence to distinguish previous research in the field. Democracy and gender equality are core elements in the context. Democracy, because the study intends to chart South Africa’s extent of embedded democratic structures and processes. Gender equality, because it is used as the study’s tool to measure the democratic machinery in the Republic. Therefore, within the study’s chapter of previous research there are three topics conferred with themes of democracy and gender equality in South Africa: democratization, gender-based violence and gender equality.

II.1.1 Democratization

Scholars suggest different meanings and definitions of democracy. However, in its most literal sense, democracy is the rule by the people and the essence of the structure is that elections are running open, free and fairly (Huntington, 1991). Larry Diamond (2008) also add freedom of speech, association and the rule of law as critical factors for societies to run democracies (p.21).

Democratization is the term used in political science to describe societies transition towards democracy. Grugel & Bishop (2014) defines democratization accordingly: “democratization is seen to encompass the introduction and extension of citizenship rights and the creation of a democratic state” (p.7). Further, Grugel & Bishop (2014) states to test whether a state has gone through democratization is to distinguish if the democratic rights stated on paper “have a real meaning for people and translate into broad citizenship entitlements” (p.7).
The last important term to discuss within the context of democratization is consolidation. Consolidation of democracies occur when ‘’democratic structures and processes become completely and irrevocably embedded in society’’ (Kondlo, 2017, p.2). Larry Diamond (2008) stresses ‘’for democracies to endure, their leaders and citizens must internalize the spirit of democracy’’ (p.294). Moreover, Diamond (2008) argues that all levels of society must be committed to lasting and unconditionally democracy for the regime to be considered fully consolidated (p.295).

South Africa began its democratization in the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. However, the process of the reform can be traced to the early 1970s when the white business owners started to see their foundations eroded. The economic struggles consequently led to the previously strict repression of other ethnicities started to get more uncontrolled. Internal economic issues were not the only reasons to why the apartheid-regime experienced a ruling crisis, pressure from external actors in the shape of economic sanctions also contributed. 1989 was the year when Frederik W. de Klerk's government came with a surprising decision. The decision was made to open negotiations with the ANC to consider a transition towards democracy. Consequently, the negotiations between Klerk’s government and the political organization ANC in 1989, paved the way for democratization of South Africa which eventually led to the first democratic election held in 1994 and an end to the apartheid era. (Giliomee, 1995).

Freedomhouse is an independent organization which works with measuring freedom rates in the world. According to their measurements, South Africa scores 79 out of a 100-scale considering freedom in the country. The score considers the state as ‘free’ (Freedomhouse, 2019).
According to ‘The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index’ (2018), South Africa receives 7.2 points which indicates that the country is a ‘flawed democracy’. The data uses a zero to ten scale, where zero points are handed out to the countries which are perceived the most authoritarian and ten to the most democratic states. A flawed democracy is a democracy which run free and fair elections and provides basic democratic liberties but is flawed when it comes to issues which reflect more advanced democracies. (The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, 2018).

II.1.2 Gender-based violence in South Africa

The relevance of this study finds its origins in the widespread and prominent issue of gender-based violence in South Africa. Gender-based violence is the term used to describe physical and/or sexual violence against females and occurs in every territory of the world (United Nations Development Programme, 2019).

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the murder rate of women in South Africa increased by 117 percent between the years of 2015 and 2016/2017 (The Republic of South Africa, 2018). According to Amnesty’s annual report from 2017, 39, 000 cases of rape was reported (Amnesty International, 2018).

The South African Police Service (SAPS), annually publish crime reports of the previous year and the following numbers are findings from the annual report between the time of the 1st of April 2017 to 31st of March 2018. These findings are of special consideration regarding the context of gender-based violence in South Africa;

- Crimes committed against women increased from 173 405 cases in 2016/2017 to 177 620 in 2017/2018, an increase of 4 215 cases or 2.4%.
• Murder of females: During 2016/2017 were 2639 cases reported, meanwhile, 2017/2018 the number had increased to 2930 cases. Difference: an increase with 291 cases.

• Attempted murder of females: During 2016/2017 were 3328 cases reported and the by the year 2017/2018 were 3554 cases reported. Difference: an increase with 226 cases.

• Common assault of women: During the period of 2016/2017 there were 78,090 reported cases, and during 2017/2018 81,142 cases was reported. Difference: an increase with 3052 cases.

Furthermore, The SAPS report also states the total crimes directed against females had increased with 4,215 cases between the years of 2016/2017 to 2017/2018. (South African Police Service, 2018).

II.1.3 Gender equality in South Africa

‘‘Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, thereby recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men”’ (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

Firstly, South Africa is a part of ‘‘The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of the Women in Africa’ which was adopted in 2003 (Sadie, 2017). The purpose of the protocol is to ‘‘ensure that the rights of women are promoted, realized and protected in order to enable them to enjoy fully all their human rights;'’ (United Nations, 2003, p.3).

The Republic further agreed upon the ‘‘Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action’ which was signed between concerned governments in 1995. The declaration states that governments shall, ‘‘ensure women’s equal access to, and full participation in, power structures, integrate women into political parties, and increase women’s participation in the electoral process and
political activities’’ (Sadie, 2017, p.223). Further, it was decided that at least 30 percent women shall represent political and decision-making process by the year of 2005 (Sadie, 2017).

South Africa is also a part of the legally binding agreement of the ‘UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women’ (CEDAW). The main purpose of the agreement is that, ‘‘parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political life and shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government’’ (Sadie, 2017, p.223).

