

VIOLENCE, ECONOMICS AND THE FUTURE OF THE ANC

What do rising levels of protest and a depreciating economic and political climate mean for South Africa's future?



Jakkie Cilliers & Ciara Aucoin, African Futures and Innovation, Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

1. Previous work
2. Scenarios to 2024
3. Violence: where we are, where we're headed
4. Policy recommendations & conclusion



Institute for Security Studies **PAPER**

South African Futures 2030

How Bafana Bafana made Mandela Magic

INTRODUCTION

After the death in December 2013 of the beloved and globally admired first democratic president of South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, it is under troubled circumstances that South Africans will go to elections later this year. The 2014 elections take place against the backdrop of unprecedented turbulence in the ruling Tripartite Alliance, led by the African National Congress (ANC). Many issues underlie the current volatile situation, including the nature of leadership, extent of corruption and lack of clarity on policy.

The purpose of this paper is to present three key 'storylines', or scenarios, for South Africa up to 2030, the year that coincides with the timeline of the government's National Development Plan – itself a divisive issue between the ANC and its labour federation ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

After a brief presentation of South Africa in an international context, this paper starts by examining the nation's current development pathway, called 'Bafana Bafana' after the national soccer team. This is essentially a forecast of 'more of the same'. It is important to emphasise that South Africa is not doing badly compared with international standards. Bafana Bafana is simply the well-known story of a perennial underachiever, always playing in the second league when the potential for international championship success and flashes of brilliance are evident for all to see.

'Mandela Magic', on the other hand, is the story of a country with a clear economic and developmental vision, which it pursues across all sectors of society. In this scenario, Team South Africa play to a single game plan

and are consistent in execution during every match, refining and harmonising their strategy as they go along. Changing the productive structures of South Africa's economy is complex and challenging, however. Competition is still and the barriers to success are high.

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The scenario of 'A Nation Divided' reflects a South Africa that steadily gathers speed downhill as factional politics and policy zigzagging open the door to populist policies. It is not one set of decisions or developments that might cause the former Rainbow Nation to spiral down to even worse levels of social violence, unemployment and poor performance. This is a story of the absent coach, no game plan and individual players who rely only on themselves, sometimes passing the ball, but only when absolutely necessary.

Many factors could lead to the three scenarios described in this paper. The role and leadership of the governing ANC are central to all three storylines, for [...] despite the strong disappointment with the government

JAKKIE CILLIERS
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South African Futures 2035

Can Bafana Bafana still score?

Jakkie Cilliers

Summary

Using updated population forecasts, this paper presents alternative growth scenarios for South Africa up to 2035, and their implications for employment, politics and poverty. 'Bafana Bafana Redux' is the expected current trajectory. This scenario takes into account the impact of policy incoherence and the electricity supply crisis on South Africa's long-term prospects. With concerted effort and much greater focus, an improved future, dubbed 'Mandela Magic Lite', is possible – but neither scenario has a significant impact on structural unemployment. South Africa will only achieve long-term stability and prosperity with a leadership committed to inclusive political and economic practices.

SOUTH AFRICA IN 2015 is a very different place from the South Africa of just 30 years ago and it is certain that South Africa in 2035, 20 years hence, will also be quite different from how the country is today.

Three decades ago, in 1985, South Africa was experiencing a partial state of emergency as the legacy of the Soweto riots of 1976/77 had ratcheted up pressure on South African Prime Minister PW Botha's government and the entire apartheid edifice. Wagging his finger at his critics and supporters alike, Botha declared: "We are not prepared to accept the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a White minority and a Black majority" and went on to reject 'one man, one vote in a unitary system'. Botha was characteristically belligerent in his views: 'I have the knowledge because I have the facts. As head of this Government I am in the position to tell you tonight what the facts are.' He went on to reaffirm his belief in independence for those households that wanted it and in the importance of protection of minority rights. He rejected calls for the release of Nelson Mandela and spoke about the degree of self-discipline, tenacity and patience that he had applied in recent months in the face of much unwarranted advice and criticism.

