

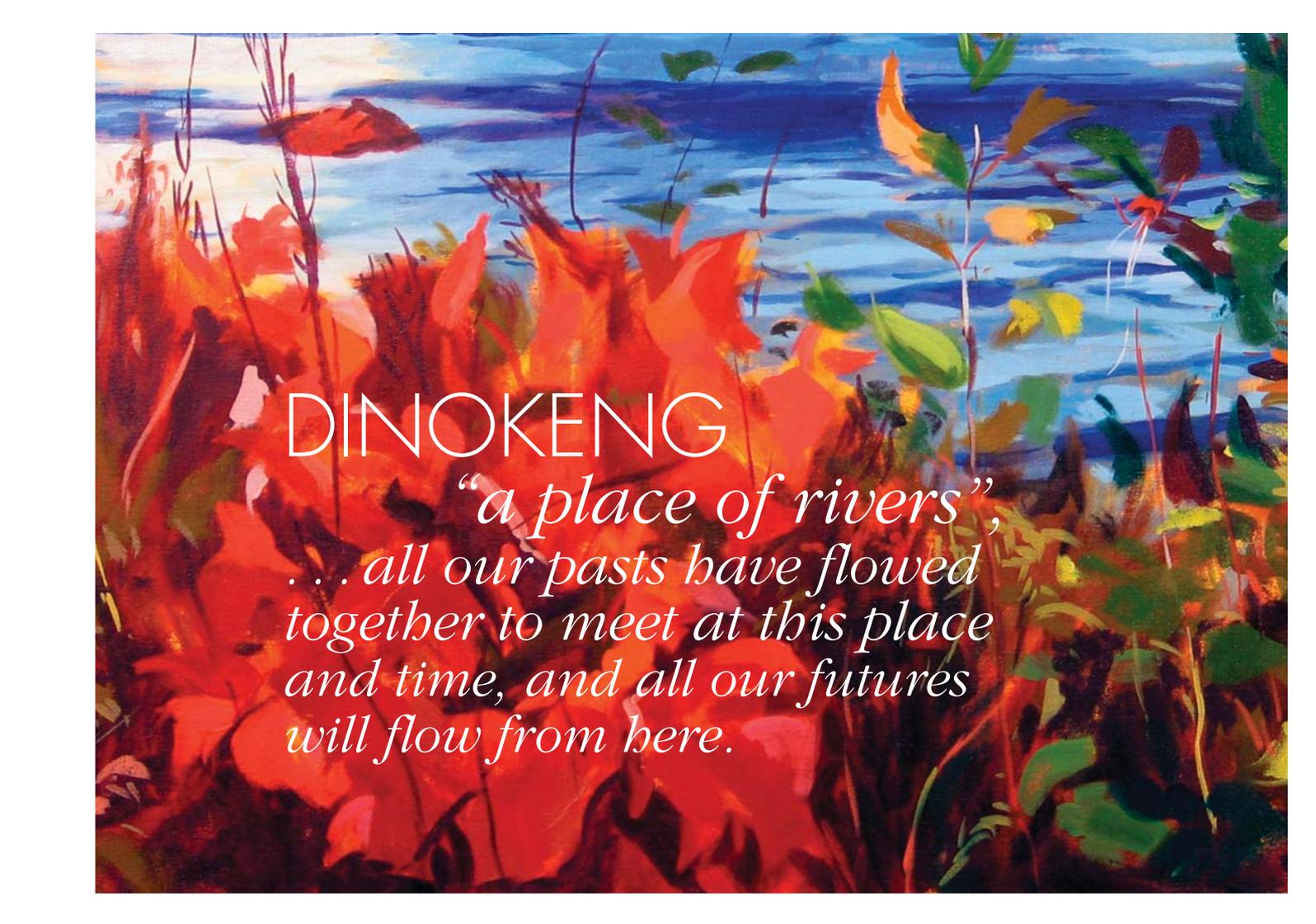
SUMMARY BOOKLET



# 3 FUTURES

for South Africa





# 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.*



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# INTRODUCTION

**W**hat will our country look like in 2020? As citizens, will we be better off? Or will we be worse off? And how will the country stand in the world?

