

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been liberalized from all forms of oppression" (President Nelson Mandela)

To talk about South Africa is to talk about the newly born democratic and non racial state where heterogeneous society lives. In the history of this southernmost country in African continent, South Africa mainly attracted world's attention for the discovery of gold and diamond. As one of the most luxurious and scarce jewelry, the values of diamond obviously created the battle among countries, mostly European countries, to be the owner of this precious country. It took not so long after the discovery of this country by Portuguese's explorer Bartolomeu Dias for many others Europeans to come and realize the richness of this country. As it commonly happened in European's colonies around the world, the occupation of the white automatically formed social and economical segregation with native people. The long European settlement in South Africa would later created what so-called the Afrikaner. Literally, Afrikaner, formerly known as *Boers*, is a South African cultural group descended from Europeans.¹ Their people established a political party that exclusively served the needs and aspirations of the Afrikaners, the National Party (NP)

In 1948 the all-white NP came to power in South Africa with Daniel F. Malan as prime minister. He gained a massive controversy after campaigning and then declaring the program of white supremacy, known as the apartheid policy. As segregation and inequality between races had existed as a matter of custom and practice in South Africa, just in 1948 they were included in law. Apartheid means

¹ Gailey, Harry A. "Afrikaners." *Microsoft® Encarta® 2006* [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005.

separateness or apartness in Afrikaan language.² In fact, apartheid is the doctrine of strict racial segregation, means the separation of races into independent groups.³ The practice of apartheid policy undoubtedly hampered the life of native people of South Africa. The inequality between the white which is representing the European community and the black which is referring the native society covered many aspects of life. While the White minority enjoyed the highest standard of living in all of Africa, often comparable to "First World" western nations, the Black majority remained disadvantaged by almost every standard, including income, education, housing, and life expectancy.

In a further discussion about the effect of apartheid practice, native women suffered multiply oppressions. The inequality treatments were easily found in work force, the access to natural resources, the salary discrimination, sexual harassment and law protection. Being black and women was the worst condition in these racial strata. They were violated; physically, psychologically, socially, and politically. In work force, they're paid less than men with longer work hours. The average earnings of African women were less than half of those of African male workers and only 8 per cent of the income of white males, not to mention high rate, one of the highest in world's ranks, in raping case and others sexual harassment.⁴

Apartheid regime played extremely strict regulations not merely on economy and social but also on politic and the access to governmental position. In this kind of situation, being active in the anti apartheid campaign can put the activist in the prison. The national leader Nelson Mandela, the chairman of African National Congress (ANC), non-racial political party, was put in jail for his provocative speech against

² Davis, Richard Hunt. "Apartheid." *Microsoft® Encarta® 2006* [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005.

³ Shepherd Jr, George W. *The politics of African nationalism, challenge to American policy*. Frederick A. Praeger, New York. 1962

⁴ *The Effect of Apartheid on the Status of Women in South Africa, 1980*.

the regime. While black men enjoyed a very limited access on politic, women's right in political life and government was almost impossibly met. Apartheid regime only recorded for 2, 8 % of women's representative in parliament.⁵ That number was too far to reach the minimum women's participation quota from United Nations (UN). Internationally, the United Nations requires 30% of women's participation in parliament as indicator of democracy.⁶

Tens of years ahead and the discrimination policy continued to happen. With long struggle and campaign, the negotiation between apartheid regime and native South African movement was finally initiated in 1990 with the release of Nelson Mandela. His freedom, along with more accommodative racial regime, however, fostered the peace making process and racial policy alleviation. Apartheid regime was officially over in 1994 by President F.W de Clerk. During the apartheid, people of South Africa were so familiar with everything about discrimination and segregation and how terrible its impact to their life. The creation of new South Africa, however, emphasizes on the equal right for all the people regardless their skin color and sex and the appreciation of human rights. It is expected that there will be no more discrimination in all forms, including gender discrimination and the inferiority of women. In the other hand, the establishment of new constitution will in the end lead the new South Africa into a more democratic atmosphere.