Actually, Botha was not sharing all the facts, for during that same year Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee had establish discreet, if irregular, contact with Nelson Mandela, then in Pollsmoor Prison Hospital. These initial contacts were sporadic until, in May 1988, Botha ordered that they should

**SOUTH
AFRICA
2035**

1. Economics, violence and instability in South Africa

ISS paper no 293

2. South Africa Scenarios to 2024

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3. Rainbow at risk

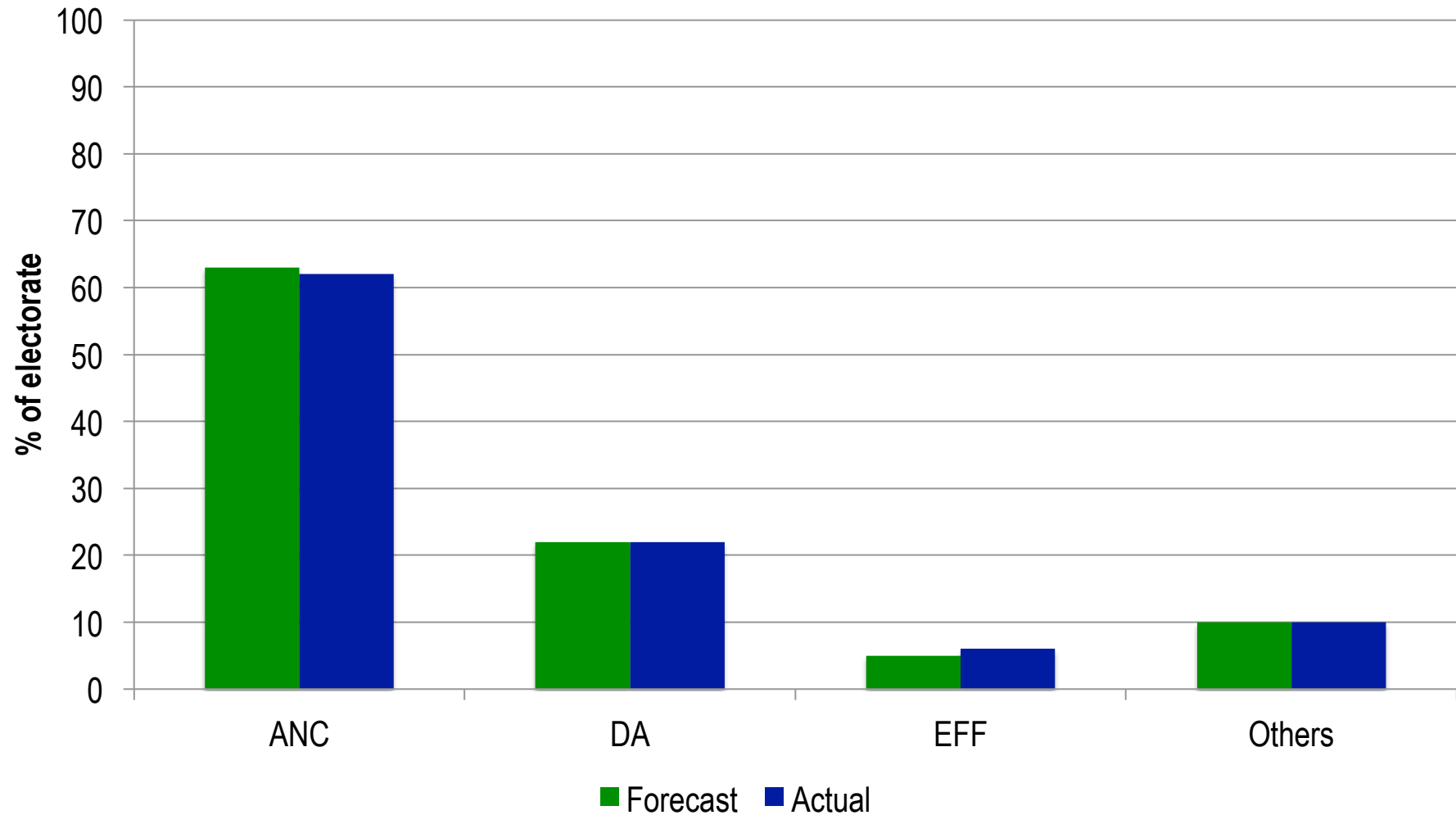
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2014 ELECTION FORECAST VS ACTUAL RESULTS