In August 2008, the Southern African Development Community formulated a protocol regarding gender and development. The SADC protocol on gender and development was signed by all heads of government and is a legally binding agreement between the member states concerned. One of the main commitments of the protocol was to achieve ‘’at least 50 per cent target of women in decision-making positions in the public and private sector by 2015 (article 12 (1))’’ (Sadie, 2017, p.223). In addition, the article 13 (1) of the protocol states that concerned governments shall ‘adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting’’ (Sadie, 2017, p.223).

South Africa have established a National Gender Policy framework which is centralized within the Ministry of Women in the Presidency. The Gender Policy Framework is defined as ‘’South Africa’s vision for gender equality and for how it intends to realize this ideal’’ (Republic of South Africa, 2019).
The National Gender Policy presents national priorities which must be addressed for the Republic to move towards Gender equality. The issues stated are the following: gender relations, poverty, globalization, HIV/AIDS, violence, access to basic needs, access to basic resources, access to employment, economic empowerment of women, access to land, access to science and technology, women’s access to political power, implementation of laws; and National gender machinery. The background of establishing the policy was to operationalize the demands of the women’s movement into core principles for the National Gender Program. (Republic of South Africa, 2019).

The aim of the policy was to further, “create an enabling environment and make it possible for government to develop mechanisms that will assist in the achievement of the national goal of gender equality” (Republic of South Africa, 2019).

II.2 Theory

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stephan’s theory about consolidated democracies is presented in their article ‘Toward Consolidated Democracies’ (1996) and is the main theory of the current study. The theory formulates five conditions and emphasizes the importance of them being interconnected and crafted for a democratic regime to become consolidated (Linz & Stephan, 1996).

The five conditions featured in the theory are:

- ‘a free and lively civil society,
- a relatively autonomous political society,
- all major actors must be effectively subjected to the rule of law,
- there must be a state bureaucracy and,
The present study has made a demarcation of Linz and Stephan’s (1996) theory. Hence, for the purpose of the study three out of the five formulated conditions in Linz and Stephan’s theory have been chosen to be analyzed. The core conditions of the study are the following: the political society, the economic society and the civil society.

The demarcation has been made because of two instances. Firstly, the focus of the study is to analyze to what degree South Africa can be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality, and in consideration of the five conditions presented in Linz and Stephan’s theory, the political, economic and civil society seemed to be the most relevant to distinguish because the availability of resources. Secondly, the output of the paper has a limited amount of words and for that reason there had to be a demarcation.

In addition to the chosen conditions, it is of importance to briefly recognize what the theory describes as vital for a state to become a consolidated democracy. An essential aspect is, “Only democracies can become consolidated democracies” (Linz & Stephan, 1996, p.2). Linz and Stephan (1996) further emphasize the role of democracy being considered as “the only game in town” (p.2). More specifically, the phrase indicates the state structure where democracy is perceived and practiced through institutions, rules and values as the one and only regime type for the state concerned. Linz and Stephan portray behavioral, attitudinal, and constitutional dimensions to define if a state have fully integrated with democracy as “the only game in town” and consequently can make the transition to become a consolidated democracy (Linz & Stephan, 1996).

The behavioral dimension depicts when all arenas of a democratic society acts accordingly to the elements of the democratic context. By definition, no greater acts are being made to create nondemocratic regimes or to abolish the current democratic regime. Moreover, no actors within the political regime
spends significant resources to breakdown the democratic regime. (Linz & Stephan, 1996).

The public’s attitudes in a democratic regime is equally as important as the behaviors. Accordingly to Linz and Stephan (1996), ‘‘a democratic regime is consolidated when a strong majority of public opinion, even in the midst of major economic problems and deep dissatisfaction with incumbents, holds the belief that democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern collective life, and when support for antisystem alternatives is quite small or more-or-less isolated from prodemocratic forces’’ (p.2). Constitutionally, the final dimension presented, describes that a democratic regime can only be fully consolidated when democratic values is specified in laws, procedures and institution within the democratic regime (Linz & Stephan, 1996).

Subsequent, a description of the three chosen conditions of the study.

II.2.1 The political society

The political society is the arena ‘‘in which political actors compete for the legitimate right to exercise control over public power and the state apparatus’’ (Linz & Stephan, 1996, p.3). Civil society can work alone to abolish a nondemocratic regime, but Linz and Stephan’s theory confer; for a democratic regime to become fully consolidated there is a need for involvement of the political society. The citizens must ‘‘develop an appreciation for the core institutions of a democratic political society’’ (Linz & Stephan, 1996, p.3). Specified institutions are; political parties, legislatures, elections, electoral rules, political leadership, and interparty alliances. Only when an appreciation for these core institutions are widespread in a democratic society, can a transition towards a consolidated democracy evolve (Linz & Stephan, 1996).
II.2.2 The economic society

Linz and Stephan (1996) define the economic society as “a set of sociopolitically crafted and accepted norms, institutions, and regulations” (p.5). Accordingly, the main task of the economic society is to mediate between the state and the market. In their theory two claims are being made to why the economic society should be considered a vailed arena of consolidated democracies; “First, there has never been, and there cannot be, a consolidated democracy that has a command economy (except perhaps in wartime). Second, there has never been, and almost certainly will never be, a modern consolidated democracy with a pure market economy” (Linz & Stephan, 1996, p.5).

II.2.3 The civil society

The civil society can include a wide range of social movements as well as associations from all social strata. Linz and Stephan (1996) define the civil society in the following way; “’By "civil society," we refer to that arena of the polity where self-organizing and relatively autonomous groups, movements, and individuals attempt to articulate values, to create associations and solidarities, and to advance their interests’” (p.3).

