# FEMINIST VIEW OF POLITICAL PARTIES

## DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

## MAY 2019

## ABOUT THE PROJECT

The Womxn and Democracy Initiative is based at the Dullah Omar Institute at UWC. We identify as feminist, taking an intersectional approach to our work on realising social justice through active political participation of the public in the context of a participatory and deliberative democracy.

With this project we hoped to translate four political party's manifestos into information that womxn and gender non-binary people can access which is capable of informing their capacity to hold political parties accountable and punish or reward them, through their vote now and through holding them to account in future for commitments proposed in their manifestos and action on delivery.

We hope that this analysis will serve more than just at this time of the election, but will initiate deeper public discourse on these issues from a feminist perspective to deepen the idea of what at feminist agenda for political parties looks like, and through that increase pressure on political parties to do better on their manifestos, policies and programmes in future and importantly the action that we as womxn and gender-non binary expect from government and opposition parties in the future.

We considered the three top performing political parties in the last national election – the ANC, the DA, and the EFF as well as Women Forward (WF), a small women-led party that is contesting the elections for the second time on the basis of a women's agenda.

This research was done through analysis of party manifesto's coupled with desk top research on a sample of candidates put forward as representatives to parliament, and on track-records in their term as parliamentarians and other structures of leadership and governance where relevant.

Using a feminist framework which prioritises patriarchy as a system of power which undermines gender and sexual determination in particular, together with other key social justice issues raised through a feminist intersectional lens, we considered if the manifestos and track records translate in practical ways for ordinary people, womxn and non-binary people in particular. Great care was taken to put into context the parties offerings overall. To allow our intended audience to interrogate specific positions of the party on issues of concern to them and make a decision from that vantage point.

The project aimed to provide a feminist perspective on key political party manifestos – taking the questions beyond only what the parties are saying on issues that are commonly defined as gendered or 'women's issues' such as gender based violence and womxn's representation further, into questions of how parties have addressed a gendered or womxn's agenda throughout their manifestos from their plans to address unemployment, wages, land and home ownership, social security, education from ECD through to higher education, and health.

We have looked at how parties recognise and respond, through their manifestos, to the layers of exclusions and discriminations faced by different groups of womxn, Black womxn, poor and working class

womxn, womxn living with or caring for other people with disabilities, LGBTIQ people, womxn living in rural contexts and in urban poor contexts. We've focused further in on the question of if parties have specifically addressed the context of groups such as farm womxn, sex workers and domestic workers.

Our analysis then turns to internal party issues such as the track record within parties on womxn's leadership; on misogyny, GBV and sexual harassment within the party; and of the quality of people on their lists.

We attempted to provide information on track record so that we do not rely on political grandstanding of the manifestos alone – this was made particularly difficult in terms of the EFF and WF where information related to the track records of the party and their deployees, and on the positions they've taken on many policies is largely inaccessible. We've looked at the question of populism and lip-service, trying to assess through the quality of what's written and promised, if the commitments are backed up by a depth of understanding of the context of womxn and if they are specific and targeted.

We looked at the following thematic issues to ground our analysis and overall assessment:

- Party track record in advancing and advocating for gender justice. This was particularly difficult owing to the lack of data/info with regard to previous and current structures of governed where possible as well as the difficulty of accessible public records in all 3 spheres of government.
- The quality of their analysis in their manifestos, particularly where patriarchy is concerned; are the promises they make backed up by recognition of what the challenges have been to past plans to implement those promises?
- The specificity and clarity of the promises / plans. Are they detailed and target specific?
- Are budgets allocated or is an indication given of how the promise will be resourced?
- Are there commitments to mechanisms for transparency, monitoring and accountability?

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## STATE OF THE PARTY ASSESSMENT

Years active	19 (est. 2000)
Present share of the vote	22.23% (in 2014)
Political orientation	Liberal Conservative
Top 6 composition by	2/6 (33.33%)
gender	
NEC break-down by gender	2/11 (18.18%)
Current MP break-down by	25/89 (28.1%)
gender	

#### How they propose to govern: Feminist Manifesto?

The Democratic Alliance appears to be gender-blind in all facets of the manifesto. Womxn are only mentioned in regard to gender-based violence or in connection with children, but never on their own. Gender mainstreaming is not applicable in their policy considerations, as the manifesto does not advocate for any advancements for women nor acknowledge their critical position in society.