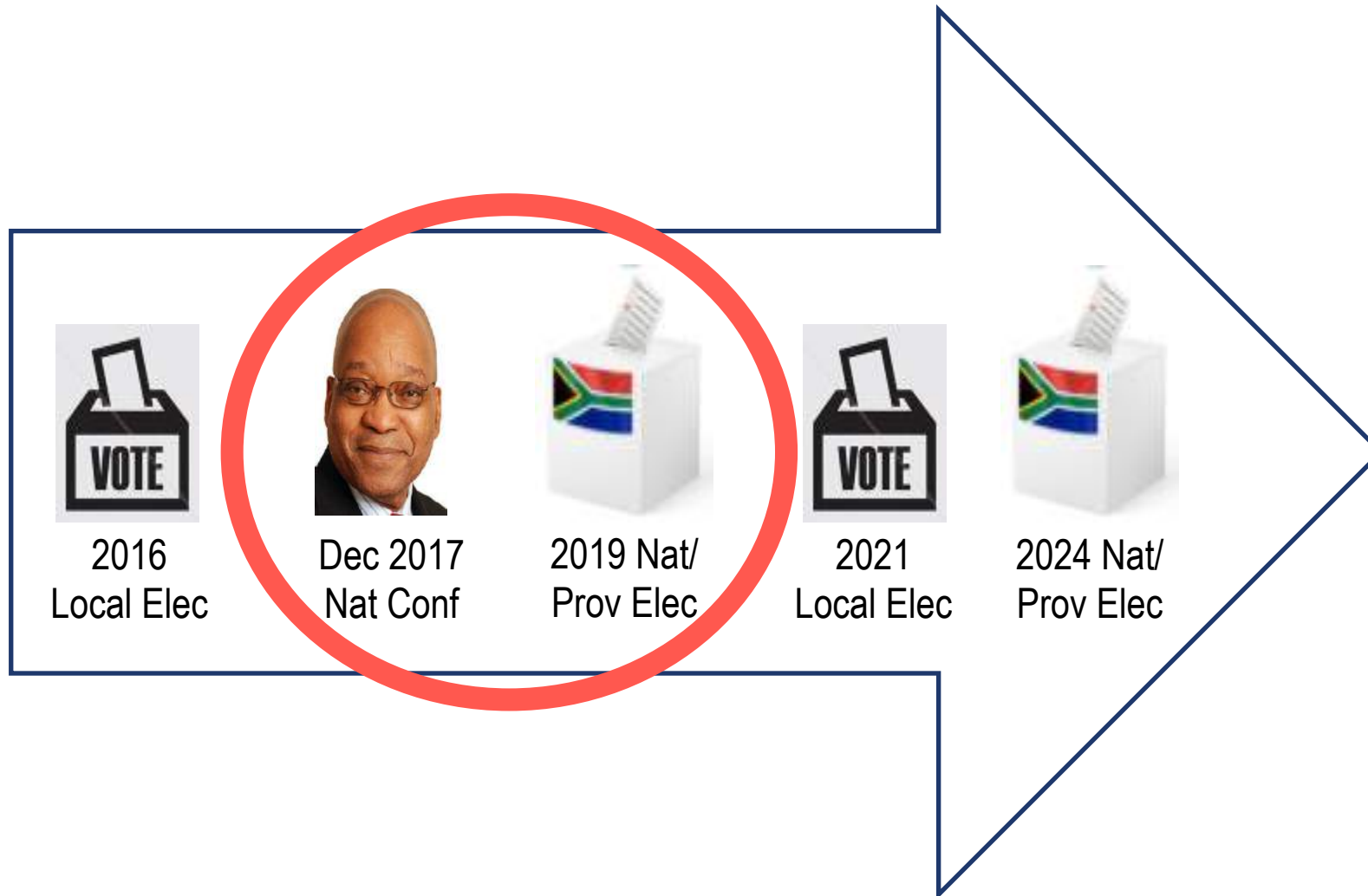


Scenarios to 2024

THE CHALLENGE

- South Africa squarely in a middle-income trap
- Risk of long-term low growth trajectory
- Decreased government effectiveness & rising corruption
- Escape possible...
- But developments in the ANC are key

ELECTIONS AND THE ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE



DOMINANT FACTIONS IN THE ANC (DUMMY'S GUIDE)