Thus, Linz and Stephan (1996) stress the importance of the behavioral, attitudinal, and constitutional dimensions for a democratic regime to become fully consolidated. The theory also presents five conditions which are of equal importance for consolidating democracies, whereas the current study have chosen the role of the political society, economic society and civil society to guide the research in relation to South Africa and gender equality.
III. Method

The comparative method is chosen for the purpose of this research. Reportedly, the comparative method is one of the most used methods in the field of political science. The method is common in political research because it includes different approaches and the three most used are large-N studies, small-N studies and single-N studies. The approaches are distinguished by how many cases are being examined. Large-N studies involves the research of many cases (often countries, in the context of political science), while small-N studies merely focus on a few cases (normally 2-4 cases), and single-case studies which focus on one case (also known as case studies) (Halperin & Heath, 2017). Comparative methods can be applied in mainly three ways: to apply existing theory to a new case, to develop new theory or hypothesis, or thirdly, to test theory (Halperin & Heath, 2017).

The current research uses the approach of a case study while examining South Africa’s consolidation of democracy in relation to gender equality. Further, the study applies existing theory to the new case. Thus, the structure of the study can be distinguished as a comparative case study with theory consuming character. The reason behind the choice of method is manifold. It is the most appropriate in terms of the timeframe for the research, the resources available as well as the intent to bring the highest validity of the study.
III.1 Characteristics of the method chosen for the study

III.1.1 Case study
The current study is characterized as a case study since it focuses on one case (South Africa). Case studies are one of the main approaches within Comparative Politics. One of the greatest advantages with case studies is that one case can be ‘‘intensively examined’’ (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p.214).

The method mainly operates in two ways; ‘‘First, it can apply theory developed in one context to another context in order to assess whether the original theory ‘works’’. Or second, it can seek to develop a new theory, and generate hypotheses that can be applied to other cases’’ (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p.215). There are four different outlines a case study can take depending on the characteristics of the research: provide descriptive contextualization, apply new contexts, examine exceptions to the rule; and generate new theory (Halperin & Heath, 2017).

This research is following the method of applying an existing and developed theory to the context of South Africa and gender equality. As mentioned in the previous chapter, will Linz and Stephan’s theory about consolidated democracies be implemented to the research.

Case studies are described as ‘‘an incredible powerful tool’’ in the context of examining if theories can be used in other cases than where they were developed (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p.216). Further, case studies are based on one single case and can provide a ‘‘detailed analysis of a political phenomenon’’ (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p.217). In the context is also worth to note the disadvantages with the method. The prominent limitation of case studies is that the findings are concentrated to a single case which can make it difficult to generalize the results to other contexts. More, case studies cannot be used to directly test the validity of a complete theory since it is only tested on one case (Halperin & Heath, 2017).
III.1.2 Theory consuming

The essence of theories is described in the following way: “A theory is an attempt to make sense of the world by indicating that some factors are more important than others and specifying relations among them” (Halperin & Heath, p.117).

In the sense of research, theories can either guide the structure or become the outcome of the research. Deduction is the term used when a confirmed theory is implemented to research, which is the case of the current study. Moreover, Case studies can be defined as theory-confirming or theory-infirming. The theory-confirming case study supports the original theory, while the infirming case study opposes the original theory. (Halperin & Heath, 2017). Hence, the research of this study is characterized as theory-confirming.

The method used for the study is also characterized as theory consuming in research terms. The single case (South Africa) is in focus were an existing theory (Linz & Stephan (1996)) are consumed. (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson, Towns & Wängnerud, 2017).

III.2 Data collection

This study has used qualitative and quantitative methods based on gathering data for the empirical part of the research. Secondary sources have been used in both instances, meaning that already existing data has been re-analyzed for the purpose of this study. The advantaged of using secondary data is that it is not as time consuming as collecting primary data. The primary disadvantage with collecting data from secondary sources is that the quality of the data cannot completely be confirmed. (Halperin & Heath, 2017).

Thus, the primary bias with this way of collecting data is that ‘the researcher is not directly involved in the process of data collection, and so in
a sense at mercy of the practices and produces that have been adopted by the organization that has collected the data” (Halpern & Heath, 2018, p.181).

The qualitative data of the research has mainly been reports from secondary sources, while the statistics presented in the study is of quantitative character of secondary sources. ‘’Qualitative and quantitative data can often be combined to good effect- and so the distinction between the two types of data is perhaps not as divisive as is often portrayed’’. (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p.178).

IV. Empirical review & Analysis

The structure of Linz and Stephan’s theory will guide the empirical and analytic part of the study. First, a discussion about the findings of South Africa’s political, economic and civil society in relation to gender equality. Further, the findings of gender equality within each specific arena are analyzed, to eventually determine to what extent the Republic can be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality.

IV.1 The Political Society

The core institutions of the political society are political parties, legislatures, elections, electoral rules, political leadership, and interparty alliances (Linz & Stephan, 1996). These cited institutions, except for ‘interparty alliances’, will guide the empirical review of South Africa’s relation to gender equality within the political society.

IV.1.1 Political Parties

South Africa practice the Proportional Representation system, meaning that each party submits a prioritized list to parliament. Each party is then awarded seats in accordance with the percentage of votes they receive in the related election. What is important to note is that voters vote for a party and not for specific candidates within the parties. Thus, the two most essential outcomes
of the Proportional Representation system are; 1) what proportion of votes the party gets and 2) where candidates are placed on the list (Gender Links, 2019)

The second point presented plays the greatest relevance from the perspective of gender equality. In accordance to the system practiced in South Africa, it is of interest to measure what placement female names get on the list and to what extent in relation to the male candidates.

The political parties which holds the greatest amount of seats in the National Assembly of South Africa are the African National Congress (230 number of seats), Democratic Alliance (84 number of seats), the Economic Freedom Fighters (44 number of seats) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (14 number of seats). The remaining ten parties of the National Assembly have ten or less seats. (The Republic of South Africa, 2019). The following text will examine provided gender equality within the four greatest political parties of South Africa.

