

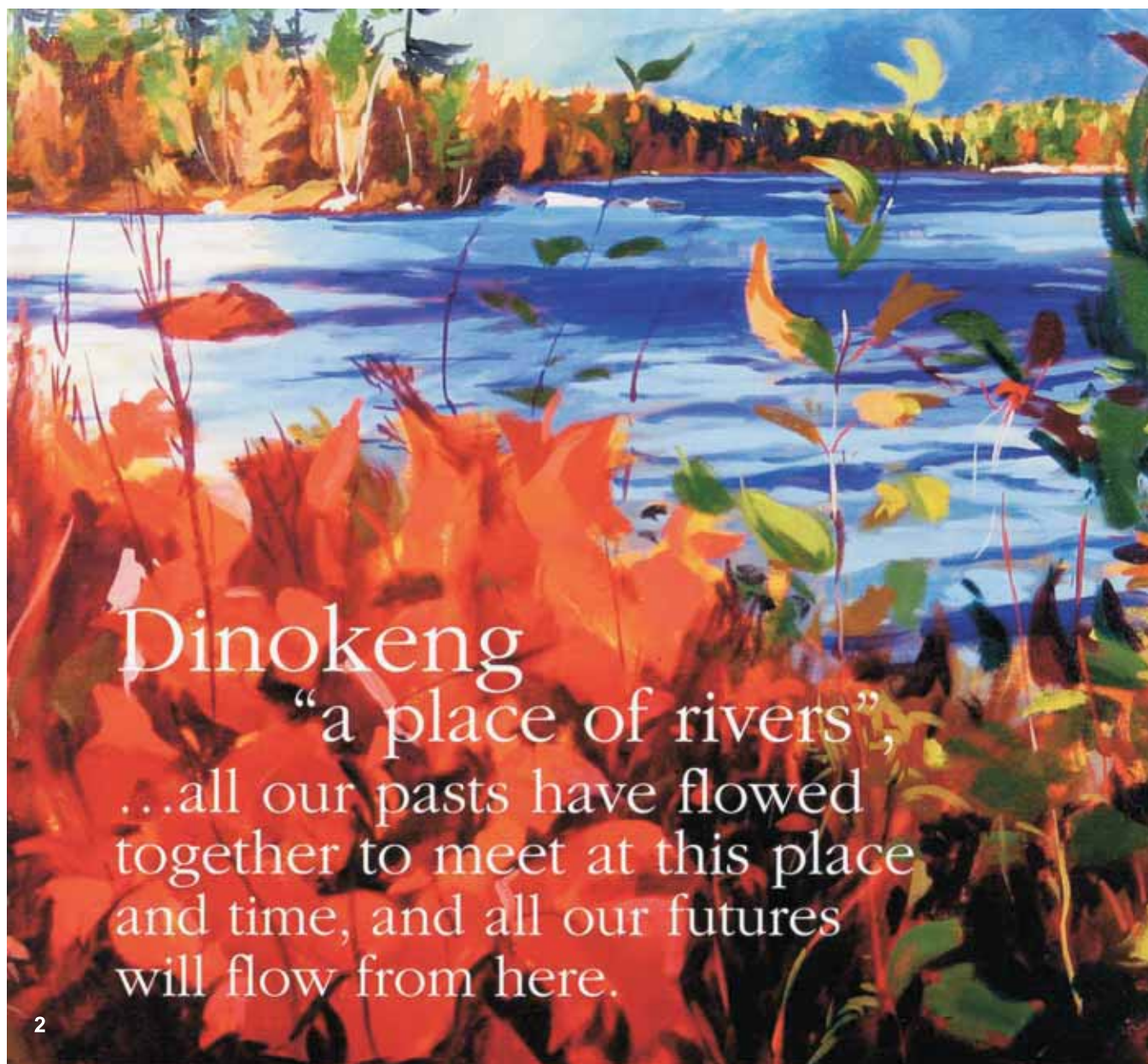
## 3 FUTURES FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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THE  
DINKENG  
SCENARIOS

## PURPOSE OF DINOKENG

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.

## THE SCENARIO TEAM



## THE SCENARIO TEAM

### 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 Mminele**  
**Namhla Mniki**  
**Aaron Motsoaledi**  
**Jay Naidoo**

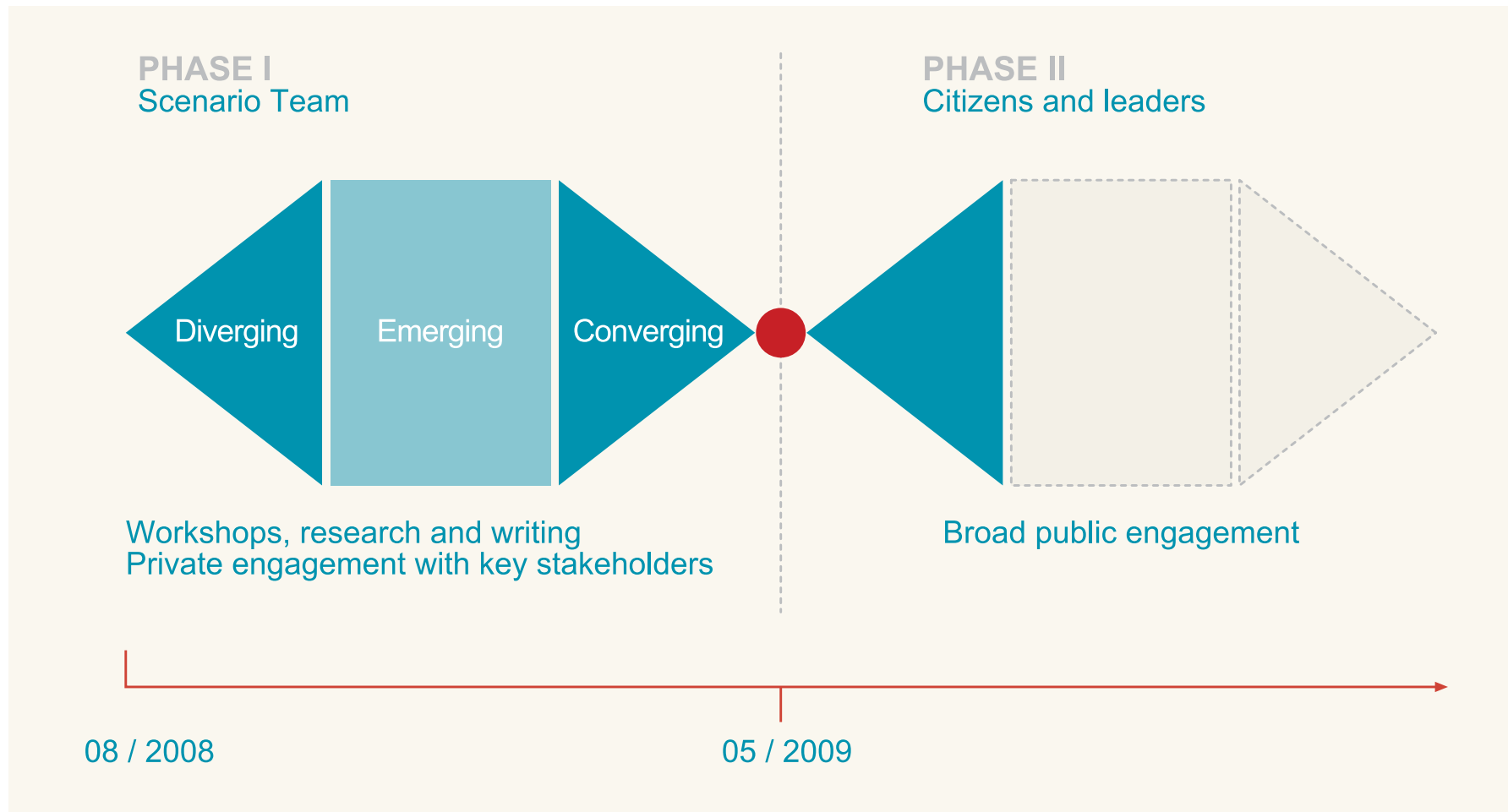
**Yogan Naidoo**  
**Maite Nkoana-Mashabane**  
**Thandi Nontenja**  
**Thami ka Plaatjie**  
**Sonja Sebotsa**  
**Raenette Taljaard**  
**Mathatha Tsedu**  
**Sim Tshabalala**  
**Musa Zondi**