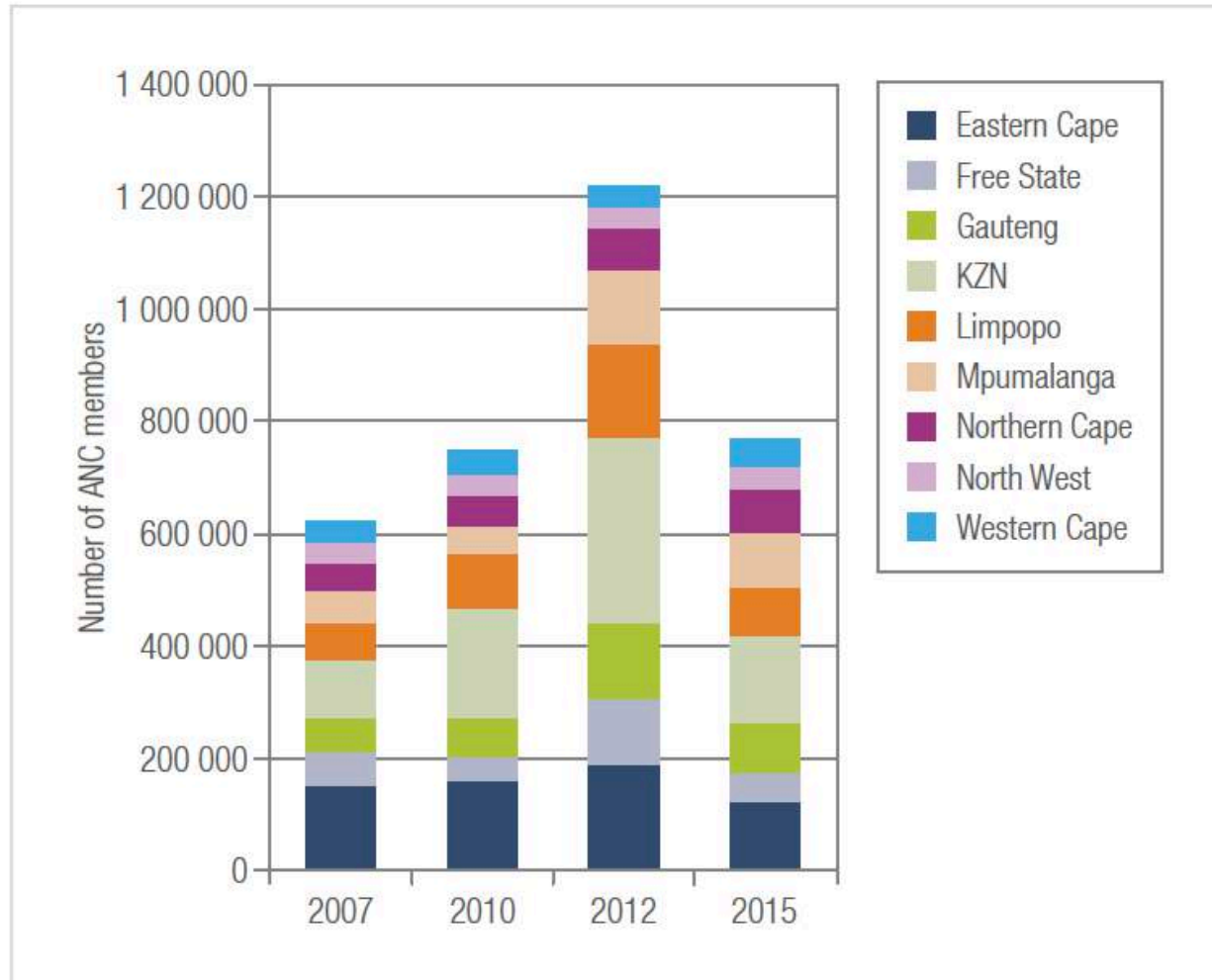
TRADITIONALISTS

- Rural, black nationalist
 - Socially conservative
 - Loyal to Jacob Zuma
 - Dominated by Zulu speakers
 - Centralised state
 - Redistributive policies and not constitutionalists