These are questions posed by the Dinokeng Scenario Team, a diverse group of 35 South Africans, who came together in four workshops to map possible pathways into our future.

Dinokeng is a Sepedi word meaning “the place of rivers”. Dinokeng is in a beautiful catchment area in the north-eastern corner of Gauteng. It is the place where the Dinokeng Scenario Team met for three three-day workshops between August and November 2008 to discuss the present and past of South Africa, and to imagine possible scenarios for the future. The Team met for a fourth time, in February 2009 in Johannesburg, where the key scenarios were more carefully outlined.

Dinokeng is also a word that sums up the spirit of the Team’s conversations: a flowing together of ideas from different South Africans to build a common future.



## INTRODUCTION / CONTINUED

The Team comprises South Africans from various political parties, government, civil society, religious groups, academia, media, business and trade unions. It was brought together by a group of convenors, all prominent citizens. They are Dr Mamphele Ramphela, who chaired the convenors' group, Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, Mr Bob Head, Ms Graça Machel, Dr Vincent Maphai and Mr Rick Menell.

The Dinokeng exercise is sponsored by Old Mutual and Nedbank. They believed the time was right to create a space for healthy debate about the future of our country. However, the sponsors did not control either the agenda of the workshops, or the final product. That is owned by the Scenario Team itself.

The Team is an extremely diverse group of South Africans with very different views about the country. While they did not agree on everything, there is a strong glue binding the group together: a commitment to the principles of our Constitution, an understanding of the country's bitter and harsh legacy, and a passionate concern about how they, as citizens, can contribute to a better future for South Africa.

The purpose of Dinokeng is 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.”*

It is a space that all South Africans must occupy. All South Africans – not just the government or those from universities or newspapers – need to be involved in the debate about our future. Even if people disagree with the Dinokeng Scenarios, this is an opportunity to state their own views and hopes about the future, and to make their own choices about what they will contribute to create that future.

*All the quotes in this report are from the members of The Dinokeng Scenario Team.*



*“We, as South Africans, are capable of realising the country’s potential if only we are able to dig deep into ourselves to find the resolve to do so.”*

*“We are at a crossroads, but what is wrong in South Africa can be fixed. South Africa is a country of great possibility.”*

*“Citizens need to take ownership and ask of themselves: What are we doing as citizens to become agents of change? What are we doing to build the future that we envisioned at the dawn of our democracy?”*

# THE DINOKENG MESSAGE

The message from the Dinokeng Scenario Team to fellow South Africans is this: South Africa today stands at a crossroads. We have made great strides since 1994. But we have also made many mistakes; mistakes that may be extremely dangerous for our future if we do not fix them.

If we, as South African citizens, do not energetically engage with a more able and effective government to put the country on a path of renewal, we may face disintegration and decay. All our gains since 1994 could be under threat. We could even cause great harm to our democratic system if we do not successfully deal with some of our pressing social challenges.

The democratic government has achieved significant improvements for the country. But it has also been weak in critical areas, such as education and health. The public service has not been as effective or accountable to citizens as it should be.



Over the past few years, we have seen that citizens often struggle to make their voices heard and to get their grievances attended to. Sometimes people resort to violent protest, because they feel that those in our government who are responsible for the delivery of services – such as better roads, education, and health – do not hear them.

For many reasons, our government is weak in certain critical areas. It is clear that the government does not have the capacity to address our problems on its own. But other sectors of society, too, have not focused strongly on the improvement of the country as a whole. It needs the support and engagement of all sectors and all citizens to fix what is still wrong in the country.

The most important message coming out of the Dinokeng process, therefore, is this: **We can address our critical challenges if and only if citizens and leaders from all sectors of society actively work with the state to improve delivery. As citizens, we also need to insist that all spheres of government, from national to local, account to us for their performance.**

# SOUTH AFRICA TODAY



**T**he Dinokeng Team believes that the seeds of our future are in our past and our present, and so the participants began their discussions with a thorough analysis of what the country is like today: its achievements, its challenges, its successes and failures, and the burden it still carries from its divided and unequal past.

South Africa's destiny is also closely linked to conditions in the rest of the world and in the continent. The global economic crisis is already having a severe effect on South Africa and will cause further pain to our economy and to our people. Our destiny is also tied to the destiny of the rest of Africa. For example, we have seen the influx of hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants from poor countries, particularly Zimbabwe where both the state and the economy have collapsed.

