3 Futures for South Africa
To create a space and language for open, reflective and reasoned strategic conversation among South Africans about possible futures for the country, and the opportunities, risks and choices these futures present.
Dinokeng
“a place of rivers”,
...all our pasts have flowed together to meet at this place and time, and all our futures will flow from here.
### Convenors:

- Mamphela Ramphele
- Vincent Maphai
- Njongonkulu Ndungane
- Graça Machel
- Rick Menell
- Bob Head

### Scenario Team:

- Miriam Altman
- Frans Baleni
- Ann Bernstein
- Nkosinathi Biko
- Cheryl Carolus
- Angela Coetzee
- Ryan Coetzee
- Paul Hanratty
- Haniff Hoosen
- Moemedi Kepadisa
- Reuel Khoza
- Kallie Kriel
- Antjie Krog
- Mary Malete
- Daniel Mnenele
- Namhla Mniki
- Aaron Motsoaledi
- Jay Naidoo
- Yogan Naidoo
- Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
- Thandi Nontenja
- Thami ka Plaatjie
- Sonja Sebotts
- Raenette Taljaard
- Mathatha Tsedu
- Sim Tshabalala
- Musa Zondi
• A commitment to the values of the Constitution
• A desire to contribute to the construction of a sustainable future
• An acknowledgement of the heritage of our past
• A deep concern that things are not what they should be in South Africa

Together, their diversity & shared intent is a core strength of Dinokeng
THE DINOKENG PROCESS

PHASE I
Scenario Team

Diverging

Emerging

Converging

Workshops, research and writing
Private engagement with key stakeholders

08 / 2008

PHASE II
Citizens and leaders

Broad public engagement

05 / 2009
WHERE ARE WE TODAY?

WHAT ARE OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

WHAT ARE OUR CHALLENGES
“Our Constitution is heralded as one of the greatest in the world”
OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

- Parliamentary democracy
- Political pluralism
- Independent judiciary
- Culture of human rights
- Regular free and fair elections
- Civilian control over army
- Independent and vigilant media
- The connection with rest of Africa
OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

- Macro-economic stability
- 3.5 million new jobs
- Progressive economic reforms
- Unemployment reduced from 30 - 23% between 2004 - 2008

- Fiscal & monetary policy prudence
- Improved credit ratings
- Reduced national debt

% GDP GROWTH

Source: Development indicators 2008, budget speech 2009
*forecast
- Steady increase in expenditure on social services
- Increased service delivery
- Expanded public works programmes
- Social grants to 13 million
“A nation is built on its people, its skills, and its education system”

- Increased Education budget
- Increased access to schools and universities
- Increased allocation to no-fee schools
- Increase in Matric pass rate
- Increased Health budget
- Increased access to primary health care
- Improved child immunization - now 90%
2009 National results in %

- ANC 65.9%
- Single party dominance

Weak, fragmented opposition
- DA 16.66%
- COPE 7.42%
- IFP 4.55%
- ID 0.92%
- UDM 0.85%
- FF 0.83%
- UCDP 0.37%
- OTHER 1.43%
- ACDP 0.81%
Do we have the will to build one nation across racial and class divides?

How do we manage race in a non-racial society?

Have we drawn on the skills and talents of all South Africans?
OUR CHALLENGES

- Global economic crisis & declining domestic growth
- Foreign investment expected to decline in emerging markets
- High unemployment & skills crisis
- High current account deficit - 8.1% of GDP in 2008
- Many people still marginalized in the economy
- Failure of effective land reform
Persistent poverty
- 40% of households extremely poor

“You can’t participate in the economy or in politics if you are concerned with survival”
Racism, xenophobia and continued racial polarisation
50% of 20-24 year olds are unemployed

- High prevalence of HIV / Aids
- Drug abuse
- Domestic violence
Nearly half of schools still lack critical infrastructure

- High school drop-out rates

“Only 29% of those who start school leave with a Matric Certificate”
Decreasing life expectancy - from 63 in 1990 to 50 in 2007

Source: Statistics SA 2001 - 2008
• 4th highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the world

• 4th highest prevalence of TB in the world

OUR CHALLENGES

HEALTH

- Acute skills shortages and lack of accountability

“People don’t believe that medicines will be in the clinics.”
OUR MOST CRITICAL CHALLENGES

- Education
- Health
- Safety and security
- Unemployment and poverty
OUR MOST CRITICAL CHALLENGES

And the building of a common sense of Nationhood.