- Premier League and others

REFORMERS

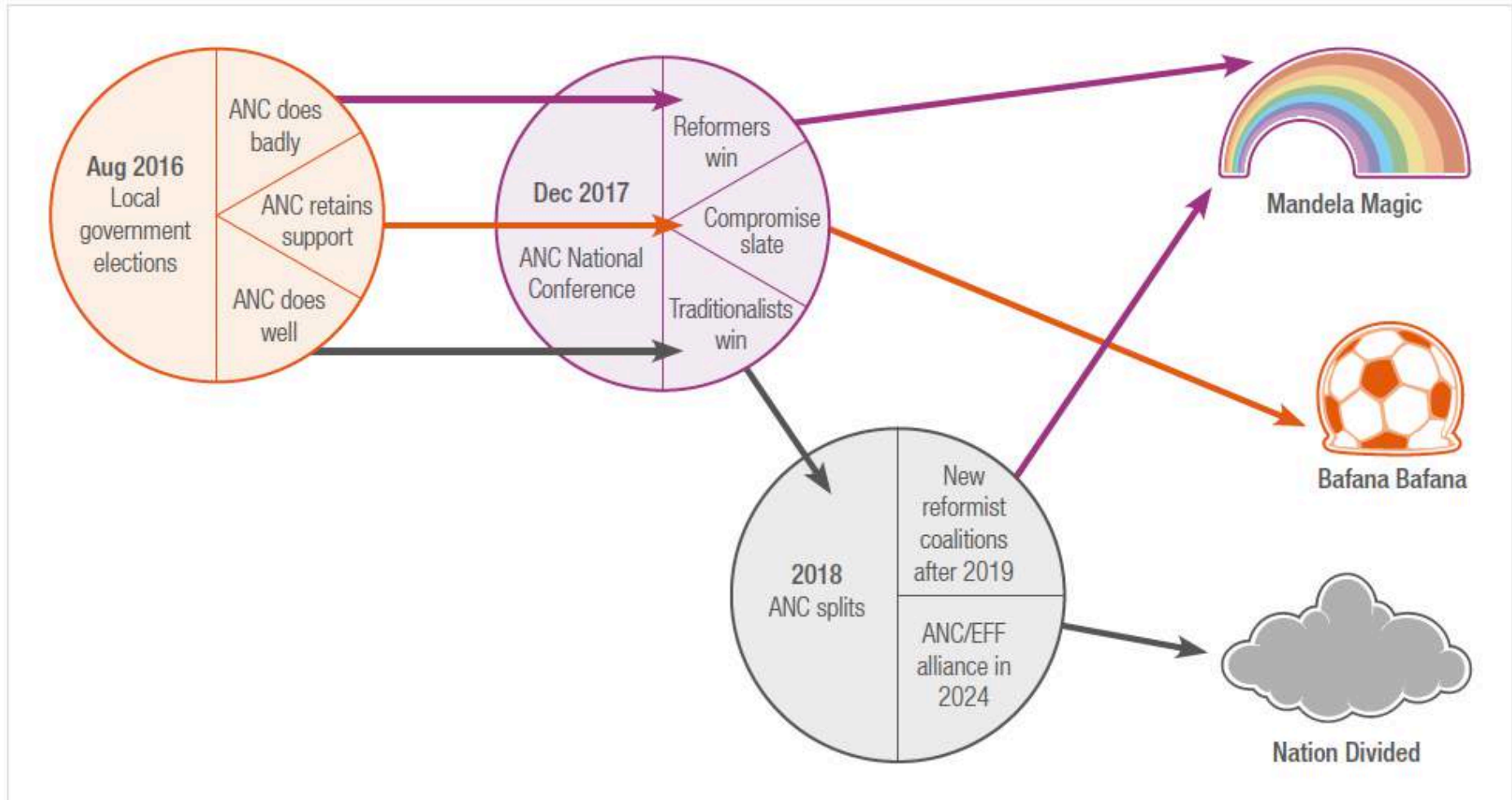
- Social democrats
 - Typically urban
 - Supported by born-free voters with jobs
 - Multi-ethnic
 - Mixed economy & inclusive economic growth
- Gauteng ANC and others