#### Overview / Feminist Manifesto Breakdown: How do they fair?

- Does their manifesto support and promote national strategic plan on GBV and VAW?
  Partly
- Gender mainstreaming with respect to all their policy considerations? **No**
- Gender mainstreaming and sensitivity with respect to their key focus areas? No
- Do they consider promote gender responsive budgeting and resource allocation? **No**
- Intersectional approach in their policy considerations? No
- Do they support sexual and reproductive justice including decriminalization and abortion? No
- Do they support sexual freedoms and the protection and advocacy of LGBTQAI+?
  Partly
- Do they recognize and safeguard womxn's access to land and ownership? **No**
- Do they support and promote womxn's representation and participation in key decisionmaking structures? No

#### How they govern: Their Track-Record

The DA has 87 seats in national parliament and is the official opposition party. The DA governs in the Western Cape Province. It has liberal values and principles and supports a market-based economy.

#### 1. Overview

The Democratic Alliance (DA) has been South Africa's official opposition party since 1999, but its origins go as far back as 1959 when the Progressive Party (PP) was formed. From 1961 to 1974, the PP held one seat in Parliament. By 1997, the Progressive Party had become the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and in 1989, the PFP along with two other political parties formed the Democratic Party. In the 1994 national elections, the DP obtained 1.7% of the vote, which amounted to 10 Members of Parliament. In the 1999 national elections, the DP increased its vote to 9.6% which equalled 44 seats in Parliament. In 2000, the DP merged with the Federal Alliance and the New National Party to form the Democratic Alliance. However, a year later the New National Party broke away from the DA and merged with the ANC. The DA has gradually increased its votes in subsequent national elections: in 2004 12.4 %; in 2009 16.6 %; and in 2014 22.23 %. The DA is the governing party in the Western Cape Province since 2009.

The DA describes itself as a political party with liberal values and principles that supports a marketbased economy. Their slogan for this election is *One South Africa For All* and the manifesto covers three areas: Economic Growth and Jobs, Now; Building a Caring, Opportunity-rich South Africa; and Creating the Capable State. DA dedicates considerable space in the manifesto to the economic section. Striking in the DAs manifesto is the extent to which the ANC is named. Throughout the manifesto, the DA is at pains to point out what they have identified as the considerable failures of the ruling party.

The notion of two South Africa's is raised a few times in the manifesto in relation to economic opportunities, access to health and education. The DA identifies race redress under economic justice but makes it clear that their plans will never take from the one to give to the other. The DA rejects the idea of race quotas in this manifesto and gender quotas in their constitution. The DA rejects the idea of land expropriation without compensation and proposes that land reform is possible without changing the constitution. They also reject the NHI and proposes an alternative that includes the private health sector. The DA acknowledge the need for a sunset clause to support race redress but is at pains to explain that any sunset clause provisions will be temporary.

The manifesto is written from the perspective of a government 'in waiting' with many of the headings starting with 'A DA national government will....' This makes the promises and plans come across as unrealistic at times. It would have been useful for the voters if the DA included plans for South Africa in its role as the official opposition. Even though it is accepted that a manifesto cannot provide in depth detail, most of the DAs plans and promises do not have targets, timeframes, fiscal consideration or implementation plans outlined.

A key observation about the DAs manifesto is that it is completely gender-blind because it totally disregards gender in its understanding and planning. Womxn are mainly considered in the section dealing with gender-based violence (GBV) and are often mentioned in their normalised role as the carers of children. This indicates a lack of understanding or a refusal to acknowledge womxn as a category deserving full consideration and inclusion in plans and promises throughout the manifesto.

#### 2. The DA on womxn, patriarchy, gender and women

Structural discrimination against women occurs whenever a woman is disadvantaged by political, legal, economic practises and institutions or cultural traditions. To deal with structural inequality will require a deliberate, consistent and complex consideration of womxn's position in society and what would be required to respond to the entrenched discrimination womxn face. The DAs manifesto does not refer to patriarchy once and we could not find any evidence of it responding systematically to structural discrimination against womxn.

An intersectional response should consider womxn's varying experiences of inequality and oppression based on their political, social and cultural context and proposes specific plans to overcome the layers of barriers women encounter to achieving equality. The DAs manifesto does not consider women's position from an intersectional perspective and therefore the proposals falls short in this regard.