IV.1.1.1 The African National Congress (ANC).

Based on party documents, the African National Congress (ANC) has the greatest commitment to gender equality amongst the South African political parties. One of the most distinguished commitments since the 1994 election is the voluntary quota of at least 33 percent women representation on the party’s candidate list. (Sadie, 2017).

ANC have presented a gender concerned policy which is referred to as the ‘‘zebra stripe system’’, meaning that there should be an 50/50 gender distribution on their candidate lists (Sadie, 2017, p.225).

The result of the 2019 election showed that the ANC came close to achieving equal gender representation on their party lists with a 49 percentage of women. However, on their top 5 list only 1 woman was nominated and of the top 25 candidates list, 36 percent were female. Thus, the ‘zebra stripe policy’
was not implemented in the top 5 and top 25 candidate lists. (Gender Links, 2019).

IV.1.1.2 The Democratic Alliance (DA)
The 2019 election shows that the DA presented one of the most gender aware manifests. The manifesto reportedly covered areas such as LGBTI+, SRHR and sex work. The manifesto also lays focus on the ongoing gender-based violence in South Africa and want to enforce actions to ease the process for women job seekers. The organization Gender Links (2019) state that the party’s manifesto is conflicting with the actions the party present. Accordingly, “The progressive nature of the party's manifesto is in stark contrast to their refusal to address the low levels of women's representation on the party list” (Gender Links, 2019, p.12). Showings from 2019 present that one woman was on the top five candidate list, while 32 percent were women represented in the top 25 list and 37 percent overall (Gender Links, 2019).

IV.1.1.3 The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)
In relation to the 2019 election, the EFF showed devotion to gender equality in its manifesto. “The EFF has the most progressive gender provisions including amongst others GBV, sexual harassment, educating men on misogyny and patriarchy and the economic empowerment of women” (Gender Links, 2019, p.13). The party also presents measurements that must be taken to protect the LGBTI+ communities. Although the party present well developed manifestos concerning gender equality, the party loses much of its legitimacy due to its party leader Julius Malema. According to several sources the leader has made some “misogynistic comments and actions” which are in direct contradiction to the gender aware manifesto that the party present (Gender Links, 2019, p.13).
Consequently, these types of statements have ‘‘cast doubt on the EFF’s commitment to gender equality and a non-sexist society’’ (Sadie, 2017, p.226).

EFF’s candidate lists of 2019 present 1 woman in the top five list, 44 percent women in the top 25 list and 50 percent women overall (Gender Links, 2019).

**IV.1.1.4 The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)**

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has through a traditionalist, federalist, and classical liberal standpoint argued against quotas concerning gender equality (Britton, 2005). The IFP relies on the party’s past of strong women and the leadership of the party stresses that ‘‘women’s inequality will be redressed through the elimination of economic barriers or social inequality’’ (Britton, 2005, p.35). The IFP’s has a profound history of manifestos that mentions the need for special protection for women and children. However, the party fails to portray ‘‘how gender issues fit into the party’s positions on poverty, education, housing, or children’’ (Britton, 2005, p.35).

The outcome of the 2019 elections shows that IFP had 2 women in the top five candidate list, none in the top 25 and 40 percent overall.

It can be determined that the four greatest parties in South Africa have mentioned manifestos to put awareness to women’s vulnerable situation in society, as well as all four of them have put forward female names on their national candidate lists. However, a pattern which applies to all parties presented is remarkably more male names are put forward on the higher sections of the candidate lists then female names. Further, the manifestos and quotas stated by the parties have not become completely implemented. Also, improper statements made by party members have affected the legitimacy concerning the parties efforts in promoting gender equality significantly.
IV.1.2 Legislatures

The legislature is the branch within the South African system which make law. The Parliament of South Africa consists of two houses, the national assembly and the national council of provinces. 2019 is marked as the year when the highest representation of women in Parliament was reached so far, 46 percent of the members of Parliament are women (Gender Links, 2019). South Africa is currently ranked at an eight placement in the world according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) of women representation in the political sphere (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019).

IV.1.2.1 The National Assembly

The National Assembly is the lower house of Parliament and has 400 members. The members are elected by votes and the votes are then translated to the number of seats a party gets (The Republic of South Africa, 2019). Women represent 184 seats of the National Assembly, meanwhile the male members are counted to 213 members (Inter-parliamentary Union, 2019).

Women as a group gained 23 seats in the National Assembly regardless of party in 2019. The 2019 election also marks the first time in history where two parties achieved the 50 % aim of women representation in the National Assembly, the ANC and the EFF. The other two greatest parties in South African politics also increased their representation of women in the assembly. The DA increased from 27 women in 2014 to 31 in 2019. The IFP currently have 23 % women in Parliament and increased their representation of women with one seat compared to the previous election in 2014. (Gender Links, 2019).

In general, the data mentioned above emphasizes that women in the National Assembly of South Africa increases their space in the political sphere since the previous election. Although, it is prominent that the ANC and the EFF
have reached a gender equal allocation of seats, the assembly does not practice complete gender equality.

**IV.1.2.2 The National Council of Provinces**

The National Council of Provinces have a total of 90 provincial delegates, 10 delegates from each province. ‘’The NCOP is constitutionally mandated to ensure that provincial interests are taken into account in the national sphere of government. This is done through participation in the national legislative process and by providing a national forum for consideration of issues affecting provinces’’. (The Republic of South Africa, 2019).

The current number of delegates in the NCOP is 53. Percentage of women is 37.74 %, which translates to the numbers of 20 women and 33 men. The ANC currently rules eight of nine provinces. There is appointed women speakers in all the provinces ruled by the ANC. The Western Cape, which is ruled by the DA also appointed a female speaker of the province. Concerning the overall representation of women in the provincial legislatures, the percentage is 46 %. Although, the percentage is near the 50% mark, only the province of Mpumalanga has reached it. (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019).