ANC MEMBERSHIPS (PAID-UP) 2007-2015



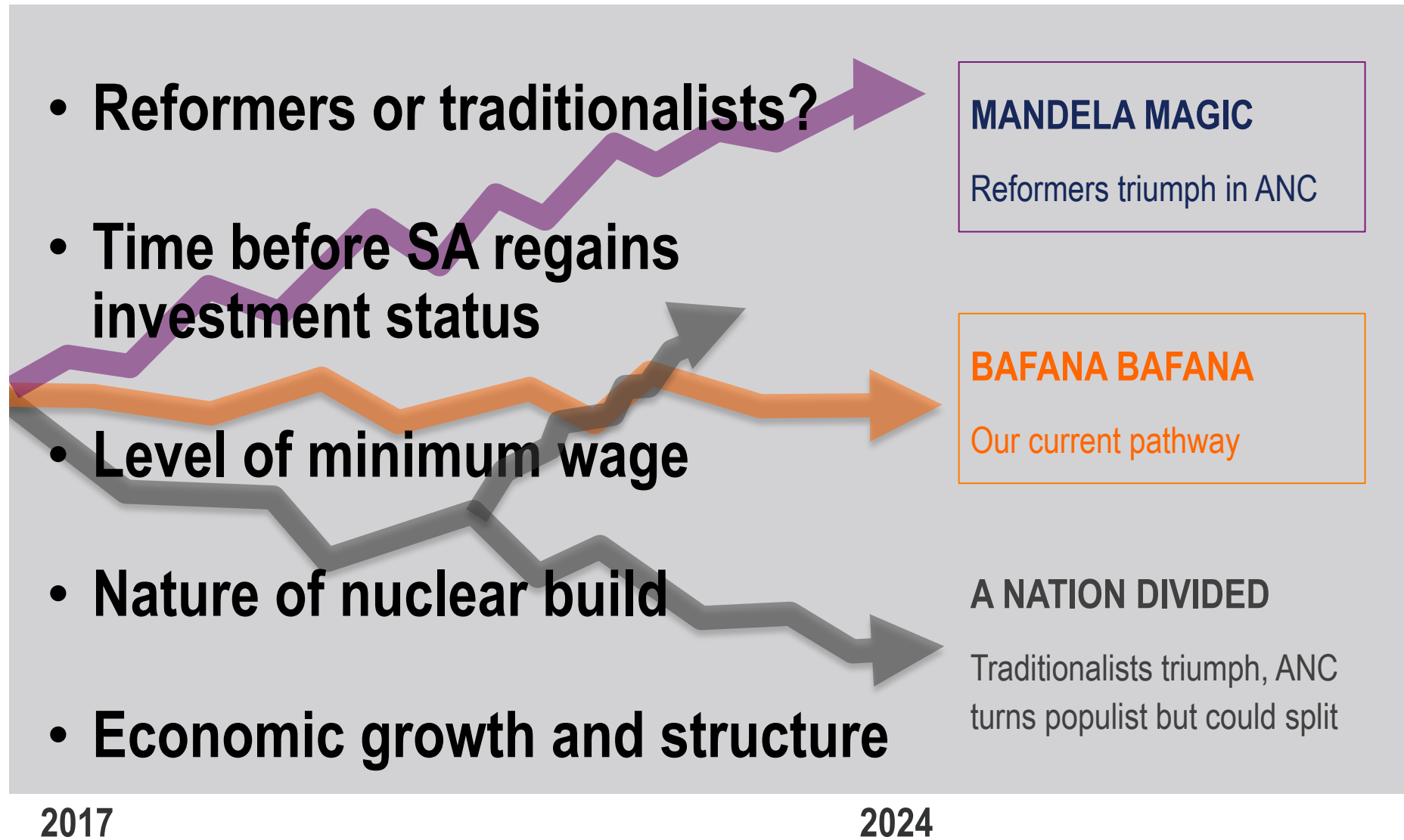
Source: ANC