#### 3. Womxn, the economy and the world of work

a. Unemployment and job creation

The DA devotes a significant section of their manifesto to the economy, yet it does not address the plethora of challenges women face in the workforce, including, but not limited to: their high unemployment levels; the lack of regulatory framework (e.g. quotas); the scarce funding and resources in women dominated sectors; the unjust wage gap; and the shortage of leadership opportunities. There is a brief mention of sexual exploitation in the workplace, and legislative measures that can combat it, but it is illustrated as a corruption problem instead of a serious gender-specific obstacle women are confronted with. The need for women empowerment is noted in passing, but there is no substance and they do not offer any proposals.

#### b. Womxn in informal and insecure employment

Informal economy is covered under the 'Economy and Jobs' section, where it addresses the significant role it plays in South Africa. Due to the relatively scare economic activity, the DA states that 'we must ensure that we foster this sector and support the job creation potential that it offers' (p. 26). The greater significant proportion of womxn working in the informal sector is not recognised nor is violence against women in the informal sector dealt with.

#### c. The gendered wage gap

There is no reference to the wage gap, but the manifesto does state: 'the DA believes that in order to move towards a more inclusive society, access to opportunities, particularly employment opportunities, needs to be extended more diversely and in a fairer manner, to more South Africans' (p. 13). The manifesto fails to name the discrimination in employment but then makes vague statements regarding a need for fairness and diversity.

#### d. Womxn's ownership, seniority and leadership

The DA criticises the ANCs B-BBEE policy as a 'top-down' approach that has not worked and proposes a 'bottom-up' approach that simplifies the requirements of the B-BBEE scorecard for companies. The DA continues to disregard womxn in economics by failing to promote womxn seniority, influence and control in business. The manifesto does not offer incentives to promote womxn representation in leadership positions, nor do they offer any resource and/or support mechanisms to aid in economic advancement. As a result, womxn remain largely marginalized in the economic sphere.

#### e. Economic reform in general

In the 'Economic Growth and Jobs' section a reference is made to two South Africa's: one where people can access economic and other opportunities, and another where the majority of South African's are excluded. This division needs to be remedied in order to ensure that 'all South Africans – regardless of their race, gender or geographical context – are able to reach their full potential' (p.9). However, the focus of most of the DAs economic plan is focused on making South Africa attractive to the private sector in order to stimulate the economy and create jobs. They propose a long list of policy and legislative changes that benefit business and does not always have the best interest of workers at heart.

The DA proposes a Jobs Act which calls for a job in every home and even though their proposals seem to benefit business, it is not clear how that will translate to increased employment opportunities required. The DA proposes to reduce the Public Sector Wage Bill (implying that the problem was caused by ANC cadre deployment) but will ensure increased spending for jobs like nurses, teachers and police.

#### f. Social security

Under the 'Building a Caring Social Assistance System,' the manifesto stresses that a One South Africa for All is reliant on building a social assistance system that is 'able to deal with the challenges posed by increasing levels of economic inequality and income poverty' (p. 49). The system proposed primarily focuses on the child grant and the disability grant.

A key topic in this section refers to child grants and the importance of investing in the development of children in order for them to take advantage of future opportunities. The DA makes a commitment to increase the child grant to the food poverty line; ensure a 100% uptake of the child grant from birth and adopt a zero-tolerance approach to the misuse of the grant.

This is one of the few areas where womxn make an appearance in the manifesto, but it is in relation to the role of caring for children. The manifesto recognises the *'increased levels of stress and trauma experienced by women who are forced to make impossible choices and who have to sacrifice their own bodies to feed their children,'* but offer little to no assistance to womxn themselves. The fact that womxn are only acknowledged when in relation to others and not on their own is problematic.

The disability grant is discussed in a latter section but, in essence, the manifesto advocates for a more widespread and accessible system to reduce the regulatory burden on applicants.

## 4. Womxn and land

Land reform is dealt with under the 'Economic Growth and Jobs' section, which would imply that the issue of land ownership is an economic issue and not a social justice one. The DA firmly rejects the idea of land expropriation without compensation and labels it 'zero-sum game' (p.20). There is a strong emphasis on protecting individual land ownership and property rights. The DA acknowledges that 'South Africa suffers from a history of black people being denied land ownership,' (p.20) but does not deal with historic land dispossession and proposes that land reform is possible without affecting current land and property owners and without changing the constitution. None of the proposals on land reform has any targets, budgets or deadlines. The manifesto does not recognise or respond to the barrier's women face regarding ownership and control of land.