If we don’t get things right in these areas, it will be hard for us to succeed at anything.
WHAT UNDERLIES THESE CHALLENGES

Pre 1994 legacies:

- Inherited deep structural flaws in economic, social and political systems
- Inherited a culture of mediocrity and entitlement from the apartheid and liberation cultures
Three inter-related trends manifesting after 1994:

- A citizenry that is disengaging and becoming increasingly dependent on the state
- Weak state capacity and an unaccountable government
- A leadership that reflects a culture of materialism and narrow self-interest, and a lack of ethics and accountability
“Futures are never given. They are created”
How can we address our **critical challenges** before they become time bombs *that destroy* our achievements?

This question can be answered in **three possible paths**.
WHERE TO FROM HERE?

SCENARIO 1  Walk Apart
SCENARIO 2  Walk Behind
SCENARIO 3  Walk Together

Each pathway or scenario will lead to a different future
Scenarios are not predictions. They describe **possible pathways into a future**.

Our future will not necessarily be purely one or the other.

Scenarios must be **relevant, challenging, plausible and clear**.

The seeds of the future **exist in the present**.
SCENARIO 1: WALK APART

Today

2009 - 2011
Tomorrow is the same as yesterday

- Ruling party retains majority
- Global crisis leads to declining investment, growth and tax revenues
- Crisis pact between government, labour and business fails
- Government expands the Public Works Programme to create jobs
- Citizens get restless and government increases social grants

2020
SCENARIO 1: WALK APART

TODAY

- Cronyism and corruption in government appointments and tenders
- Education and health care deteriorate
- Rift between government and citizens
- Government increases social grants and civil servants pay
- Ruling party wins elections with reduced majority

2009 - 2011
Tomorrow is the same as yesterday

2012 - 2014
Tinkering around the edges

2020
SCENARIO 1: WALK APART

TODAY

- Crime increases: private security guards outnumber police 3 to 1
- Criminal justice system becomes more inefficient because of cronyism and corruption
- Investment shrinks further, unemployment grows
- Service delivery fails; alternative modes of delivery develop and shadowy forces become more powerful

2020
SCENARIO 1: WALK APART

TODAY

- 2009 - 2011: Tomorrow is the same as yesterday
- 2012 - 2014: Tinkering around the edges
- 2015 - 2017: The shadows lengthen
- 2018 - 2020: Rule of the strongman

- The cracks widen; budget deficit balloons; delivery worsens
- Elites buy their way out and poor people lose patience
- Gangs, self-appointed mayors and taxi associations rule local areas
- “Strongman” wins election, outcome contested
- Protests spiral and government declares state of emergency

2020
WALK APART: What the papers might say

- Billions more to Public Works
  Cape Town, 2011

- Public Works millions missing
  Pretoria, 2012

- Commuters stranded after lines bombed, buses torched
  Johannesburg, 2014

- Budget 2015: Huge rise in social welfare
  Cape Town, 2015

- Drugs run dry in Mpumulanga clinic
  Nelspruit, 2015

- Three dead in battle over tax

- Drug trade finds new avenue in face of state failure
  Richards Bay, 2017

- Big victory claimed by ruling party
  Durban, 2019

- 35 gunned down in jobs protest
  Durban, 2020
THE MESSAGE OF WALK APART

If we fail to address our critical economic and social challenges and if we fail to strengthen the state:

• Citizens will disengage further

• Pockets of alternative control and delivery by unaccountable groups outside the state will develop

• Our country will decline and disintegrate rapidly
SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND

TODAY

2009 - 2011
Accelerating development

- Ruling party retains majority
- Global crisis means declining investment, growth and tax revenues
- Government commits to continued investment in large infrastructure projects – debt rises. Government tries to boost its capacity through greater coordination and training
- Expanded Public Works Programmes create more unskilled jobs
SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND

TODAY

- Job losses mount as global crisis bites harder; government spreads social welfare net
- Government increases tax rates, freezes civil service wages
- National Economic Summit results in Growth and Investment Accord
- Election campaign run on “pro-poor” platform
- Ruling party victory taken as mandate for even stronger state intervention in economy

2009 - 2011 Accelerating development
2012 - 2014 Dispelling dark clouds

2020
SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND

TODAY

2009 - 2011 Accelerating development

2012 - 2014 Dispelling dark clouds

2015 - 2017 State backs “winners”

- Government accelerates large-scale infrastructure programme to boost development
- Government suffers skills shortage as it tries to develop key high-tech SOEs - “winners”
- Improvement of skills through better education and artisan training is prioritised, but the returns are insufficient
- Some “winners” become “losers”, with heavy costs to the fiscus
- Prescribed asset laws force private investment in large projects