It is notable that all the nine provinces in South Africa have appointed female speakers. This action is a great step towards achieving gender equality in the political sphere. However, the number of female delegates needs to increase to be considered completely gender representative.

**IV.1.3 Elections**

Historically, 1930 was the year when women got the right to vote in the national election in South Africa and by 1933, the first woman was elected in Parliament. However, the right to vote was restricted and only applied to white women. It would take another 64 years until the right to vote became universal and applied to all citizens of the Republic regardless of gender and ethnicity (Sadie, 2017).
South Africa has had six general elections since the democratization of the republic in 1994. The republic's electoral system is a closed-list proportional representation system and as stated, voters vote for parties and not individual candidates. Voters receive two separate ballots in accordance with the general election, one for the national election and one for the provincial election. The General election process occurs every fifth year and is “facilitated by the Independent Electoral Commission, which is responsible for ensuring free and fair elections” (Helen Suzman Foundation, 2014).

55 percent of the South African registered voters of the 2019 election were female. Gender links (2019) presents the following outcomes relating to the percentage of women in the political sphere after the 2019 election:

- “46% of all MPs are women which makes it the highest portion of women of all time in South Africa,
- 36% of the NCOP members are women,
- 46% of the MPLs are women which makes it the historical highest percentage of women at the post as well,
- 50% of the Cabinet are women and is likewise a historically high percentage,
- 46% of deputy ministers are women and,
- the premiers consist of 22% women”. (Gender Links, 2019, p.3).

The statistics from the 2019 general election shows a relatively high rate of women at most posts presented above. Although, it can be determined that the numbers of women elected are not representative with the fact that 55 percent of the total voting population are women.

IV.1.4 Electoral process

The South African election process can be divided into three phases. The first phase is the period of voter registration. This phase includes: “the registration of voters; the legal and constitutional framework; the adequacy
of funding to the electoral management bodies; the registration of political parties, and candidate registration and the existence of voter education programmes” (Sadie, 2017, p.232). During this phase the involved political parties presents their election campaign.

The second phase is described as the election period. This period provides the steps which occurs on the election day. More specifically, “the nature and accessibility of polling stations, voting mechanisms, and the voting and counting arrangements” (Sadie, 2017, p.232). The last phase (the third phase), distinguish the context of the post-election period. In general, this phase is about the acceptance of results and handling the election disputes that might occur. (Sadie, 2017).

Inter-parliamentary union define the importance of free and fair elections in the following way: “In any State the authority of the government can only derive from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections held at regular intervals on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage”. (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019).

On the 6th of May 2019, the Commission of Gender Equality released a press statement that the 2019 provincial and national elections would be monitored by the commission. The monitoring would occur to “to ensure that gender equality and transformation in general, and women’s electoral representation and participation are factored into all key stages and phases of the electoral process”. (The Republic of South Africa, 2019).

Unfortunately, for the case of this study no reports of the 2019 Provincial and National elections are available at the Commission of Gender Equality’s website.
IV.1.5 Electoral Rules

In the context of electoral rules and gender equality in South Africa, The Electoral act 202 of 1993 states specific regulations in relation to the role of women: SCHEDULE 2 (Sections 69 and 70) ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT- (k) in relation to the role of women;

‘’(k) in relation to the role of women-

(i) to facilitate full participation by women in political activities on the basis of equality;

(ii) to ensure free access by women to all public political meetings, facilities and venues;

(iii) to respect the right of women to communicate freely with political parties and organizations; and

(iv) generally, to refrain from forcing women to adopt a particular political position or to engage in, or to refrain from engaging in, any political activity otherwise than in accordance with their free choice: (l) in relation to the Commission- (i) to acknowledge its authority in the conduct of the election;

(ii) to ensure the attendance and participation of representatives at meetings of any party liaison committee and other forums convened by or on behalf of the Commission; (iii) to implement its orders and directions; (iv) to facilitate its right of access through official monitors or other representatives to all public political meetings or other electoral activities; (v) to co-operate in the official investigation of issues and allegations arising during the election period; and

(vi) to take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of monitors and other representatives of the Commission from exposure to insult, hazard or threat in the course of their official duties’’. (The Republic of South Africa, 1993).
The above content from the Electoral act 202 of 1993 provides clear measurements of the code of conduct in relation to women in the political sphere of South Africa.

**IV.1.6 Political Leadership**

Since the transition to democracy, the Presidents of South Africa have promoted gender equality to different degrees. Cyril Ramaphosa was elected head of office in February 2018. The results of the 2019 national and provincial elections ‘‘broke new ground’’ (Gender Links, 2019, p.3), concerning the representation of women in higher political leadership roles. Women held 46% of all seats in the House of Assembly and provincial legislatures and 50% of all seats in the cabinet. Further, all the elected speakers in the national and provincial legislatures are women (Gender Links, 2019).

During the time of this paper, President Ramaphosa have held the Presidential seat for nearly two years. Notable achievements of promoting gender equality have occurred through his measurements of addressing the widespread issue of gender-based violence and femicide in the Republic. The Commission of Gender Equality state the Presidents signing of the ‘‘#GBVF Summit Declaration’’ as ‘‘a turning point in the fight against gender-based violence and femicide’’ (The Republic of South Africa, 2019). On the 18th of September 2019, The President called for a special joint sitting of the houses of Parliament to address the ongoing gender-based violence and how to make them cease (The Republic of South Africa, 2019).