#### a. Womxn and agriculture

The DA identifies agriculture as a vital sector in the South African economy. The DA proposes that to solve the problems in agriculture the first is to reject expropriation without compensation and fast-track land claims. Crime, infrastructure, and job creation are other plans proposed. Womxn and the barriers they face in the agriculture sector are not addressed at all.

#### b. Womxn and housing

The DA does not recognise the problem of womxn's current low rates of ownership or barriers to womxn's control of housing.

The DA proposes solutions to housing by giving current RDP and BNG house recipients title deeds; creating a single national housing database; and launching a national housing audit. In addition to this, the DA makes provision to reduce the costs for first time home buyers; a sliding scale housing voucher scheme for those who earn under R15000 a month; more options for low-and middle-income households to live in cities; and a youth job seeker rental subsidy. It is not clear how many new houses will be built, by when, and the plans have no targets or proposals for measuring progress.

#### c. Human settlements

The DA is critical of post-apartheid spatial planning that put people 'far away from economic activities' (p.44) and proposals are made for low- and middle-income households to live in inner cities. There are no targets, budgets or timeframes set for these proposals. Under the heading 'Enabling City-led Growth' one of the core principles are: 'tackling the legacy of apartheid spatial planning' (p.28) but don't provide any detail regarding how this will be done. The 'Getting South African's Moving' section deals with transport in relation to unlocking economic opportunities. It states: 'Apartheid left South Africa with a fragmented spatial framework that leaves many people still disconnected from opportunity' (p.32). We note that despite the reference to the legacies of apartheid, the focus is on transport to get 'south Africans moving' for economic purposes rather than spatial redress.

There is no evidence that this manifesto considers spatial inequality in rural areas and it does not mention gentrification or evictions at all.

#### d. Electricity, water and sanitation

The DA responds to the lack of basic services in informal settlements only and does not address other urban and rural poor contexts where people in formal housing cannot afford basic services. The proposals lack detail such as targets, timeframes and budgets. This manifesto does not acknowledge the additional consequences on womxn due to the lack of access to decent basic services.

## 5. Safety, violence and justice in general

The DA focuses in on reforms that target the South African Police Service (SAPS) and uses the broken system as a platform to criticise the ANC. The DA does not acknowledge the apartheid discriminatory police resourcing situation, but it vows to re-train police officers to 'serve and protect with pride' (p. 68). It also commits to increasing the budget, providing funding to Community Policing Forums (CPF) and creating specialised units aimed at eradicating organised crime, sexual offenses, missing persons, gang and drug related crimes, and promoting rural safety.

To increase measures for judicial system access, the DA pledges to ensure that there are more prosecutors and magistrates. The manifesto also expresses the need to strengthen the resources of legal aid. The DA also commits to establishing a Victim's Right to Review (VRR) to 'allow victims to challenge decisions to stop prosecutions or not charge suspects' (p. 63). The above proposals are not backed by clear plans or enforcement mechanisms, and do not include budget funding or timeframes.

## 6. Gender-Based Violence

The DA proposes a response to GBV that 'includes better police, prosecutors, victim support and rehabilitation, and support to civil society organisations' (p.58) as well as other measures such as: establishing a Femicide Watch; establishing the National Council on Gender-Based Violence; implement the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill; scrap the Ministry for Women under the Presidency; firearm regulations against those with previously convicted of criminal activity, domestic abuse, assault, have protection orders instituted against them or registered as a sex offender.

According to the DAs manifesto: 'It is essential that our police and courts are effective, efficient and adequately resourced to discourage violence and femicide' (p.58). There are many good suggestions but unfortunately the proposals are not accompanied with a clear implementation plan. We note our concern that in their analysis the DA often lumps women with children and other vulnerable groups. This section does not deal with the additional barriers rural womxn experiencing GBV face when trying to access decent service.

The DAs recommendations for psycho-social and health services for survivors of GBV includes supporting, improveming or extending existing services at Thuthuzela Care Centres for rape victims; the Khuseleka One Stop Centres for victims of crime and the White Door Safety Houses for domestic abuse survivors and their children; victim rooms at police stations; rape-related NGOs; and extended hours clinic and hospitals. We note that models like Thuthuzela Care Centres are better suited to urban areas and the DAs manifesto fails to address the barriers to psychosocial support that survivors in rural areas face.