We also need to take account of climate change, and the impact it will have on our agricultural production and food security.

South Africa is not an island. We cannot do exactly as we please with our policies. If we are to have a successful future, we need to be aware of how the fortunes of the African continent and the rest of the world affect us.

## OUR ASSETS

In the 15 years since our first democratic election, the country has made many significant strides. One of our major achievements is that we now live under a constitutional democracy. Our **Constitution** is world-renowned and respected. It protects the rights of individuals, as well as minorities, and guarantees democratic rule by the majority.

At times, our Constitutional Court has protected individual and moral rights in the face of popular pressure. For instance, it has interpreted the death penalty as being unconstitutional in the light of the "right to life" clause in the Bill of Rights. This is in spite of the fact that, because of our high crime rate, a majority of the population may wish to reinstate it.

Importantly, our Constitution also provides for socio-economic rights. The Constitutional Court can, and has, ordered government to improve housing delivery and access to healthcare.

## SOUTH AFRICA TODAY / CONTINUED



Our democracy is also sustained by **strong, independent institutions** including the media and other parts of the judiciary. These bodies can, and do, play a watchdog role and make sure that government does not abuse its power.

We have also made significant **economic gains**. Since the advent of democracy, our economy has grown steadily. Between 2005 and 2007, our economy grew by an average of 5%. This growth has, however, slowed due to the impact of the global economic crisis.

We have also dramatically reduced our national debt. At the end of the apartheid era, our debt amounted to nearly half of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – in other words, half the entire annual income of the country. This meant that South Africa had to spend nearly as much on interest payments on the debt, as it did on important social programmes such as education or housing. By reducing the amount that we need to borrow, we have lowered our overall debt to about 23% of GDP, and the interest we pay each year is considerably less.

This has also allowed government to steadily decrease taxes, which has helped to spur growth. The economy has created about **3.5 million net new jobs** since 1995 and unemployment has fallen, in the official definition, from 31% in 2003 to 23% in 2008.

The reduction of our debt has also allowed government to consistently increase **social spending** on education, healthcare, social grants, housing, and the criminal justice system.

**Education** today absorbs the biggest part of the government's budget, at over 20%. Primary school enrolment is now almost universal, and the number of young people passing matric has gone up from 58% in 1994 to 63% in 2008. Whereas under apartheid education expenditure was extremely unequal between the different races, today there is equal expenditure on every South African.

Expenditure on **health** is the second biggest item in our budget. Last year, it totalled about R80 billion. Primary healthcare clinics have been established throughout the country. Malaria has decreased due to a concerted effort to eradicate mosquitoes in areas where malaria was high, and child immunisation is now nearly 90%.

**Other social achievements** have been the delivery of clean water to more than five million households, an increase in the number of electricity connections, better roads, and the provision of social grants to 13 million people.

## OUR LIABILITIES

We can be proud of these achievements, but our country still faces severe challenges. In particular, despite the money spent on education and health, the government has failed to deliver quality schooling and healthcare.

In **education**, our children rank among the lowest in maths and literacy tests compared with most children in other parts of the world. "We are Number Last," one Scenario Team member said.



Our matric pass rate has grown but only 20% of matriculants in 2008 achieved a pass that enabled them to go to university. The infrastructure in many of our schools is poor: 79% have no

## SOUTH AFRICA TODAY / CONTINUED

libraries, 60% have no laboratories, and 68% have no computers. Our teachers have resisted performance management, so it is not easy to determine whether they are delivering quality education to children.

Likewise in **health**, in spite of the money spent, our indicators are alarming. We have the fourth highest rates of HIV/Aids infection and TB in the world. Largely because of the HIV/Aids pandemic, life expectancy in South Africa has decreased from 63 years in 1990 to just 51 in 2006. There are also serious problems with the quality of care in our public hospitals. This is demonstrated by the fact that maternal mortality rates (women who die in childbirth) and infant mortality rates (children who die before their first birthday) have increased.