Concerning the promotion of gender equality, the organization Gender links do state some criticism towards the political leadership in South Africa. For instance, the choice of the new deputy president. Reportedly, President Ramaphosa did not ‘‘seize the opportunity to appoint a woman to the second
highest post in the land, bringing South Africa closer to the elusive dream of a woman president” (Gender links, 2019, p.7).

Overall, the task of analyzing President’s Cyril Ramaphosa’s leadership in relation to gender equality can be difficult, due to the fact of his currently short time at the presidential post. Although, it is notable that the President has put attention to the current issue about the widespread gender-based violence in the Republic.

IV.2 The Economic Society
Worldbank’s data available from 2018 measures South Africa’s population to 57.78 million people with a GDP of 368.288 billion US Dollars (Wordlbank, 2018). Based on statistics of the South African government, 49.2 percent of all households in South Africa were living below the upper-bound poverty line in 2014. The statistics also showed that a higher percentage of females are poor in South Africa than men, 58.6% of female households are poor in comparison to the 54.9% male households. Overall, the poorest group of the South African society are defined to be black young women. (Republic of South Africa, 2019).

IV.2.1 South Africa’s political economy
Much of apartheid’s legacy can still be seen in today’s political economy of the Republic. The economic organization during apartheid was profoundly racial based. Rules, regulation and laws were implemented and practiced limiting all other ethnicities than the white male population of production and wealth (Schoeman & Graham, 2017). The political economy of today’s South Africa is by many means still racially divided. For instance, ‘’The richest 10 per cent of the country’s population earns 50 per cent of national income; the poorest 20 per cent only 1.5 per cent. Of the poor, 95 per cent are black’’. (Schoeman & Graham, 2017, p.252)
IV.2.2 Accepted norms of gender equality in the economic society

Women and girls who were the most negatively affected by the apartheid regime still represent the most disadvantaged groups in today’s South Africa. Accordingly, “men earn almost twice what women earn on an annual basis, 26 with 56.01 percent of households in the lowest expenditure per capita quintile headed by women” (South Africa Human Rights Commission, 2017, p.14). The reason behind this data is said to be because of a “under-representation of women in the workplace and a lack of access to alternative streams of income” (South Africa Human Rights Commission, 2017, p.14).

The South African research agency ’Human Sciences Research Council’ (HSRC), concludes data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), about South Africans gender attitudes towards women balancing work and family. The article suggests that the previous crafted norms about men being the providers and “women charged with raising children and doing household work” (Human Sciences Research Council, 2019), start to cease and change direction in the economic society. The report states the following results of the SASAS findings about South Africans attitudes;

- “There was near universal agreement (88%) that both men and women should contribute to the household income, with no gender differences evident in this opinion;
- Less than half the adult population (46%) believed that a man’s primary role in the household was to earn money while a woman’s chief role was to look after the home and family, and both men and women were likely to hold this belief”;
- A minority of South Africans – 39% of men and 37% of women – agreed that family life suffered when the woman had a full-time job” (Human Sciences Research Council, 2019).

SASAS findings also revealed that most of the women and men agreed with the thesis that “the ideal situation for a family with young children was for
the mother to stay at home and for the father to work full-time” (Human Sciences Research Council, 2019). More specified, 52% women agreed with the statement and 51% of the men. The overall conclusion of the article was that there is an “broad acceptance” of women in the workplace, but traditional values and attitudes towards women and housework are still prominent (Human Sciences Research Council, 2019).

It can be determined that social norms are of importance to discuss in the context of gender equality. The norms persisting are critical factors in shaping social structures of society which eventually shapes the political, economic and civil arena. According to the data presented, gender norms are to some extent modernized in South Africa. The traditional gender roles of women staying at home while the men act as the family providers have changed in some parts of society, but still consists in others.

IV.2.3 South African institutions which promotes gender equality in the economic society

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) was established in terms of the constitution section 184 (1) to provide, protect and promote all human rights in society (Stevens & Ntlama, 2016).

Furthermore, the South African government established the Commission of Gender Equality (CGE) to "promote respect for gender equality and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality". Specifically, the rights and needs of women are being treated within the commission (Stevens & Ntlama, 2016).

In addition to the Commissions SAHRC and CGE, the South African government have established departments which practices programmes especially formed to promote women and gender equality in the economic society. The department of women have developed programmes that investigate social transformation and economic empowerment, as well as,
policy, stakeholder coordination and knowledge management. For instance, The Social transformation and economic empowerment programme has the purpose to ‘‘facilitate and promote the attainment of women’s socio-economic empowerment and gender equality’’ (South African SDG Hub, 2018).

Moreover, the Department of Trade and Industry have also implemented programmes concerning gender equality in the economic sphere. DTI support four different programmes in their work in promoting empowerment of women in the economic society; B’avumile skills development initiative, Technology for Women In Business (TWIB): Technogirls programme and South African Women Entrepreneurs’ Network (SAWEN). (South African SDG Hub, 2018).

The presented organizations show that South Africa do have constant institutions which aims to promote gender equality in the economic society.

**IV.2.4 Regulations to promote gender equality in the economic society**

As mentioned throughout the study, equality is a fundamental value of the Republic of South Africa and Section 9 Equality (3) of the constitution provides the guarantee of right to equality. ‘‘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 Republic of South Africa, 1993).

In the context of promoting gender equality in the economic society, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 4 was established in the year of 2000 (PEPUDA) to give effect of Section 9. PERUDA is a national act which ‘‘recognises the need to address systemic discrimination and specifically aims to achieve the ‘eradication of social and

The Equality Court was established on the basis of the PEPUDA act, ‘‘to provide legal protection and recourse when violations of the right to equality occur. The Equality Courts hear matters regarding unfair discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds stipulated in PEPUDA, as well as matters concerning hate speech and harassment as prohibited by PEPUDA’’. (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018, p.12).