The DA does not name as a concern the low prosecution and conviction rates for GBV related crimes.

- 7. Education and development
- a. Early Childhood Development

Early childhood development (ECD) is covered under the 'Basic Education' section of the manifesto. The DA emphasises the importance of ECD in children's success in primary and secondary school and therefore opportunities later in life, yet the plans they set out in the manifesto for ECD are not comprehensive and is largely focused on improving access to Grade R.

The role of womxn as primary caregivers of children or as primary workers in the ECD sector is not engaged within the manifesto. The plans for ECD does not contain targets, budgets or monitorable indicators.

#### b. Basic Education

The DAs manifesto identifies the quality of teachers and management of schools by principals as the main problems with basic education and therefore most if the plans set out are centred around this. The 'Basic Education' section is completely gender-blind and does not consider or plan for the range of barriers faced by girls. The DA does not respond comprehensively to girls' experiences of sexual violence at schools and only proposes a vague plan to dismiss educators found guilty of sexual offences against learners. The DA has no plans to provide free sanitary towels in schools or to ensure that girls are not denied education on the basis of pregnancy or motherhood.

The DA promises to ensure that all schools have taps and toilets and to eradicate all remaining mud and asbestos schools and pit toilets in South Africa. It plans to achieve this by reversing the cuts in the infrastructure budget; by not using corrupt or poor performing Implementing Agents; and by not blocking donors or companies willing to build schools. The DAs plan for scholar transport is more a suggestion than a fully-fledged plan. The DA laudably wants to ensure that no child walks more than five kilometres to school yet the language used to describe the plans are *'interventions which could include,'* (p.55) implying that these are not firm plans.

The extent of the DAs consideration of inclusive education is a short reference in the 'Building a Caring Social Assistance System' section of the manifesto which states: 'Ensuring that state-funded schooling options are available for learners with a wide range of special needs' (p.52). The DA does not address the issue of teacher-learner ratios.

#### c. Higher Education

The DA blames the ANC for, what they describe as the largely broken higher education system. Their plans include a range of bursary options for students who cannot afford to study and those who can afford to partially cover the costs. Most of the remaining plans for higher education deal with governance, management, human resources, funding of institutions and upgrading the system of adult education. This section does not have targets, nor does it deal with the specific barriers womxn face when accessing higher education.

## 8. Health

The DA opposes the National Health Insurance model and advocates for what appears to be a two-tier system. The manifesto, again, makes reference to this idea of two different South Africa's but despite voicing the inequalities, the DA does not support a universal healthcare model. The manifesto states that the DA plans to work with private insurance companies to make insurance plans more affordable. For those who still cannot afford the new proposed private rates, a new government healthcare funding mechanism will be put into place. The manifesto also stresses the DAs objective to expand access to healthcare in rural communities. They propose an Expanded Clinic Building Programme in under-served areas nationwide, allocating R2 billion to build at least 50 more primary healthcare clinics and increase their staffing. In addition, they vow to increase staffing, extend hours and utilse technological innovation.

There is no specific information regarding community health workers, but the manifesto pledges to make an additional R2 billon available to increase the number of staff at clinics. There is no acknowledgement of the fact that this is a womxn dominated profession and that there is a dire

need for improvement regarding worker protections, salary, funding and resources. This is one of the few instances where targets and budgets are set. The manifesto does not address sexual and reproductive health at all.

The manifesto provides a brief mention of emergency medical services but offers little details. There is no mention of its accessibility in rural areas nor its significant role in aiding to pregnant and/or labouring womxn.

## 9. Womxn Who Experience Multiple Layers Of Exclusion, Violation And Discrimination

a. Rural womxn

The DA fails to recognise and respond to the specific context of womxn living in rural contexts.

## b. Mining affected communities

The DA fails to recognise the specific context of womxn in mining affected communities.

#### c. Womxn and Traditional leadership

The challenges faced by womxn traditional leaders, and womxn on traditional councils are not raised at all.

The DA does not address the highly problematic and unconstitutional provisions of the Traditional Courts Bill, Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership Bill and the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act specifically with regard to womxns rights.