FOUR SCENARIOS

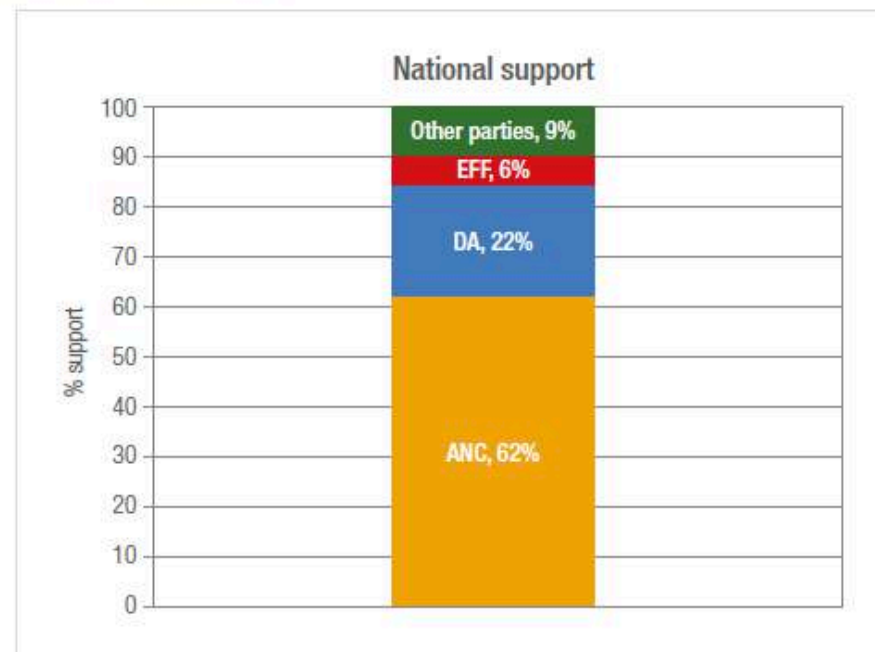
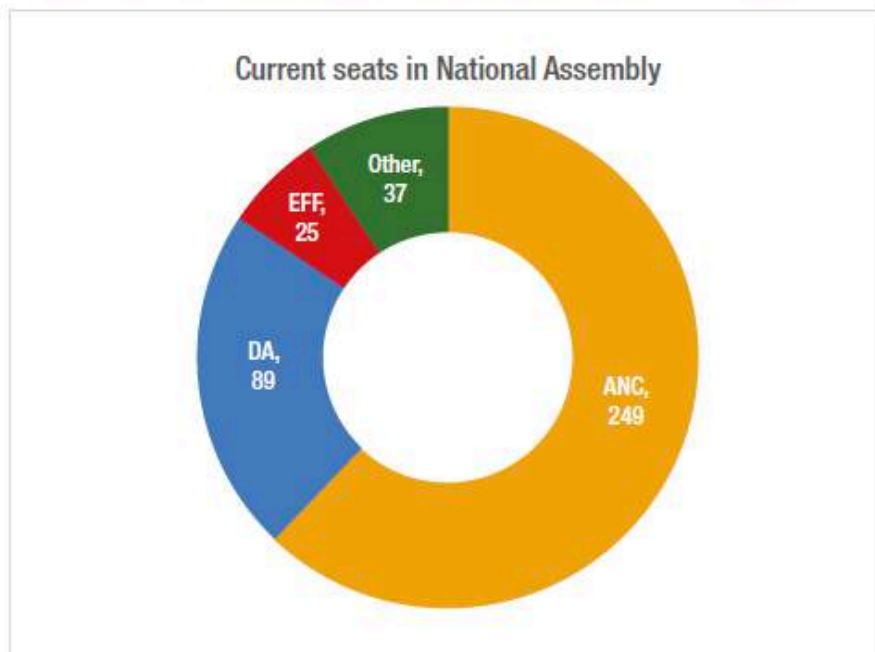