The struggle of this country to be more democratic is, needless to say, supported by some liberation movements, including the ANC. It is not to say that they are the main actor in shaping the new life of South Africa. However, it must be considered that their contribution, as a political party, gives big influence in the formation of new country. Particularly in the creation of less sexist country, the

⁵ Mavivi Myakayakaya-Manzini. *Studi Kasus; perempuan diberdayakan- perempuan dalam parlemen di Afrika Selatan*. Available at <http://Int-idea.se/gender/wip/PDF/Indonesian/Bahasa/cs-South-Africa.pdf>. Accessed on November 15, 2007.

⁶ Khoirudin. *Profil Pemilu 2004: Evaluasi Pelaksanaan. Hasil dan Perubahan Peta Politik Nasional Pasca Pemilu legislatif 2004*. Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta. 2004

moving forward steps from ANC to insert the women in politic is very interesting social and political phenomenon to observe. For this case, the emerging research question is:

“What efforts does the African National Congress (ANC) do to support gender equality in parliament?”

The hypothesis, the tentative answer is *The African National Congress supports the gender equality in parliament by giving women more places in parliament with minimum 30% party quota, and supporting women's movement in South Africa.*

To start explaining, the concept of gender equality, however, must be clarified clearly. In general, Gender is cultural expectations towards the behaviour, attitudes, personal traits, and physical and intellectual capabilities of women and men.⁷ Thus, the concept is constructed socially and culturally by the society and it is beyond the discussion of merely sex difference.⁸ Gender difference then came out to be gender inequality where one sex, mostly male, is placed in higher position while female is culturally placed in lower side. Gender equality arises, somehow as a solution, to create a more balance relation between male-female. It refers to an equal presentation, rights, responsibility and participation of women and men in all spheres of private and public life.⁹ There are several objectives in gender equality. Commonly, it is divided into some sphere of life. Particularly in political sphere, gender equality objectives are:

⁷ Julia Cleves Mosse. *Half the World Half A Chance; An Introduction to Gender And Development.* Oxfam, 1994. Page 2

⁸ Mansour Fakih. *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial.* Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta. 2001. Page 8

⁹ “Gender Equality, the concept definition”. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. First published in March 27, 2001.

- Promote the full and equal participation of women and men at all levels and in all branches the government;
- Encourage the equal participation of women and men in political parties and within their executive and oversight structures;
- Encourage the full and equal participation of women and men at all levels of the conflict resolution and peace-building processes.

Eventually, each state has their own objectives and strategies addressing gender equality issues. As the core concept, gender equality will lead a state or a political party to further actions. Mainly, there are some popular actions to take like affirmative action or quota. These concepts will be added to support the hypothesis of the thesis.

First concept to introduce is affirmative action. Literally, affirmative is derived from the word affirm, which means to strengthen or support a feeling, belief, or idea.¹⁰ Globally, affirmative action refers to policies intended to promote access to education or employment aimed at a historically socio-politically non-dominant group (typically, minorities or women).¹¹ Motivation for affirmative action policies is to abolish the effects of past and current discrimination and to encourage public institutions to be more representative of the population.

The success of affirmative action is commonly achieved through targeted recruitment programs, by preferential treatment given to applicants from socio-politically disadvantaged groups and in some cases through the use of quotas.¹² The affirmative action is mostly needed by countries with high gap that is created by long histories and discriminative regimes. In particular, it signifies an intensive effort to enable the discriminated society to overcome the obstacles that had been put in their

¹⁰ "Affirm" Longman Advanced American Dictionary.

¹¹ "Affirmative Action" Longman Advanced American Dictionary. Accessed on October 12,

way, to develop their capacities to the full and receive appropriate reward for their efforts. When we speak about affirmative action and the ANC, everybody knows what we mean: dealing with the rights of women.¹³ In fact, it was ANC that firstly put affirmative action in their inside political party agenda.

As it has been introduced above, affirmative action contains of some essential parts, including quota. In brief, what is understood about quota is allotment or limited amount.¹⁴ In a broader definition, quota is a share or proportion which each of a number is called upon to contribute, or which is assigned to each; proportional share.¹⁵ In many cases, women and discriminated race people are the focus of the quota implementation. Quota has often been used to guard against unfair discrimination.