## WHAT DOES THIS DIVERSE TEAM HAVE IN COMMON?

- **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



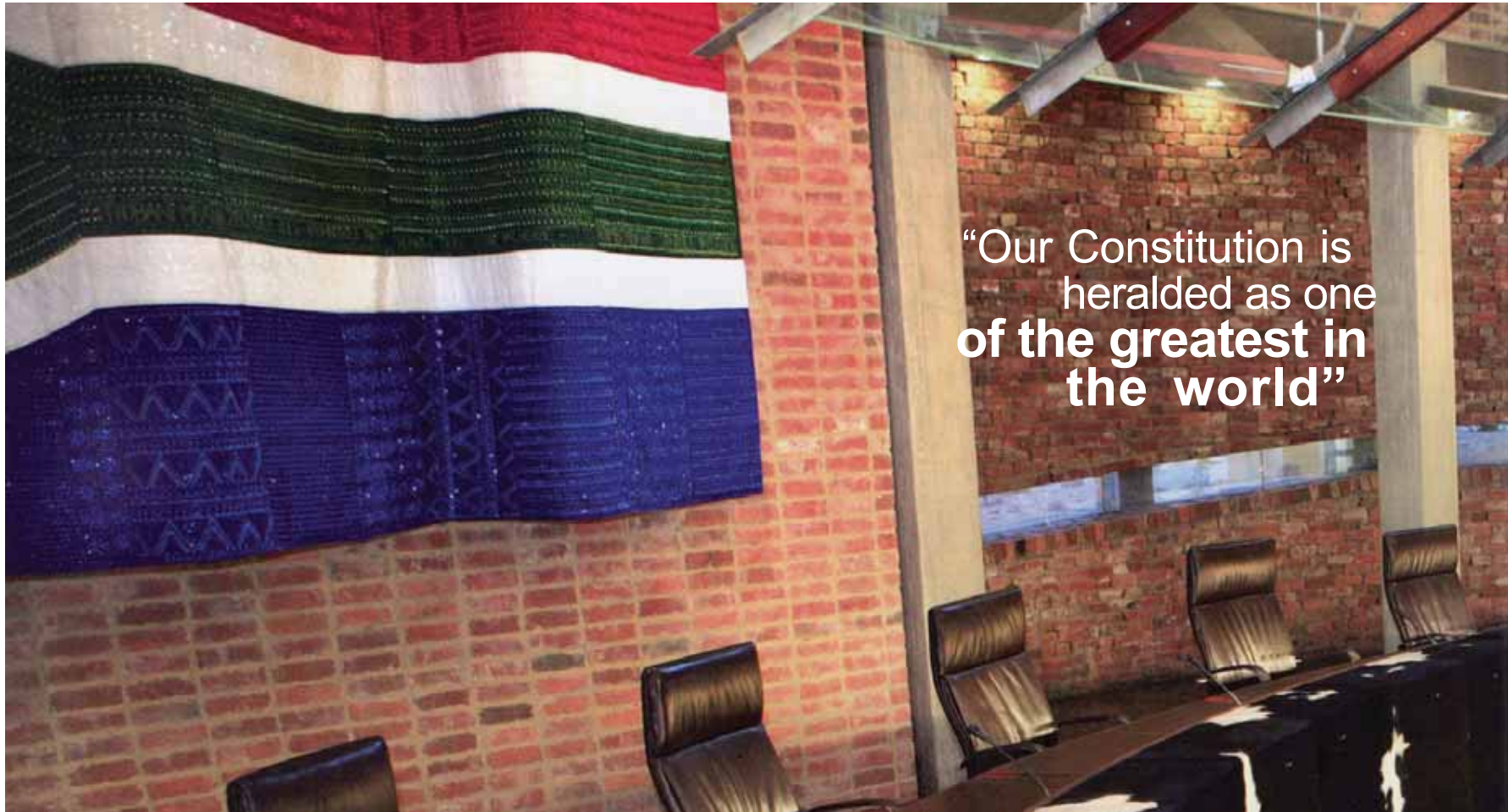
**WHERE ARE WE TODAY?**

**WHAT ARE OUR  
ACHIEVEMENTS**

**WHAT ARE OUR  
CHALLENGES**

## OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

## POLITICAL



“Our Constitution is  
heralded as one  
**of the greatest in  
the world”**”

## OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

## POLITICAL

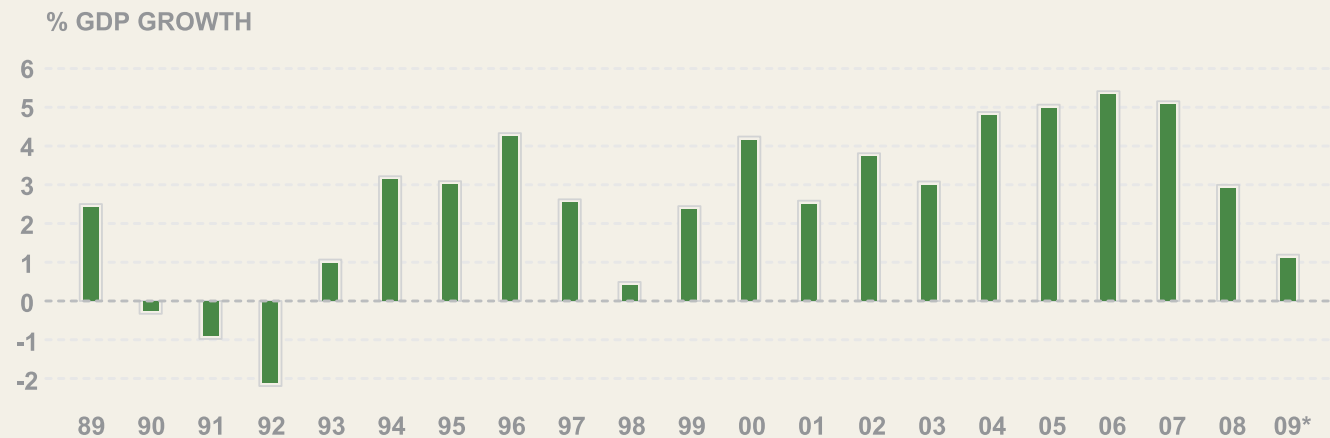
- Parliamentary democracy
- Political pluralism
- Independent judiciary
- Culture of human rights
- Regular free and fair elections
- Civilian control over army
- Independent and vigilant media
- The connection with rest of Africa



## OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

## ECONOMIC

- **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**

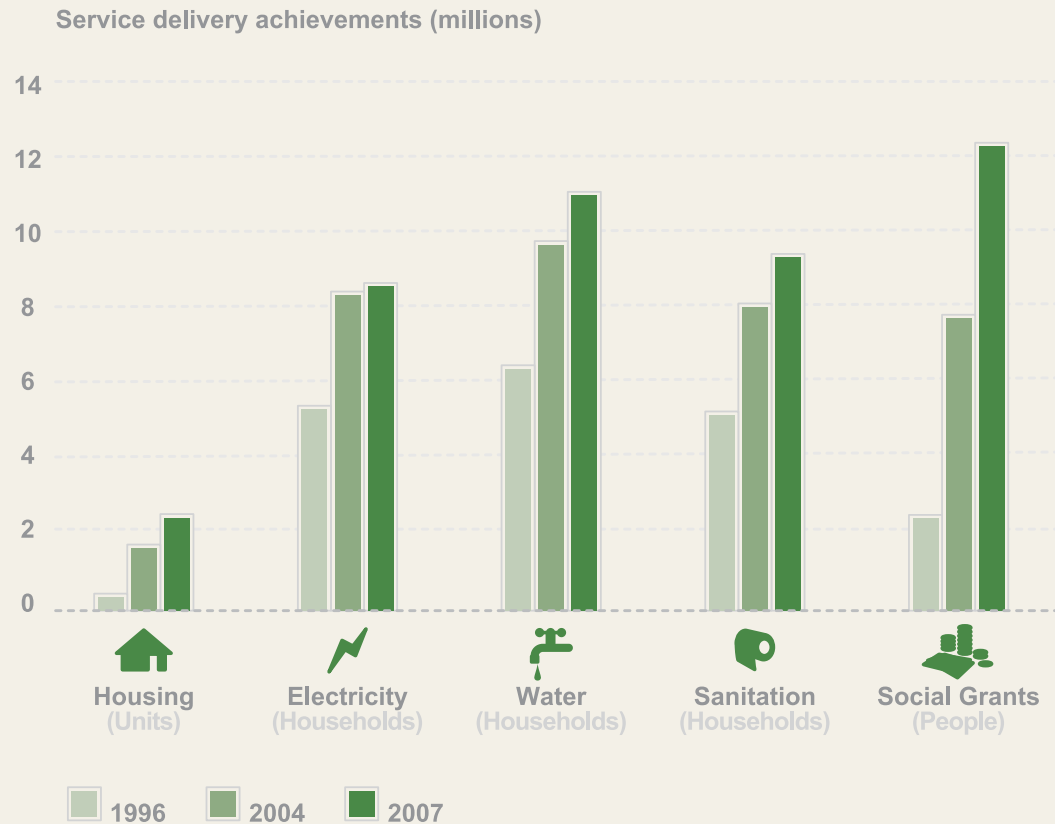


Source: Development indicators 2008, budget speech 2009  
\*forecast

## OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

## SOCIAL

- 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 it’s education system”**

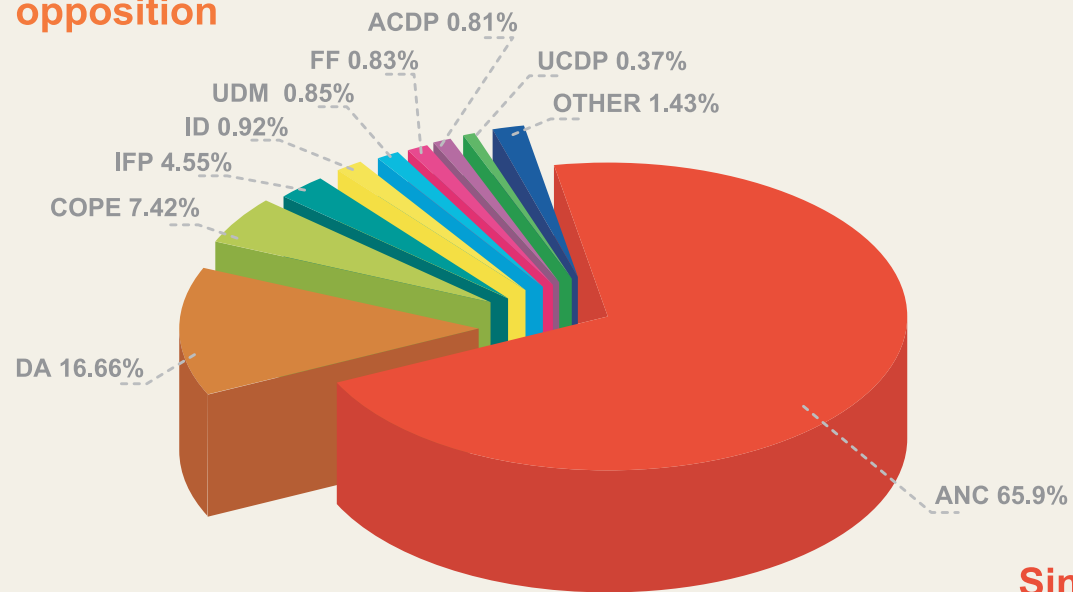
- **Increased Education budget**
- **Increased access to schools and universities**
- **Increased allocation to no-fee schools**
- **Increase in Matric pass rate**



- **Increased Health budget**
- **Increased access to primary health care**
- **Improved child immunization - now 90%**