*“People don’t believe that medicines will be in the clinics.”*



**Crime** is a major problem. South Africa has one of the highest violent crime rates in the world, and the police and courts seem unable to keep up with their heavy workloads. Increasingly, those who can afford it no longer rely on the police to protect them. Instead they hire private security companies. Poor communities, who cannot afford private security, often abandon faith in the police and take the law into their own hands.



Among our biggest challenges are **unemployment and poverty**. These two are closely linked: those who are unemployed are likely to be the poorest of the poor. Unemployment is also closely linked to the lack of education and skills. The less skilled or qualified a person, the lower his or her chances are of finding decent work. The unemployment rate for those with university degrees is only 3%, for those with matric it is 28%, but for those without matric it is over 60%. More than half of people between the ages of 20 and 24 are unemployed.

*“Youngsters are being left out. In the townships the level of unemployment and poverty among our youth is alarming.”*

All of these factors combine to make inequality and poverty worse in our society. Although social grants have made a difference to people’s lives, about 40% of households are still considered to be poor. Inequality has increased among black people, and inequality between different racial groups has remained much the same as it was under apartheid.



# SOUTH AFRICA AT A CROSSROADS



The Dinokeng Scenario Team believes that today South Africa is at a crossroads.

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

If we do not fix the pressing challenges of faltering education and healthcare, of unacceptably high crime levels, of unemployment and poverty, we will unravel the accomplishments we have made since 1994.

At the heart of our problems is a failure of leadership and accountability. This is because government has tended to reward its political supporters with jobs in the public service, rather than appoint those most competent to do the jobs.



Our Constitution guarantees citizens an efficient public service, but this guarantee is not being met.

We have also seen business, religious, labour and civic leadership focus more on their own interests than on the interests of the nation as a whole.

Leaders across all sectors need to accept responsibility for our problems and for solving them. The same is true for all citizens.



*“Let’s stop the motorcades. It should be an honour to be in the public service.”*

## SOUTH AFRICA AT A CROSSROADS / CONTINUED

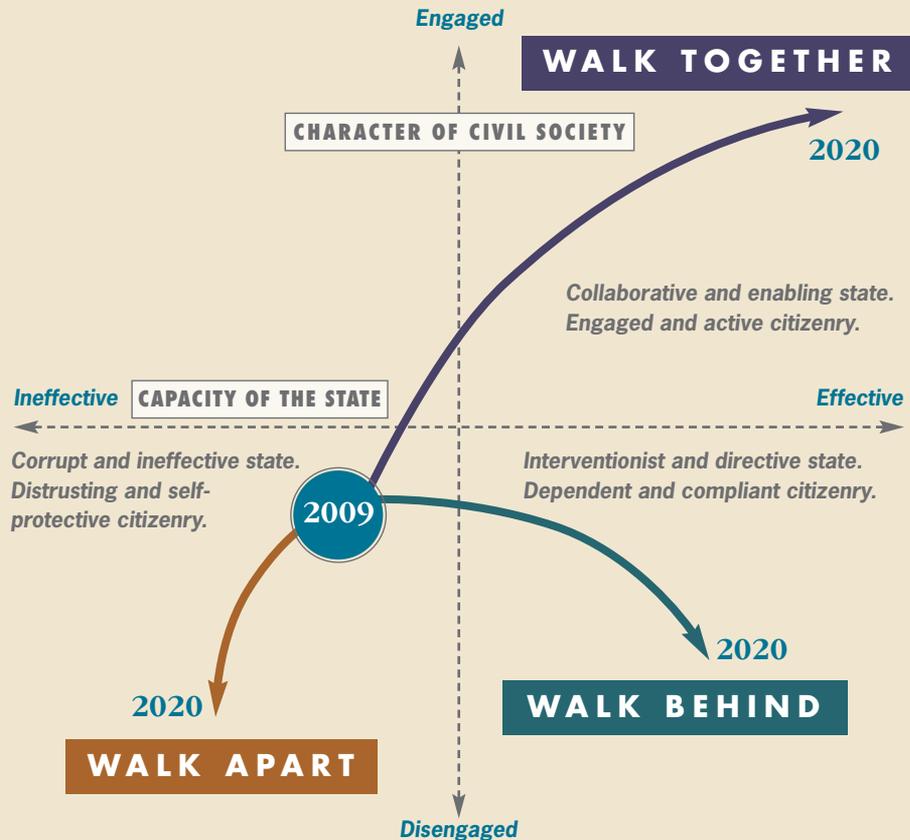
Before 1994, citizen activism was strong in South Africa. Today citizens are largely disengaged and increasingly dependent on the government to provide everything. This is a problem.