Furthermore, the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998 (EEA) is also an act which was established by South African government to promote equality in the economic sphere of South Africa. The EEA was implemented to ‘‘promote equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination. The EEA promotes substantive equality through the implementation of affirmative action (or ‘special measures’) to ensure redress and equitable representation in the workforce’’ (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018, p.13).

The text mentioned above proves that the Economic Society of South Africa poses some protection through governmental acts, courts and constitutional sections to provide gender equality.

IV.3 The Civil Society

IV.3.1 NGOs, organizations and public platforms promoting gender equality and women’s rights

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are an important part of the civil society to act as a link between grass rote level and government. South Africa is home to several NGOs which promote gender equality and work to empower women’s right in society. Following is a description of national NGOs, organizations and public platforms promoting gender equality in South Africa.
IV.3.1.1 Gender Links.
Gender Links reports and information provided on their website have been used during several occasions in this paper. “Gender Links (GL) is a Southern African NGO founded in 2001 that is committed to a region in which women and men are able to participate equally in all aspects of public and private life in accordance with the provisions of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development”.

Gender links works through the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which is guided by the Sustainable Development Goals, Beijing Plus Twenty and Africa Agenda 2063. The promoting of gender equality occurs at local, national, regional and international level. The NGO gathers information about current gender equality in different areas of society through; “conducting research to identify gender gaps”. Further, the work in promoting gender equality develops for instance through “lobbying and advocacy using mainstream and new media, developing action plans in participative ways that bring together a broad cross section of partners in learning that is applied and supported on-the-job and establishing partnerships for the furtherance of GL goals with governments, NGOs, Community and Faith Based Organisations”. (Gender Links, 2019).

IV.3.1.2 Masimanyane Women’s Rights International
Masimanyane work with societies at all levels, from local to national and global. The aim with the organization is to raise gender awareness, reduce HIV/AIDS, to strengthen women’s rights and to cease violence against females. Their work is widespread and exists in both urban and rural areas in South Africa. (Masimanyane, 2019).

IV.3.1.3 Gender Based Violence Prevention Network
The GBV Prevention Network is an organization built by activists for women empowerment. The network is active in Horn, East and Southern
Africa and constitutes of 500 members in 18 different countries. The GBV Prevention Network works to ‘increase momentum for VAW (violence against women) prevention by strengthening analysis, building connections and taking action to prevent VAW’ (The GBV Prevention Network, 2019).

In addition to the organizations and NGOs mentioned, there are also other groups within civil society that works for gender equality which are worth to present within the context. For instance, 18twenty8 is a women-led NGO which ‘empowers young women, from disadvantaged backgrounds, by developing strategies for their educational and personal development’ (18twenty8, 2019).

In the context, the study has only presented a handful of all the NGOs and platforms working for the promotion of gender equality and women’s rights in the South African society. This comes to show two instances. Firstly, that the engagement of gender equality in the South African civil society is relatively widespread and second, they are allowed by government to mobilize and function.

IV.3.2 Challenges facing NGOs and organizations in civil society

Civil society organization are generally faced with a lack of sustainable funding. Accordingly, the civil society sector lacks financial support from government and contact with relevant and potential funding sources. Due to the absences of financial security within civil society organizations, staff cannot be retrained because of the low salaries and resources cannot be allocated to the same extent. (National Development Agency, 2016).

Further, the Human development department of South Africa published the report ‘South Africa-The National Gender Machinery, Gender Mainstreaming and the Fight against Gender Based Violence’ (2009). The report provides a description of challenges gender promoting NGOs are
facing in South Africa. The women’s movements are in general considered to be weak in the report. The lack of mobilizing is stated as one of the main reasons to why the women movements are currently not preforming in the same extent as in the time of democratization 1994. (The Human Development Department, 2009).

Previously, the active sharing of experiences and networking amongst gender equality promoting organizations consequently strengthen the movements impact on society. However, the report argues that there has grown to be a division between these movements and the reasons behind the growing division is stated to be because of; “funding, racial tensions and internal struggles over access to resources among network members…” (The Human Development Department, 2009, p.23).

Consequently, stable alliances of gender promoting NGOs and organizations are not widespread in society which further makes it difficult for existing movements to make an impact on government and to hold it accountable for “delivering on gender equality” in society (The Human Development Department, 2009, p.23).

The report also describes a clear division between women’s movements because of differing socioeconomic backgrounds. “Women’s organizations with experienced staff and resources are, moreover, all urbanbased, whereas local and rural community-based organizations have neither the capacity nor the resources to have a visible impact on political decision making”. (The Human Development Department, 2009, p.23).

The socioeconomic division causes the urbanbased women organizations to merely focus on strategies effecting women of the same background. Whereas, the rural women movements are unable to reach the same impact on decisions of higher spheres in the society. “Despite the high proportion of women living in rural areas, and despite their highly disadvantaged economic
position, they have largely remained outside the mainstream of the women’s movement”. (The Human Development Department, 2009, p.23-24).

Thus, the impacts of women movements are to a large extent based on the demands of urban women in society where the needs of rural women tend to not be prioritized to the equal extent.

It seems that the most general struggle for all NGOs active in South Africa, finds its origins in financial issues. More specific, challenges for women and gender-equality movements stem from uniting to become louder in society and consequently create a greater impact, as during the transition towards democracy during the early 1990s.

IV.3.3 Funding to organizations and NGOs

The Act No.71 of 1997 is a legislative framework in South Africa. Chapter 2 of the Act asserts “within the limits prescribed by law, every organ of state must determine and co-ordinate the implementation of its policies and measures in a manner designed to promote, support and enhance the capacity of non-profit organisations to perform their functions” (National Development Agency, 2016).