## d. LGBTIQ

LGBTIQ+ is examined under the 'Eliminating Gender-based Inequalities' section and promises a safe, non-discriminative and inclusive community that promotes the human rights of LGBTIQ+ people but gives vague details on how to achieve that goal. The DA also pledges to enforce a more strident stance on corrective rape and hate related crimes but provides no parameters.

## e. People with disabilities

Nothing is discussed regarding women with disabilities specifically, but there is a section on disability under 'Building a Caring Social Assistance System.' In this section, the DA seeks to provide adequate social protection for everyone and promote and protect the rights of persons with disabilities. It talks about increasing the access and convenience of receiving disability grants, and the need to promote accessibility of buildings, public services and transport. It also promotes employment and skills development opportunities.

#### f. Sex work

Sex work is discussed under the 'Eliminating Gender-Based Inequalities' section and written in a context that describes sex workers as victims. The manifesto does not take a position on decriminalisation, but it is implied that law reform is needed. There is also a push for the training of public officers that directly interact with sex workers; but this is interpreted as weak because it only calls for a single e-learning course. In addition, the manifesto advocates for Test and Treat programmes in order to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDs and other STIs. This is seen as a disease prevention mechanism, not as a genuine protection for sex workers.

#### g. Non-South African nationals

Throughout the manifesto, it appears that the DA takes a strong stance when it comes to immigration. Remarks are made regarding the significant cross-border crime rates and how undocumented migration has "led to severe instances of violence and xenophobia in South Africa" (p. 72). Despite making such harsh statements, under the 'Immigration: Securing Our Borders' section, the manifesto says: "... the DA by no means believes that migration into South Africa is a bad thing... but must happen in a legal manner" (p. 72). When talking about undocumented migration, the manifesto takes a hard line—calling for the revamp of Home Affairs, deportation of illegal migrants (particularly repeat offenders and those convicted of criminal offenses), and more stringent immigration policies. But when migration is relating to skilled workers and businesses, it appears that the DA wants to make their entry easier. This revelation speaks to the 'business model' the DA practices regarding its policies.

The manifesto also uses this section to throw more digs at the ANC, stating that there are "countless examples of the gross exploitation of refugees and asylum seekers by Home Affairs officials who seek bribes" (p. 72). The DA voices its plan to root out corruption and increase the capability and efficiency of the Home Affairs system.

## 10. Governance and political participation

The DA makes statements about ANC corrupt practices throughout the manifesto and promise to deal decisively with corruption should they be in power. However, in none of the proposals do they clearly state how they would deal with corruption within their own ranks. The DA states that they will change the electoral system to 'direct elections for all political office holders so that the South African people can hold their president, premiers and mayors directly accountable' (p.83). The DA plans to reduce the size of government to 15 ministries.

## 11. The DAs internal performance on womxn's rights

a. Representation

There does not seem to be any specific mention of addressing gender inequality in or outside the party. The DA constitution appears gender-blind. The Democratic Alliance Women's Network (DAWN) is mentioned in the DA constitution twice: in relation to representation at the federal congress and the federal executive. The constitution does not mention how DAWN is constituted or its purpose.

The DA, in its constitution, rejects the idea of quotas. One of the listed principles are: 'the rejection of unfair discrimination on any grounds and the redress of past discrimination', yet there does not seem to be any other mechanism to ensure women's leadership in the party.

## b. Sexism, misogyny and GBV in the party

There is evidence of the DA taking a very soft approach to internal cases of sexual harassment. Two cases addressed in the #NotOurLeaders campaign where complaints of sexual harassment laid against DA members demonstrates the DAs soft approach. In both the Van Vuuren and Figlan cases, despite guilty findings, the sanctions were soft, and the recommendations of the commissions were not followed. For example, the commissions would recommend termination of DA membership but that would not be implemented.

Sexual harassment charges and guilty findings does not seem to affect the political careers of those accused within the DA. Figlan was a DA MP in the 5th Parliament and is currently nr 138 on the DA national list. Van Vuuren served as a DA MPL in the ECPL and is nr 9 on the DA Eastern Cape list.

## c. Sexual Harassment policy

The DA adopted a new sexual harassment policy in July 2018, which now closed the gap previously identified by the #NOL campaign and covers non-DA members experiencing sexual harassment perpetrated by DA members.