**The quality of our leadership and the role that citizens play in the further reconstruction of our country will determine whether we solve our problems before they become “time bombs”.**

*“There must be no compromise on mediocrity masquerading as leadership.”*



# THE SCENARIOS



Scenarios are not predictions. They describe possible future paths. All of the scenarios imagined by the Dinokeng Team are possible. It is also possible that the future will be a mix of all three scenarios outlined below. What makes scenarios useful is that they allow us to draw apart the strands and trends of a complex world to see more clearly the risks and opportunities we face.

With this in mind, the Dinokeng Team mapped three possible pathways into the future. All of them depend on two things: the first is the quality of leadership in government and in society as a whole; the second is on the quality of the relationship between citizens and the government. This relationship, between citizens and the state, will determine whether and how we can build a successful future for South Africa.



## FIRST SCENARIO

## WALK APART

In the first scenario, **Walk Apart**, we continue on the same path that we are on today. It is a case of “*musical chairs*” or “*reshuffled elites*”. Our pressing problems – unemployment, poverty, safety and security, and poor public health and education delivery – worsen.

Government cannot deliver on its election promises because it fails to appoint the most competent people to the public service. Rather, it uses public service jobs as “rewards” for political support. Public trust in public institutions diminishes. When citizens begin to protest about the lack of social delivery, the government responds by simply increasing social grants.

This alleviates the problem for a while, but by 2012, it is clear that because of cronyism in government appointments and tenders, social delivery is still inadequate. Education falters; the lack of skills makes the unemployment problem worse. The healthcare sector also fails, because the government loses dedicated healthcare staff from the public health sector.

Citizens are disillusioned. Many disengage from public life. By 2017, delivery is deeply uneven around the country and “shadowy forces” begin to fill the gap left by the government. These could be criminal gangs, who deliver social services in return for money, or other unscrupulous groups, which are outside of government and so cannot be held accountable.

By 2020, self appointed “mayors”, taxi associations, or gangs hold sway over certain areas. The government has spent too much on social grants, and has not focused on forging alliances with investors and labour to create employment.

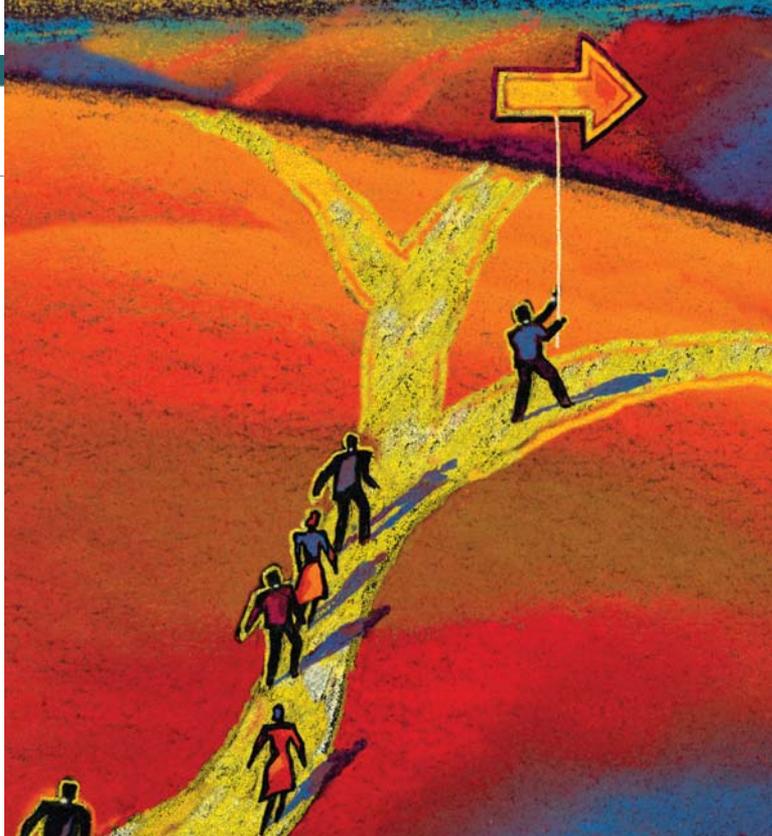
Citizens protest around the country. Unrest escalates and, because the state cannot find solutions, it simply clamps down on protests. Eventually, it declares a State of Emergency to contain the protests. South Africa goes from a developing democracy to an authoritarian state.