In politic, there are 3 kinds of quota. The first is reserved seat quota. It enables discriminated people to have the place in parliament because the constitution provides minimum seats for them. The second is constitutional quota that emphasizes on the power of constitution to force quota implementation in general election. Most of countries use this kind of quota as the solution overcoming the unequal treatment. It also used to guarantee the more representative government. The last quota is political party quota which puts the quota implementation in the hand of political party. As reserved seats and constitutional quota are easier to measure, political party quota is hard to do so because it has different allotment for each party. For this kind of quota, political party is the main and the most responsible body to ensure the allotment. Without a party's own initiative and supportive action, there will be hard to achieve the minimum number of quota. Functioning in interest aggregation and interest

¹³ *Affirmative Action and The New Constitution*. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/affirm.html> . Accessed on December 4, 2007

¹⁴ *Quota, Definition*. <http://www.investorwords.com/4016/quota.html> . Accessed on January 21, 2008.

¹⁵ *Quota, Definition and usage*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/quota> . Accessed on September 16, 2007.

articulation, political party is certainly the most important body assisting democracy. Their action will give so much influence in shaping the government. In brief, it is about the effectiveness of a party to put the quota in candidacy system. In South Africa's first democratic election, the African National Congress (ANC) was the first political party to adopt a 30% quota for women on political party lists, much further before constitution launches pro-women policies.¹⁶

As it has assumed that gender equality is not the main agenda, the efforts however, will not stop when a country reaches a minimum number of women participation in parliament. In fact, giving enough place and priority in parliament will not give many differences without developing the political and social consciousness of women. Women empowerment is needed to trigger and then maintain the women's voice and aspirations. Basically, empowerment is to give the authority to somebody, to make more confident and assertive or self esteem.¹⁷ The word empowerment is mainly derived from the word power. Power is often related to the ability to make others do what we want, regardless of their own wishes or interests (Weber, 1946).

In most countries, women are put in more inferior position and therefore, being disempowered. Women are disempowered because of many things. Some of them are cultural barrier and social custom. Some of them are structural and artificially created. Colman showed that gender inequalities and gender disparities are the root cause of women's disempowerment.¹⁸ A more comprehensive definition indicates that empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the

¹⁶ *Global Database Quotas for Women.*

<http://www.quotaproject.org/displayCountry.cfm?CountryCode=ZA> . Accessed on February 15, 2008.

¹⁷ "Empowerment" Microsoft Encarta dictionary tools, 2005.

¹⁸ *John L. Colman in the Journal of Women's Studies*, volume 27, article 5, October 1999.

capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important.¹⁹ Commonly, the women empowerment is done by giving them more space to increase their public activities.

Those three concepts will be elaborated through relevant data from some literature resources; book, journal, magazine, newspaper, and internet. Library research is the main technique with the party level / group of people level of point of view. To avoid the research from being expanded, the writer limits the range of research. Timeline of the research is started in 1994 when apartheid regime ousted from power and followed by general elections. However, it may append on previous years before the end of apartheid since some relevant influential phenomenon occurred before 1994.

In order to systemize the research, the thesis will be divided into chapters which are:

CHAPTER I: Introduction. Contains of problem background, research question, conceptual framework, hypothesis and system of writing.

CHAPTER II: The history of South African women. The writer will start by figuring the women's condition in apartheid era. The next explanation will be in apartheid impact to the life of women. After apartheid, women's life had been partially changed, and there will be more elaboration about it. The second chapter will be ended with the elaboration of first multi racial general elections as the starting point towards the formulation of new South Africa.

¹⁹ *Journal of Extention*. <http://www.joe.org/joe/1999october/comm1.html>. Accessed on June 22, 2007.

CHAPTER III: The Dynamic Relation Between ANC and South African Women.

The chapter will contain of brief introduction of ANC, the struggle of South African women to be part of it and the success of them to be acknowledged as permanent part of ANC.

CHAPTER IV: The role of ANC in supporting gender equality in parliament. In this part, the main explanation will emphasize on the actions of ANC in implementing affirmative action and quota inside the party. To answer the hypothesis of women empowerment, it is also essential to figure the existence of ANCWL as the respond to women empowerment. Beside, deeper elaboration on how ANC maintains its

role in supporting gender equality in South Africa will be added