2009 National results in %

Weak, fragmented  
opposition



Single party  
dominance

## OUR CHALLENGES

## POLITICAL



## OUR CHALLENGES

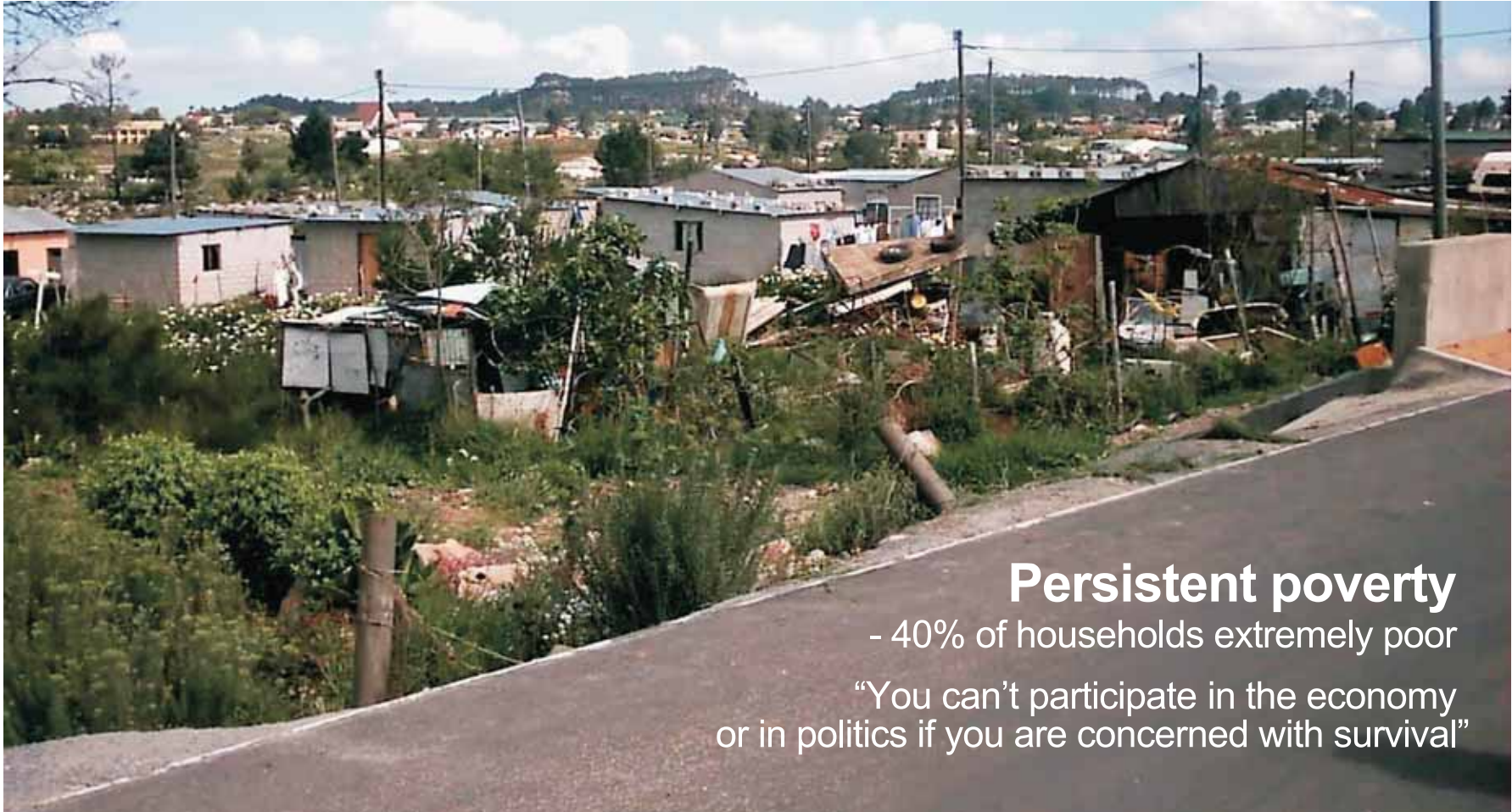
## ECONOMIC

- 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

## OUR CHALLENGES

## ECONOMIC



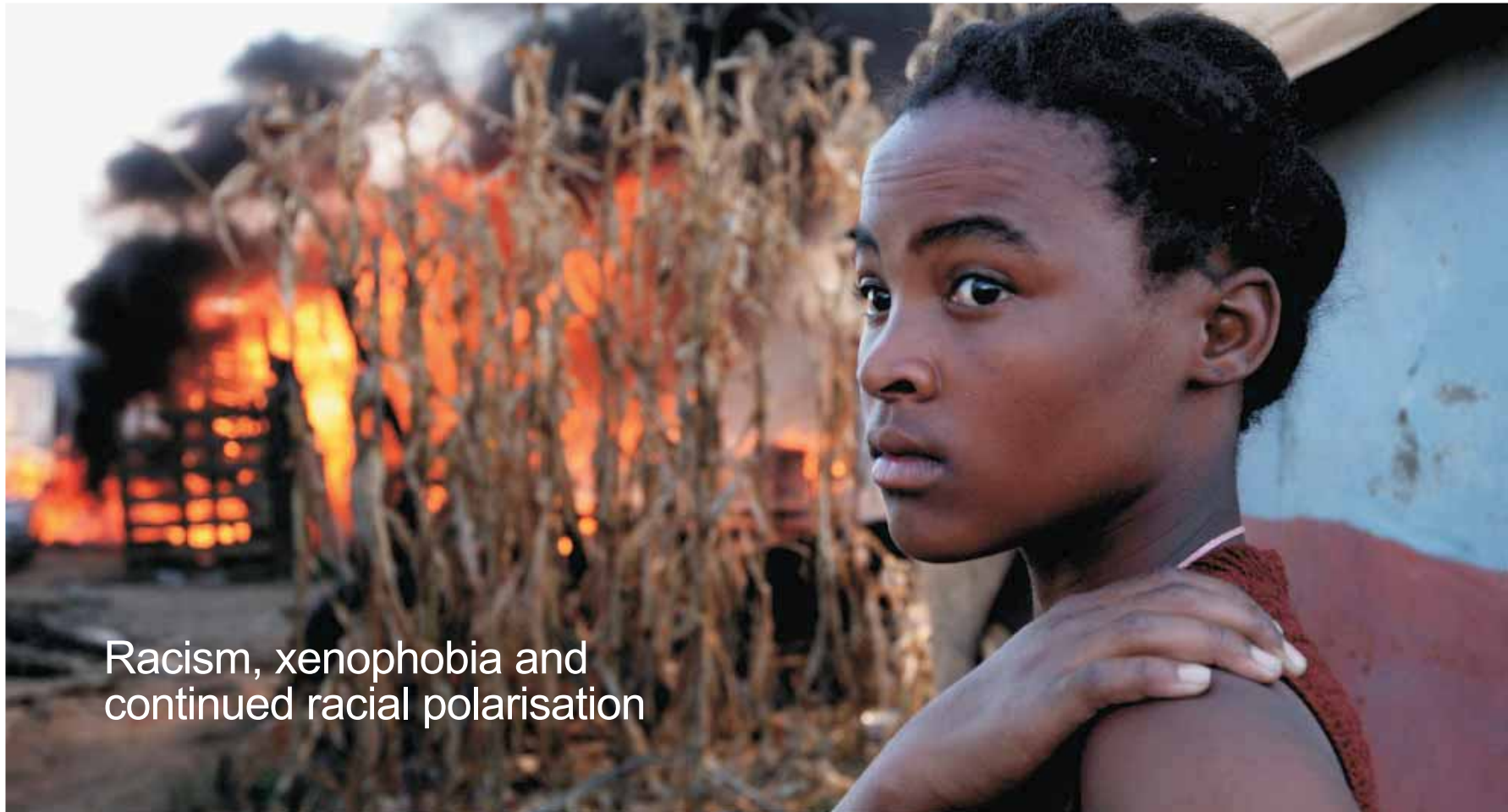
### Persistent poverty

- 40% of households extremely poor

“You can’t participate in the economy  
or in politics if you are concerned with survival”

## OUR CHALLENGES

## SOCIAL



Racism, xenophobia and  
continued racial polarisation

## OUR CHALLENGES

## SOCIAL



**50% of 20-24  
year olds are  
unemployed**

- High prevalence of HIV / Aids
- Drug abuse
- Domestic violence

## OUR CHALLENGES

## EDUCATION

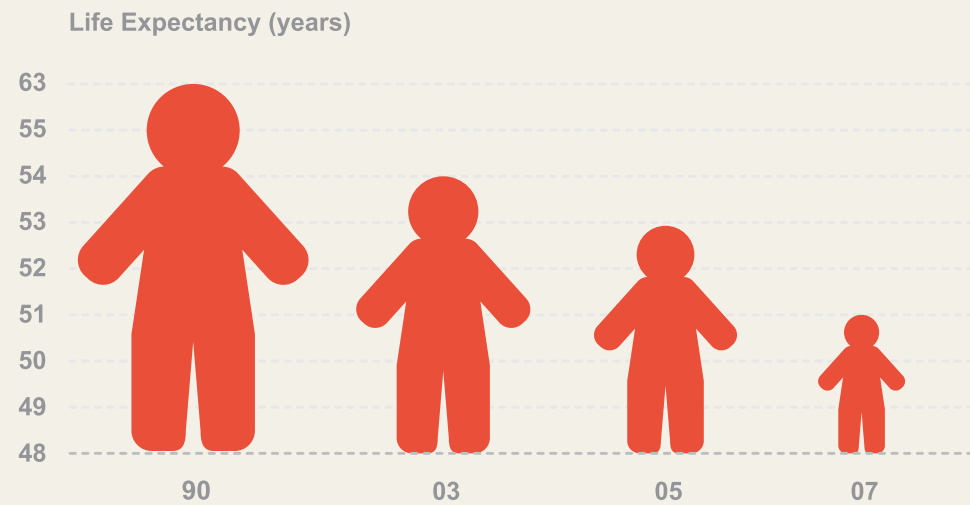


**Nearly half of schools still lack critical infrastructure**

- 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

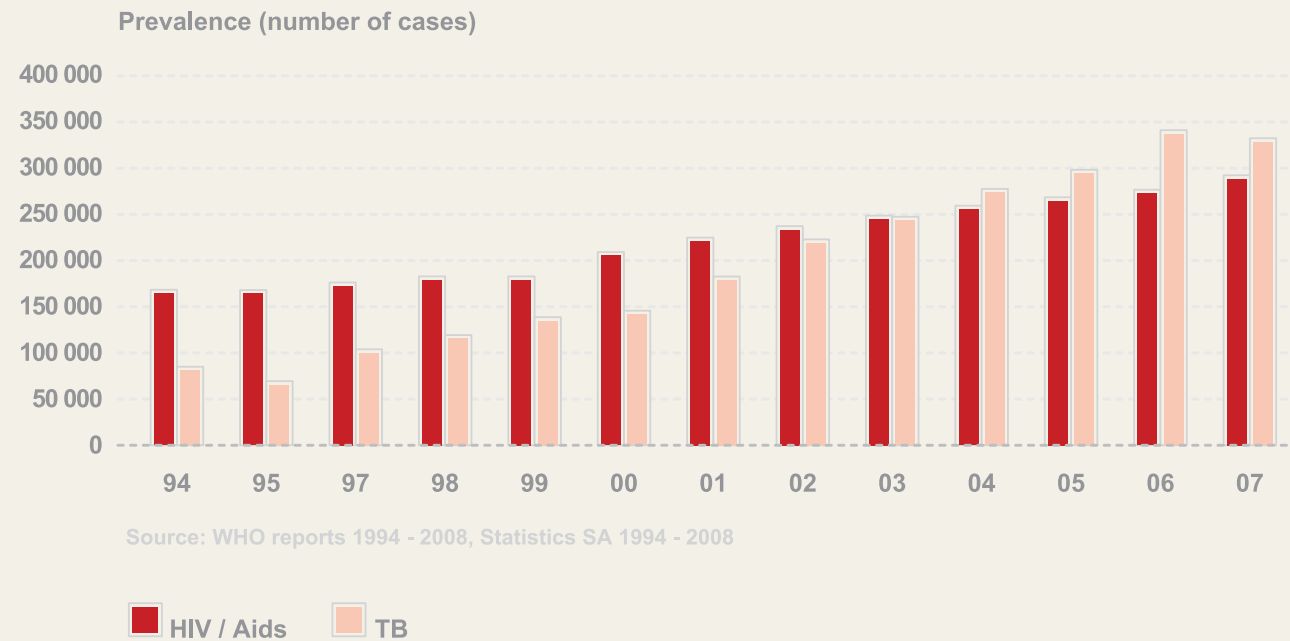


Source: Statistics SA 2001 - 2008

## OUR CHALLENGES

## HEALTH

- 4th highest prevalence of HIV/Aids in the world
- 4th highest prevalence of TB in the world