***The message of this scenario is that if we carry on the way we have, we will experience rapid disintegration and decline.***



## SUMMARY: SCENARIO 1: WALK APART

<b>YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW ARE THE SAME: 2009 – 2011</b>	<b>TINKERING AROUND THE EDGES: 2012 – 2014</b>	<b>THE SHADOWS LENGTHEN: 2015 – 2017</b>	<b>RULE OF THE STRONGMAN: 2018 – 2020</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruling party retains majority.</li> <li>• Global crisis leads to declining investment, growth and tax revenues.</li> <li>• Crisis pact between government, labour and business fails.</li> <li>• Government expands the Public Works Programme to create jobs.</li> <li>• Citizens get restless and government increases social grants.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cronyism and corruption in government appointments and tenders.</li> <li>• Education and health care deteriorate.</li> <li>• Rift between government and citizens.</li> <li>• Government increases social grants and civil servants' salaries: social grant recipients now far outnumber income taxpayers.</li> <li>• Ruling party wins elections with reduced majority.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime increases: private security guards outnumber police 3 to 1.</li> <li>• Criminal justice system becomes more inefficient because of cronyism and corruption.</li> <li>• Unions lobby government to increase the minimum wage.</li> <li>• Investment shrinks further; unemployment grows.</li> <li>• Service delivery fails; alternative modes of delivery develops and shadowy forces become more powerful.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The cracks widen; budget deficit balloons; delivery worsens.</li> <li>• Elites buy their way out and poor people lose patience.</li> <li>• Gangs, self-appointed mayors and taxi associations rule local areas.</li> <li>• “Strongman” wins election, outcome contested.</li> <li>• Protests spiral and government declares state of emergency.</li> </ul>



## SECOND SCENARIO

### WALK BEHIND

In the second scenario, **Walk Behind**, the state decides to actively lead the process of development.

It intervenes in the economy directly, giving increasing financial support to large State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and to major infrastructural projects. It also expands Public Works Programmes to create more jobs for unskilled people.

But it does not take sufficient account of the global economic realities. By 2012, it is clear that private investors have been “crowded out” by heavy government expenditure and uncompetitive conditions. They are not keen to invest in the big government-backed projects. Because the state needs more money to invest in the economy, it raises taxes and imposes a wage freeze on all civil servants. This makes professionals in both the public and private sectors unhappy: those with the best skills leave the public sector, worsening the problem of delivery. Investors are wary because of the increase in tax rates.

By 2017, some of the big industrial projects that the state invested in and thought would be “winners”, turn out to be “losers”. They are not competitive internationally and they cost the government money, rather than earn it money. The government spends more than it can afford on these projects.

## WALK BEHIND / CONTINUED

So it decides to introduce prescribed asset legislation, which requires that private sector funds are invested in particular projects.

Investment ratings go down, and the government is forced to borrow on the international markets at higher interest rates. Eventually, in 2019, it is forced to take a loan from a multi-lateral financial body, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF imposes certain conditions for the loan. These conditions include a sharp cutback in social expenditure, so the living conditions of citizens worsen.

This leads to widespread discontent. The state imposes its will by force.

The risk in this scenario is that the state overspends too heavily on its budget by intervening too strongly in the economy. It is forced to borrow more money. It cannot borrow on the international bond markets, where it has borrowed before, because lenders will not lend the country money. It has to go to the IMF. The IMF will lend money only under certain conditions. This means that the country can no longer determine its own spending priorities. Citizens are disgruntled, the state cracks down, and our democracy is compromised.