2020
SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND

TODAY

- Prescribed asset laws alienate business: investment contracts and unemployment worsens
- State borrows at high interest rates to fund growing deficit
- Election run on “Growth and Redistribution” ticket
- Country gets IMF loan conditional on sharp cut-back in state expenditure
- Widespread discontent and protests: government cracks down
WALK BEHIND: What the papers might say

Key ministries to report to DP, to fast-track Skills development Pretoria, 2010

Massive boost for PBMR, Eskom Pretoria, 2011

Social grants, UIF get big boost in budget Cape Town, 2012

Business outcry over prescribed assets Johannesburg, 2015

Budget deficit at highest point since 1994 Cape Town, 2018

Unions threaten clash with government over performance plans Johannesburg, 2017

Breakthrough accord on economy Pretoria, 2014

New bid to recruit skills Cape Town, 2016

Police, residents in battle over social grants Duteywa, 2020
THE MESSAGE OF WALK BEHIND

- State-led development requires the **capacity** for planning, coordination and delivery

- Large-scale state projects require heavy **borrowings**

- State directed investment weakens private initiative and state control creates **citizen dependency**

- Pervasive state intervention and control is therefore **unsustainable**
SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- Ruling party retains majority
- Global crisis means declining investment, growth and tax revenues
- Crisis pact wobbles along
- Service delivery deteriorates
- Pockets of citizen groups take action over health, education, crime

2009 - 2011
The bleak years

TODAY

2020
SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- Healthcare and parent associations spread through the country
- Government promises action against incompetent managers and civil servants
- Improvements in service delivery
- Ruling party runs election campaign on ticket of clean and competent government
- A weakened ruling party is returned to power; it forms alliance with other parties
SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- Economy begins slow recovery but insufficient to deal with deepening poverty 2020
- A “Citizens’ Charter” is born
- A formal social pact emerges: it includes political parties, labour, business, citizens’ groups
- Business shoulders more responsibility in education, infrastructure, health
- Trade unions back measures to combat youth unemployment
- Citizens work with government to monitor education, health, crime

2009 - 2011 The bleak years
2012 - 2014 Citizens demand more
2015 - 2017 A social pact emerges

TODAY
SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- Government focuses on delivering core public goods
- Investor confidence buoyed by co-operative governance
- Citizens lobby for more accountability from politicians, opposition parties take up the call
- Citizens, parliamentarians and courts effect change in voting system so politicians are directly accountable to voters

TODAY

2009 - 2011 The bleak years
2012 - 2014 Citizens demand more
2015 - 2017 A social pact emerges
2018 - 2020 Building a nation
2020
WALK TOGETHER: What the papers might say

Patients protest drugs shortage
Mangazi, 2011

Health is sick, say protesting patients
Durban, 2012

Bell tolls on education failures
Johannesburg, 2014

Health minister to meet patients groups
Pretoria, 2013

Pact needed for delivery
Cape Town, 2015

The birth of the Citizens Charter
Johannesburg, 2016

Votes battle goes to Concourt
Johannesburg, 2018
THE MESSAGE OF WALK TOGETHER

• We can address our critical economic and social challenges only if civil society, business, labour and the state engage and cooperate.

• Together we need to increase accountability, build the capacity of the state, deliver core public services, and develop a common identity and nationhood.

• We can succeed if and only if citizens and leaders from all sectors rise above their narrow self-interests and contribute purposefully to building our nation.
THE COMPARATIVE PATHS OF THE THREE SCENARIOS

**WALK TOGETHER**

**2020**

**CHARACTER OF CIVIL SOCIETY**

Collaborative and enabling state, Engaged and active citizenry.

**CAPACITY OF THE STATE**

Corrupt and ineffective state, Distrusting and self protective citizenry.

**WALK APART**

**2020**

**WALK BEHIND**

**2020**

Disengaged
WHAT NEXT?
The three scenarios suggest three different possible futures for South Africa.

We are all standing at a crossroads, each one of us, citizens and leaders must choose how we walk forward.
• Through the choices each one of us make, we will create our nation’s future

• What will you choose to do? When? How? With whom?

• What will your next step be?
Act to create a better future for South Africa

**Share** the messages of the Dinokeng Scenarios with leaders and citizens

**Reach** organisations, groups and communities across the country

**Use** various material - reports, translations, opinion pieces, fact-sheets, DVD, the Dinokeng website (www.dinokengscenarios.co.za)

**Host** targeted engagements - briefings, presentations, workshops

**Engage** with the media - print, TV, radio, websites - about the future you would like to see
3 Futures for South Africa

“If you want to walk fast, walk alone. If you want to walk far, walk together.”

African Proverb