## OUR CHALLENGES

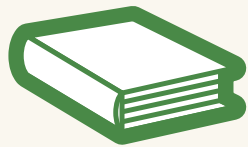
## HEALTH



- 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

## WHAT UNDERLIES THESE CHALLENGES



### 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

## SOUTH AFRICA IS AT A CROSSROADS



**“Futures are never given.  
They are created”**

## WHERE TO FROM HERE?

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**

## WHAT ARE SCENARIOS?

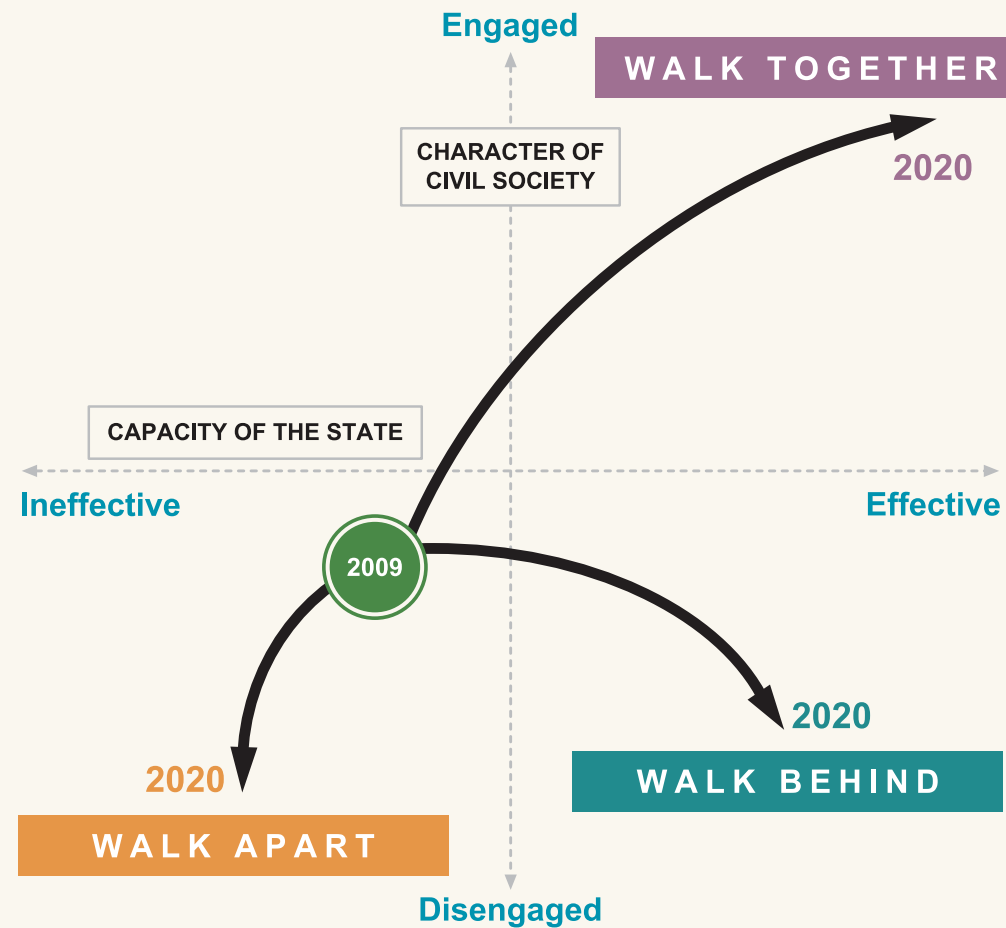
Scenarios are not predictions. They describe **possible pathways into a future.**