***The message of this scenario is that state-led development cannot succeed if state capacity is weak and if private sector and civil society is pushed aside. The state can end up spending beyond its means and compromising our democracy. For citizens, the message is that we need to guard against being complacent and simply expecting the state to provide everything.***



## SUMMARY: SCENARIO 2: WALK BEHIND

ACCELERATING DEVELOPMENT: 2009 – 2011	DISPELLING DARK CLOUDS: 2012 – 2014	STATE BACKS “WINNERS”: 2015 – 2017	THE TIDE TURNS: 2018 – 2020
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruling party retains majority.</li> <li>• Global crisis means declining investment, growth and tax revenues.</li> <li>• Government commits to continued investment in large infrastructure projects.</li> <li>• Government boosts state capacity through greater coordination and training.</li> <li>• Expanded Public Works Programmes create more unskilled jobs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Job losses mount as global crisis bites harder; government spreads social welfare net.</li> <li>• Government increases tax rates, freezes civil service wages.</li> <li>• National Economic Summit results in Growth and Investment Accord.</li> <li>• Election campaign run on “pro-poor” platform.</li> <li>• Ruling party victory taken as mandate for even stronger state intervention in economy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government accelerates large-scale infrastructure programme to boost development.</li> <li>• Government feels skills shortage as it tries to develop key high-tech SOEs – “winners”.</li> <li>• Improvement of skills through better education and artisan training is prioritised.</li> <li>• Some “winners” become “losers”, with heavy costs to the fiscus.</li> <li>• Prescribed asset laws force private investment in large projects.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prescribed asset laws alienate business; investment contracts and unemployment worsens.</li> <li>• State borrows at high interest rates to fund growing deficit.</li> <li>• Election run on “Growth and Redistribution” ticket.</li> <li>• Country gets IMF loan conditional on sharp cut-back in state expenditure.</li> <li>• Widespread discontent and protests: government cracks down.</li> </ul>



## THIRD SCENARIO

## WALK TOGETHER

In the third scenario, ***Walk Together***, our challenges are addressed through active citizen engagement, a capable state, and strong leadership across all sectors. Good governance, competent delivery, and active citizen involvement become the key to fixing the most serious social problems that pose a grave danger to the country if they are not addressed.

After stumbling along until 2011, with failed “crisis” pacts that try to save jobs and steady the economy in the face of the global economic crisis, citizens begin to take the initiative. Through healthcare committees, anti-crime street committees and parents’ associations, citizens begin to demand improvement in the delivery of the most important social services: education, health and safety.

Government listens to and understands the concerns of citizens and begins to actively engage with them. The 2014 election is run on a ticket of clean and competent government.

By 2016, a Citizens’ Charter is born, drawing together the various local committees that have sprung up around the country. The government initiates a social pact in response to this Charter. It draws in the trade unions and business to help solve the unemployment problem, particularly among the youth. It also consults parents’ associations to try to

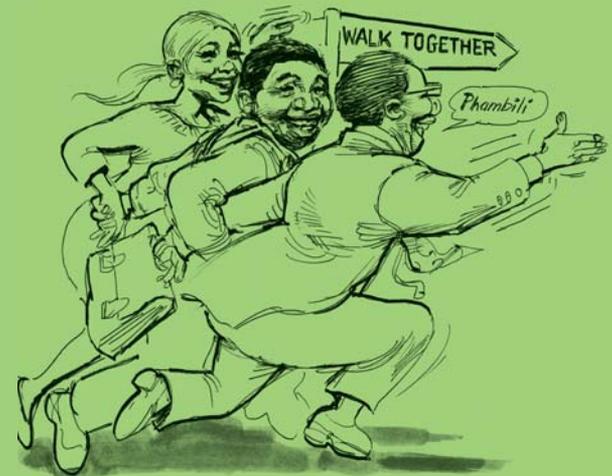
improve education, and health committees to try to solve the problems – such as theft of drugs – that undermine the functioning of clinics and public hospitals.

Government begins to focus on better delivery. As education improves, the skills level improves. Investor confidence grows. By 2016, as the world economy begins to turn the corner, business, labour and broader civil society shoulder more responsibility and work with government to deliver the quality education, health and anti-crime measures that we need for development.