However, for the purpose of this research there is no clear statistics or tables which presents how much funding is allocated to organizations promoting gender equality and female movements.

The National Development Agency is a state entity and responsible to provide support to the civil society sector in South Africa. The establishment of the NDA was ‘’to ensure that a formal facilitative platform is created to support a development paradigm whose centerpiece is people driven in partnership with government’’ (National Development Agency, 2016, p.108).
The research can conclude that none of the published reports available at the National Development Agency website have specifically stated how much of the funding is allocated women’s movements and organizations concerning gender equality. In the NDA report from 2016, ‘Enhancing Civil Society Participation in the South African Development Agenda: The Role of Civil Society Organisations’, the amount of Grant Disbursement to Projects approved by the NDA was stated between the years of 2000 and 2011, but it was not specified to which organizations. In total 78.5 projects were approved and 1 005 128 155 ZAR of grant disbursement. (National Development Agency, 2016).
V. Conclusion

V.1 Key Findings of the study

There is no uncertainty that South Africa is currently experiencing a national crisis concerning the widespread and prominent discrimination against women. The murder-rate and violence against women have during recent years increased by significant high numbers. It is of extensive relevance to bring enlightens, to spread awareness and provide discussions of women’s current situation in South Africa.

However, South Africa is a democratic regime and scores relatively high on the freedom- and democratic measurements of the country. From a political science point of view, it is of great interest to investigate to what extent South Africa have embedded and practiced democratic values considering the current struggle of violence against women. Furthermore, the aim with this research has been to examine to what degree South Africa can be considered a fully consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality. For the purpose of the research, South Africa’s political society, economic society and civil society have been examined based on Linz and Stephan (1996) theory with the perspective of gender equality. Further, in accordance with Linz and Stephan’s theory will the key findings from the research be concluded with the three vital dimensions for democratic states to become consolidated: the behavioral, the attitudinal and the constitutional dimensions.

V.1.1 Behavioral dimension

Based on the information gathered for the purpose of this research, the democratic system of South Africa can be determined to promote gender equality in the three societies examined. The turnouts from the 2019 election underlines the role of the political society. 46 percent of all seats in parliament were allocated women which puts South Africa on an eight place
in the world of the highest representation of women. Notable is also that all nine provinces have women speakers and the Cabinet have reached an equal representation of men and women. Furthermore, there are developed and established institutions in the economic society that shall act to promote and protect women and gender equality in the economic sphere of South Africa. The civil society of South Africa has since the beginning of democratization fought for equality and the widespread organizations to promote gender equality are seen to this day. However, the NGOs and organizations do lack financial support from government and sufficient mobilization.

V.1.2 Attitudinal dimension

One of the most prominent findings of the study is the difference between the behavioral dimension and the attitudinal dimension in South Africa. Overall, South Africa have implemented policies and established departments in all three societies mentioned in the research. However, as have been mentioned throughout the study, women are facing a vulnerable situation in South Africa due to the widespread gender-based violence. Findings of this study shows that nearly all crimes against women have increased during recent years. It can be concluded that the societies distinguished for the purpose of this research has not completely consolidated with democracy in terms of the gender equality perspective. For instance, male names still have a clear majority over the female names on the candidate lists. Not until the first 20 names can a more gender equal representation be seen. Sexists comments from high political leaders also contributes to the questioning of the attitudinal dimension within the political society.

The issue of the attitudinal dimension can further be seen in the economic society. The traditional values of men as the providers and women as the caretakers persists to a notable extent in accordance with national surveys. The research concludes that the economic workplace is not equal. Women represent 43.8 percent of all work force in South Africa and most of the
poorest households are headed by women. Moreover, men earn almost twice the amount as women. The lack of the attitudinal dimension in civil society becomes obvious when there is no recent governmental reports and statistics about how much of the National Development Agency funds non-governmental organizations working for gender equality and female movements.

V.1.3 Constitutional dimension
The South African constitution is seen as one of the most liberal constitutions in the world. With the background of the constitutional acts, regulations and policies presented throughout the paper, the research can conclude that South Africa is fully consolidated to democracy with the perspective of the constitutional dimension and gender equality. It persists democratic constitutional regulations which promotes gender equality within all the three societies mentioned. For instance, South Africa has a clear code of conduct concerning women’s role in the political sphere. Further, the government have in accordance with constitutional acts, established and developed departments and institutions to supervise the activity of gender equality in society. Examples of regulations presented in the research are the Gender equality commission, South African Human rights commission, PERUDA, the equality court, the Employment Equity Act and the national gender policy framework. Moreover, South Africa have implemented several international acts and regulations to promote gender equality in the constitutional dimension.

V.1.4 The conclusion
Lastly, the comprehensive and consistent research question of the study has been the following: can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality?
With background of the current research, the study concludes that South Africa can be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality, to certain extent.

Linz and Stephan’s theory stresses the importance of the behavioral, attitudinal and constitutional dimensions for democratic regimes to be considered fully consolidated. The research conclude that South Africa’s arenas of the political, economic and civil society are in accordance with two of these three dimensions mentioned in relation to gender equality.

Based on the three societies examined, South Africa’s behavioral and constitutional dimensions can be considered consolidated to democracy with the perspective of gender equality. However, the attitudinal dimension still needs to develop for South Africa to be considered fully consolidated with the democratic value of gender equality. The public attitudes toward gender equality within the political, economic and civil society needs to be further embedded.

There is a need for the public attitudes in South Africa to achieve a widespread trust in the practice of gender equality as a democratic value in society. Based on this research, consequently by then can South Africa be considered a consolidated democracy with the perspective of gender equality and eventually cease the violence against women.
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