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.**

## THE COMPARATIVE PATHS OF THE THREE SCENARIOS



## 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

2009 - 2011  
Tomorrow is  
the same as  
yesterday

2012 - 2014  
Tinkering around  
the edges

- 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

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

- 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



## WALK APART: What the papers might say

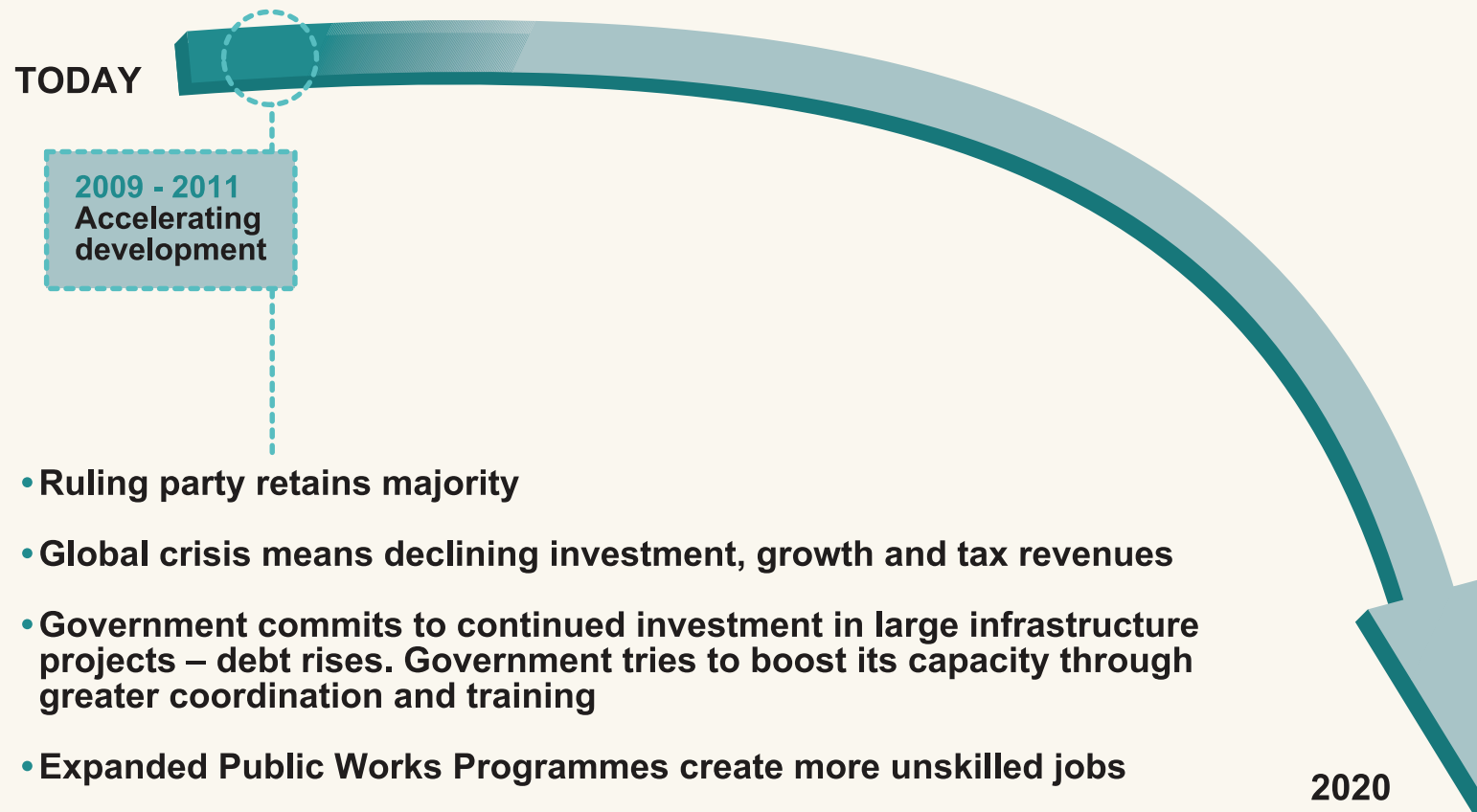


## THE MESSAGE OF WALK APART

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

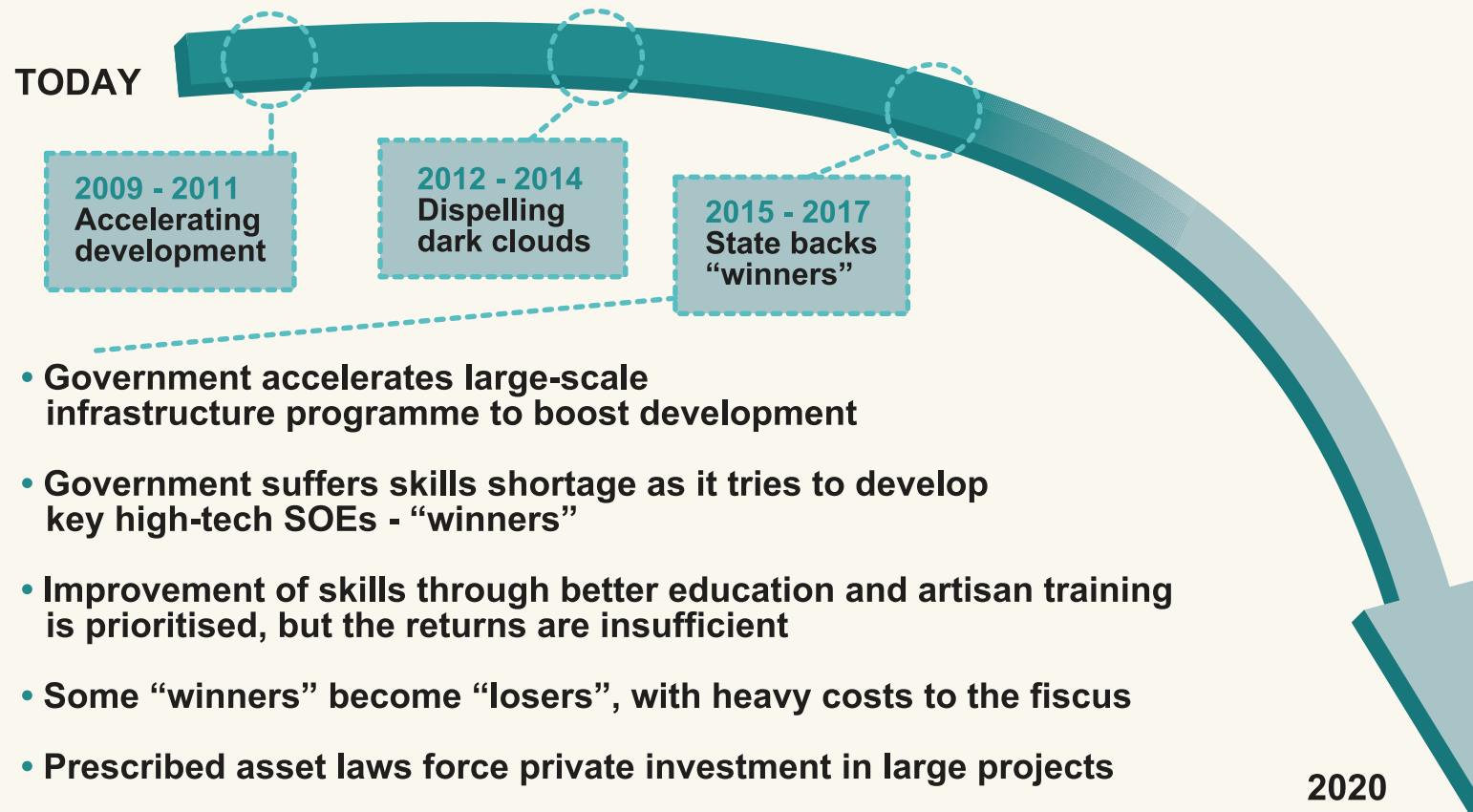
## SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND



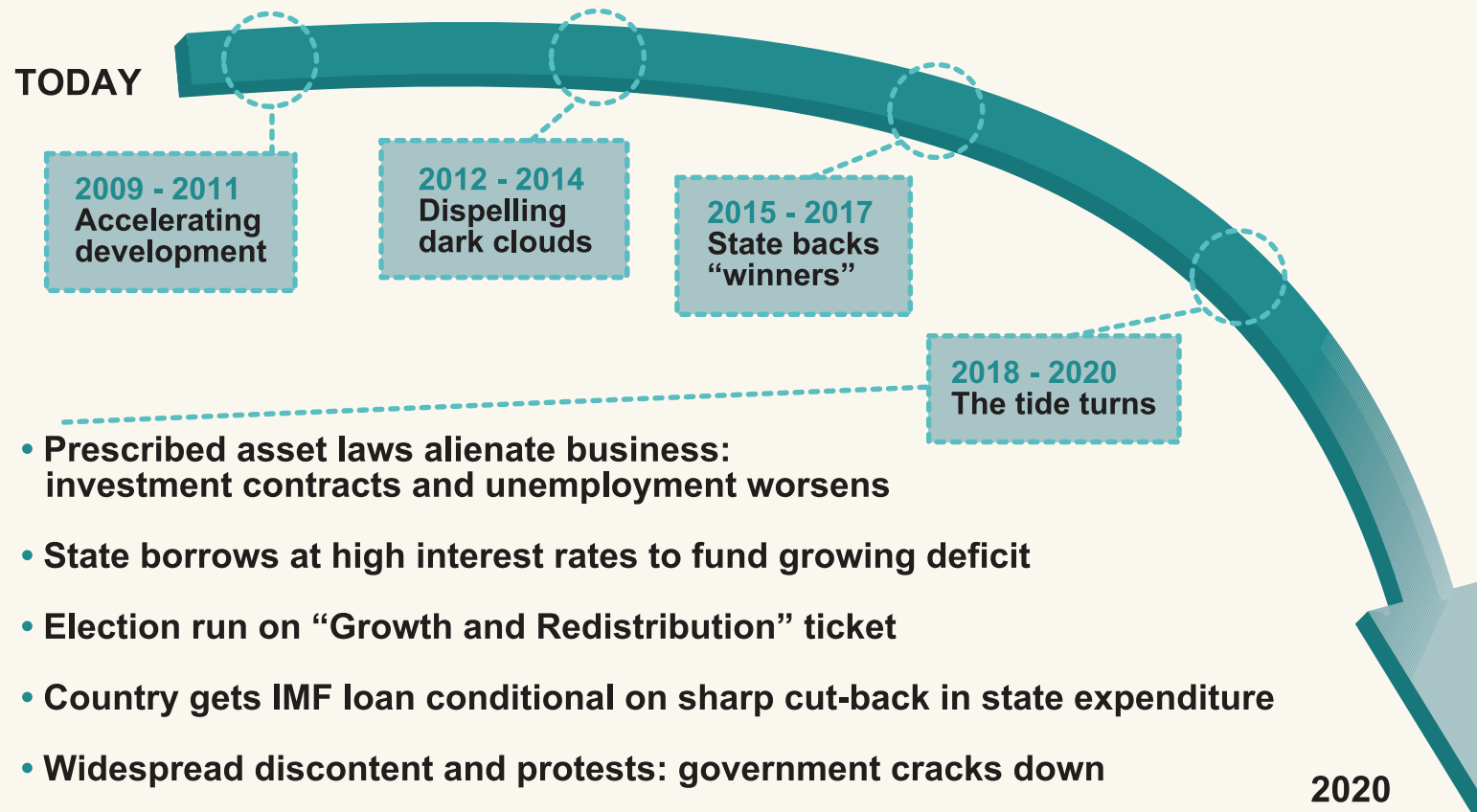
## SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND



## SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND



## SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND



## WALK BEHIND: What the papers might say

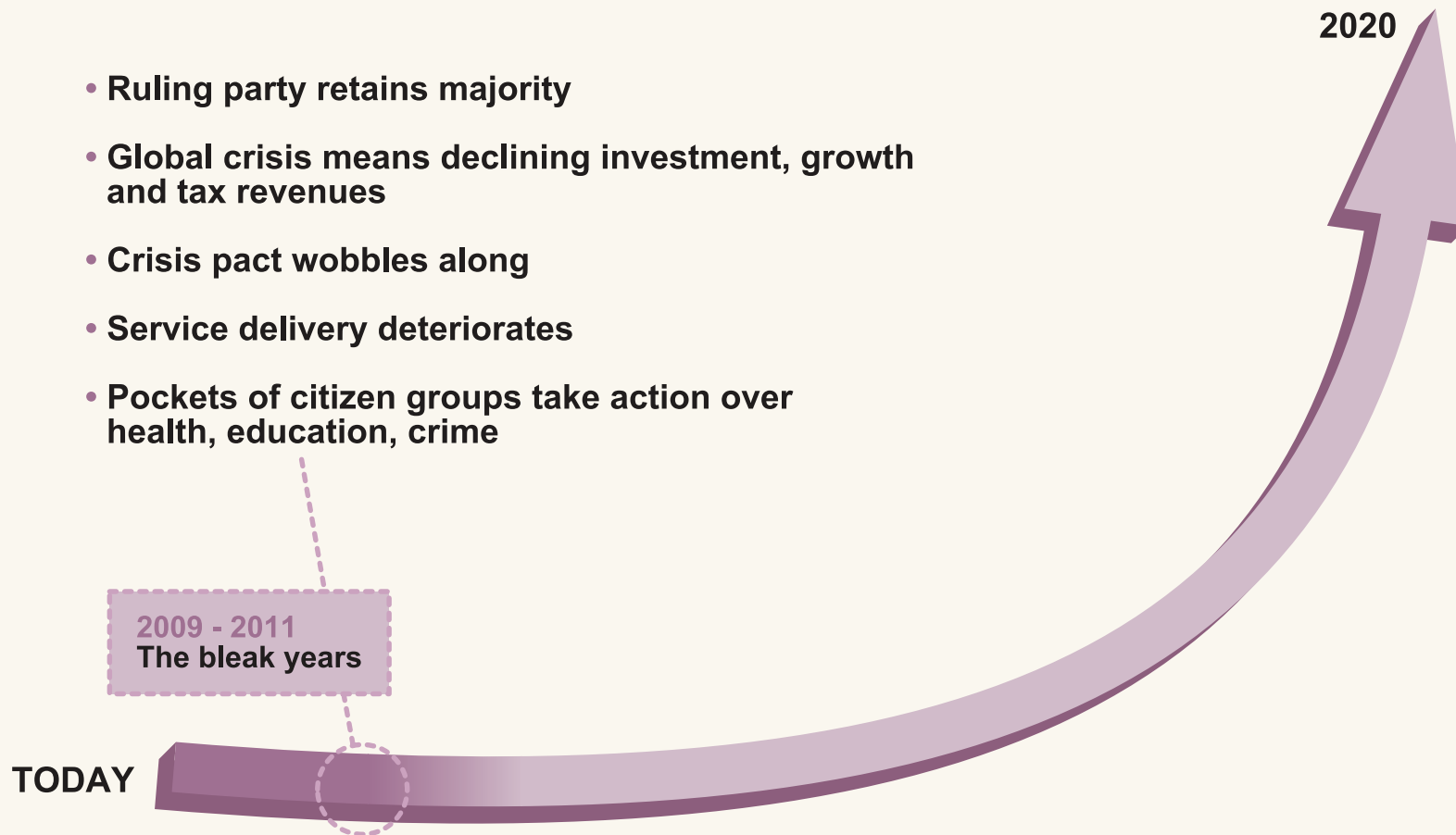


## THE MESSAGE OF WALK BEHIND

- 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**

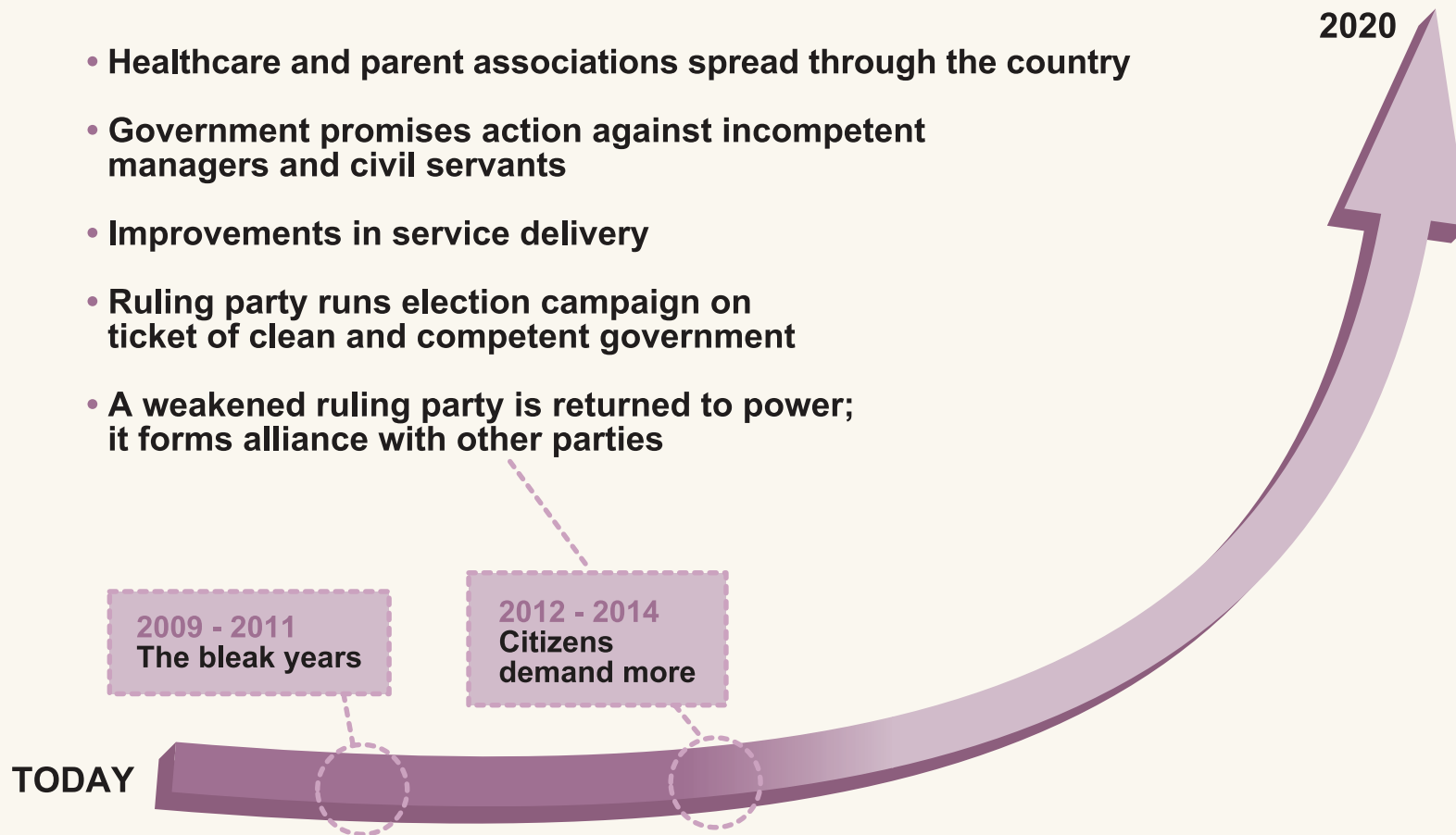
## SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- 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



## 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



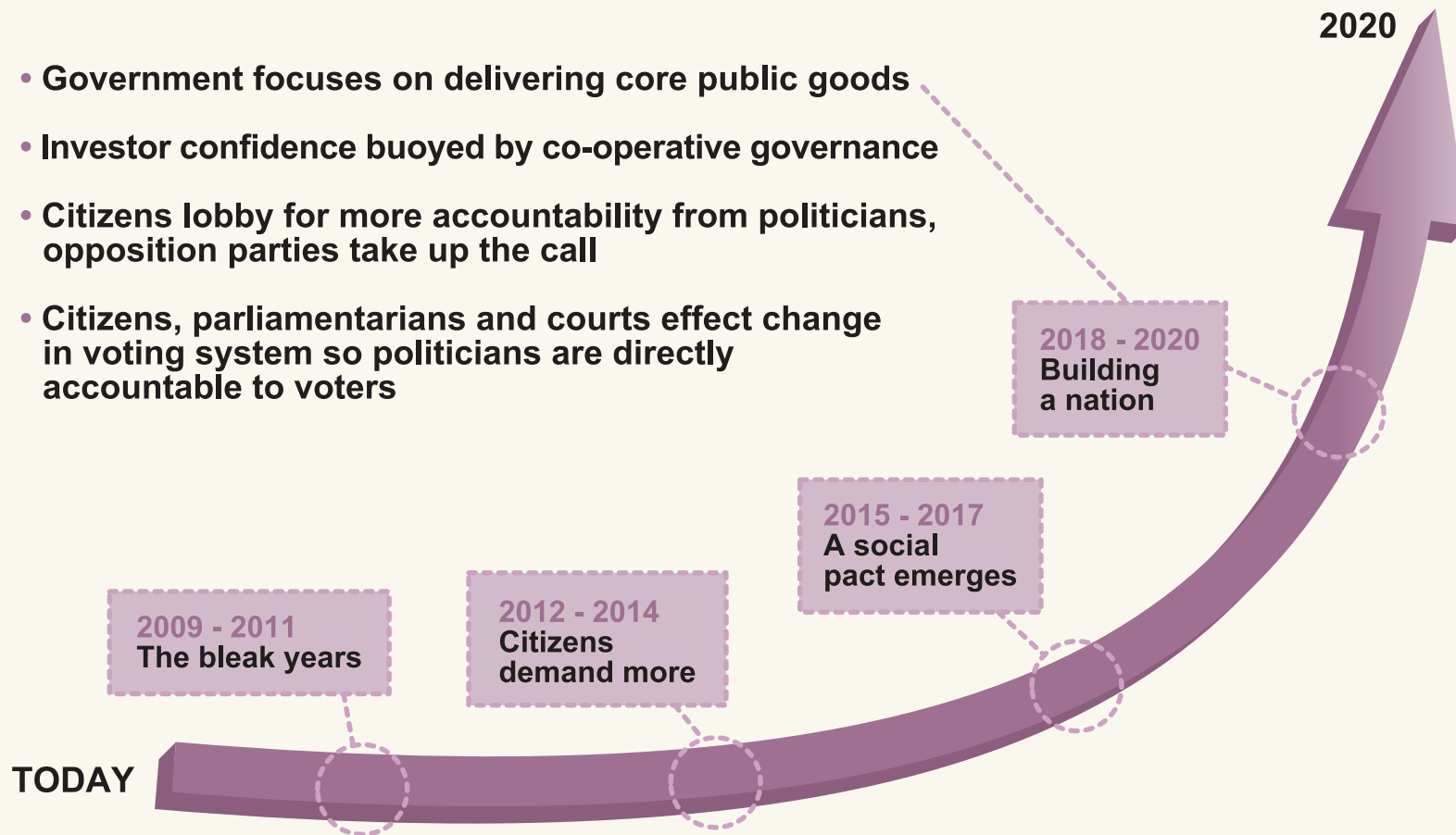
## SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