Citizens begin to feel they have been successful. Now they start to lobby for more accountability from politicians. By 2020, parliamentarians, citizens, and the courts help to usher in a change to the proportional representation system. This opens the way for politicians to be more directly accountable to voters.

Now, if voters have problems with healthcare, or education, or housing, or the state of roads, parks or libraries in their areas, they can go directly to their parliamentary representative to help them fix the problems. If their representatives fail them, they can vote them out of office.

***The message of this scenario is that it is going to take all of us to address our challenges. If citizens engage, take initiative and hold government to account; if a more effective and capable government is built; and if leaders in all sectors rise above their narrow self-interests; then we may just set the country on the right path.***



## SUMMARY: SCENARIO 3: WALK TOGETHER

THE BLEAK YEARS: 2009 – 2011	CITIZENS DEMAND MORE: 2012 – 2014	A SOCIAL PACT EMERGES: 2015 – 2017	BUILDING A NATION: 2018 – 2020
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruling party retains majority.</li> <li>• Global crisis means declining investment, growth and tax revenues.</li> <li>• Crisis pact wobbles along.</li> <li>• Service delivery deteriorates.</li> <li>• Pockets of citizen groups take action over health, education, crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Healthcare and parent associations spread through the country.</li> <li>• Government promises action against incompetent managers and civil servants.</li> <li>• Improvements in service delivery.</li> <li>• Ruling party runs election campaign on ticket of competent government.</li> <li>• A weakened ruling party is returned to power; it forms alliance with other parties.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economy begins slow recovery but insufficient to deal with deepening poverty.</li> <li>• A “Citizens’ Charter” is born.</li> <li>• A formal social pact emerges: it includes political parties, labour, business, citizens’ groups.</li> <li>• Business shoulders more responsibility in education, infrastructure, health.</li> <li>• Trade unions back measures to combat youth unemployment.</li> <li>• Citizens work with government to monitor education, health, crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government focuses on delivering core public goods.</li> <li>• Business invests more, employment rises.</li> <li>• International investor confidence buoyed by co-operative governance.</li> <li>• Citizens lobby for more accountability from politicians; opposition parties take up the call.</li> <li>• Citizens, parliamentarians and courts effect change in voting system so politicians are directly accountable to voters.</li> </ul>

# CONCLUSION

*“A good scenario must not slip away from us. I have four young sons and I want to be assured that my grandchildren will live in a country where they can live and be safe in a secure house, attend a good school, and get by in life.”*

Through these three scenarios, the Dinokeng Scenario Team poses the following important questions to all citizens of South Africa:

**How can we, as South Africans, fix our most urgent problems before they become time bombs that destroy all our accomplishments?**

**What can each of us do – in our homes, communities and workplaces – to help build a future that lives up to the promise of 1994?**

A strong democracy depends on a capable state, but also on active and involved citizens who will work with and urge the government to deliver on the promises of freedom.

South Africans are standing at a crossroads. Each one of us – citizens, leaders and government – must choose how we walk forward. Through the steps we choose to take, we will build our future.



## PARTICIPANTS

The following people gave generously of their thinking and their time in the creation of this product:

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*Note: Participation in the Scenario Team does not imply agreement with all the contents of this Scenario Report, which is based on the work of the Team but has been issued by the Convenors. The purpose of the Dinokeng Scenarios is to promote open and frank dialogue, a “flowing together” of diverse perspectives about the future of South Africa, within and beyond the Scenario Team, rather than to agree on the details of a specific text.*

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# GLOSSARY

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## GLOSSARY

Aids	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
SOEs	State-owned enterprises
TB	Tuberculosis

## DEFINITIONS

- “State” refers to the total set of public institutions, including all arms and levels of government, as well as independent institutions and ‘organs of state’ provided for in the Constitution.
- “Government” refers to the ‘executive’, including the three tiers of national, provincial and local government, as well as public administration.
- “Ruling party” refers to the majority political party that forms the government of the day.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Sponsorship and support from Old Mutual and Nedbank
- Design, typesetting, layout and editing by Studio 5
- Illustrations by Len Sak

[www.dinokengscenarios.co.za](http://www.dinokengscenarios.co.za)

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

*African proverb*



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THE  
DINO KENG  
SCENARIOS