- Economy begins slow recovery but insufficient to deal with deepening poverty
- 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



## 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



## WALK TOGETHER: What the papers might say

## Manguzi, 2011

"Even though we are  
well trained and ex-  
perienced Irish dancers, in  
the past few years  
Thorn has been the fa-  
vorite of Irish Dances  
and master of the fair  
Celtic Dances in  
which she has won  
first prize of 10  
from all over the  
the South African."

*Durban, 2012*

from all over the world  
the South African

## Pretoria, 2013

TREASURY Secretary Nicholas Brady says that South Africa will get the resources it needs to stimulate growth in the face of the global recession.

SARS expected to increase its collection enough to offset the effect of inflation, which is expected to fall to within the 1 percent to 2 percent target this year — and deliver an effectively flat revenue total. "In previous years, we have

delivery

Johannesburg, 2014

"Even though we are so far from  
Ireland and Europe, tradi-  
tional Irish dancing has grown over  
the past few years," says Liu.  
Therein, one of the founding mem-  
bers of Irish Dance South Africa  
and member of the Danure Studio of  
Celtic Dancing in Johannesburg,  
which she set up in 1998.

The earliest references are made to the McCarrens, McCordis and McKean families. One of those early dancers was Janet McKean Jamieson, whose daughter Shoune Robinson - together with her three sons - was instrumental in extending the current interest in the art form.

In 1907 Thomson made contact with the then chairman of The Irish Dancing Commission, Thomas M.

by the Irish Dancing and helped to make his John Cullinane, the ex-Adm. Commissioner in the De Cullinane then in Africa on a number of private workshop, creating a team for Irish dancing," says Thorton.

He established the O'Connell's in South Africa.

—The Irishman's

## Cape Town, 2015

THE MIDDLE-class perception that Jacob Zuma's election as ANC leader in Polokwane represented a shift in power to an unskilled class of his uneducated supporters, who were unorganised and tribalist, was

While Matsushita did not say this would transition into a new

Turning to Cape Town, where there was "no rebellion," the junta opposed the growth of employment and redistribution programmes, which was charged to be fiscal and monetary conservatism.

Cage's presidential campaign was based on the idea that he would tap into a racial outcry at Bush's candidacy. But ABC knew that most voters "don't intend to vote against the race and the" and so he failed in electoral politics.

Marshall argued that perceptions that there were no large cities of the mid-1960s were large enough to elect a president.

Johannesburg, 2016

## SPECIAL FEATURE

901268 of the Independent News & Media (INM) group's own newspaper group, Irish.

assured by undercontracted, not  
optimising that UNM operators in  
an industry which is experiencing  
rapid change. I hope the  
new board will be fast forward

The journey ending where referred to the crucial issue of the A13 billion debt on the balance sheet and which was maintained as a "work-

Johannesburg, 2018

THE MIDDLE-class perception that Jacob Zuma's election as ANC leader in Polokwane represented a shift in power to an undisciplined class of his ignorant supporters, who were misogynistic and tribalist, was not shared by Zuma's support base, independent political analyst Aubrey Matshini of the

This did not mean that economic issues would not be central in the election campaign. The fact that there were service delivery demonstrations "week by week" around the country was evidence that people were making "economic protests".

While Masekhe did not say this would translate into a vote against the ANC, he said job creation was a key issue.

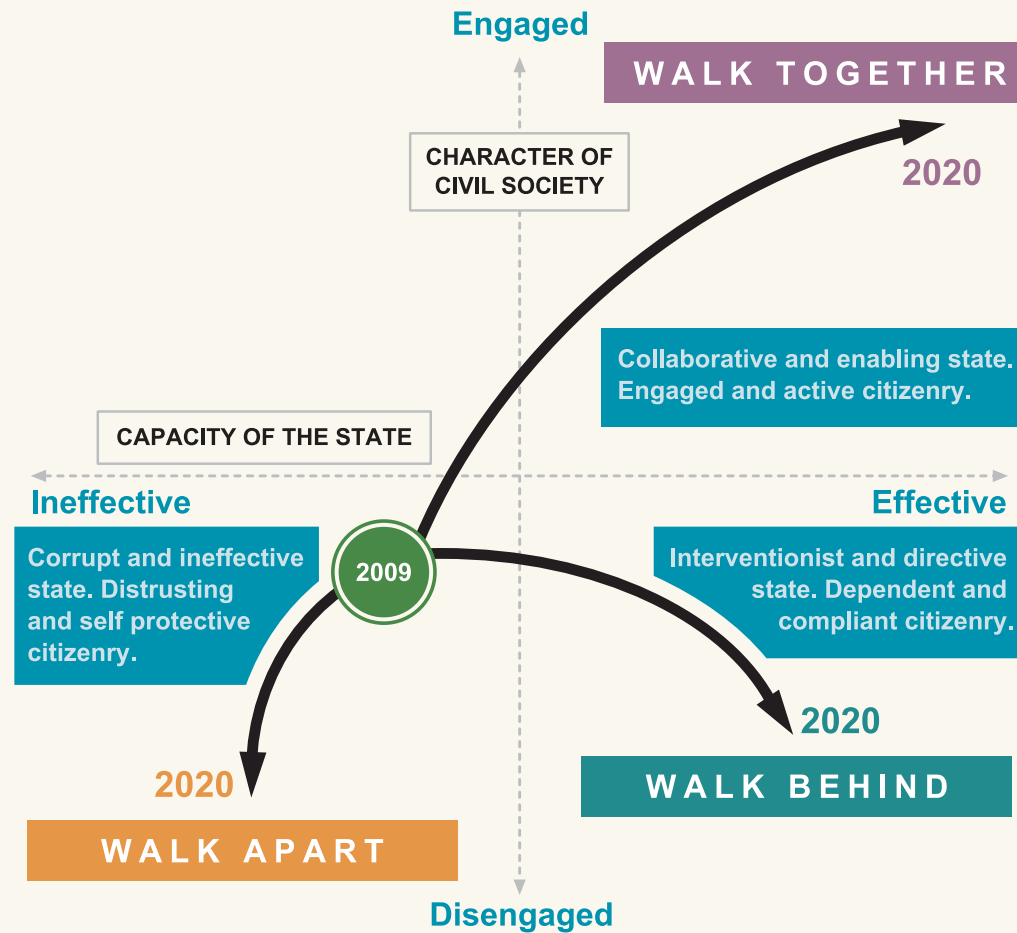
Turning to Coje - formed by ex-ANC leaders Mustafa Leloto and Mphahlela Sefolake - he said it had been

Cope's presidential candidacies was based on the idea that he would tap into a moral outrage at Zuma's conduct. But the ANC knows that moral outrage "doesn't extend sufficiently to the rank and file" and would not affect its electoral fortunes. Motswagole argued that the perception that there

## 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





**WHAT NEXT?**



## WHAT WILL YOU DO?

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.**

## WHAT WILL YOU DO?

- **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?**

## WHAT CAN YOU DO?

### 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](http://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

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

African Proverb