- Intra-ANC violence to inter-party violence to 3 Aug 2016
- Investment downgrade
- Increase in social discord, poverty, unemployment & crime
- ANC absorbed in internal squabbles
- Factional violence in ANC, particularly KZN
- Uncertain outcome in Dec 2017

SUMMARY OF SCENARIOS IN PAPER

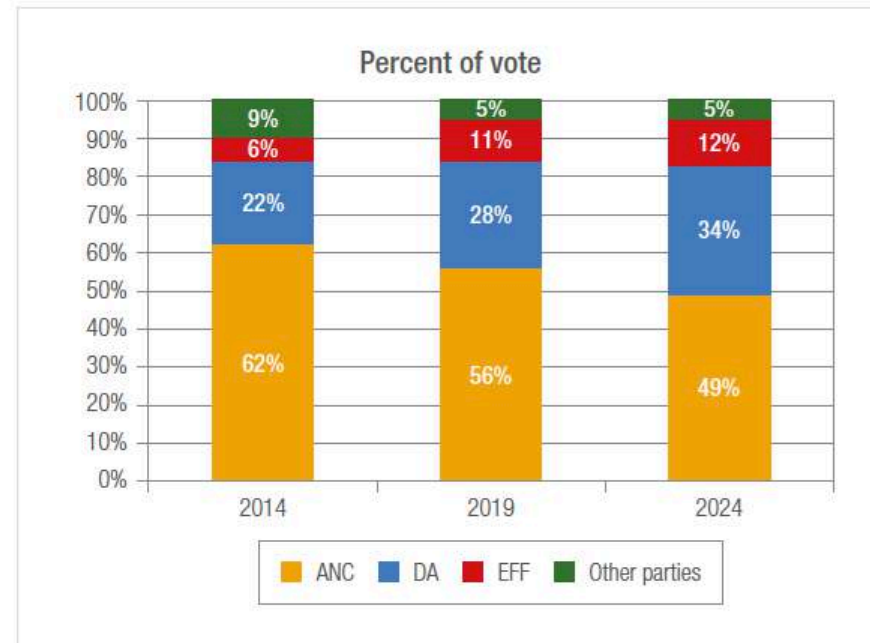
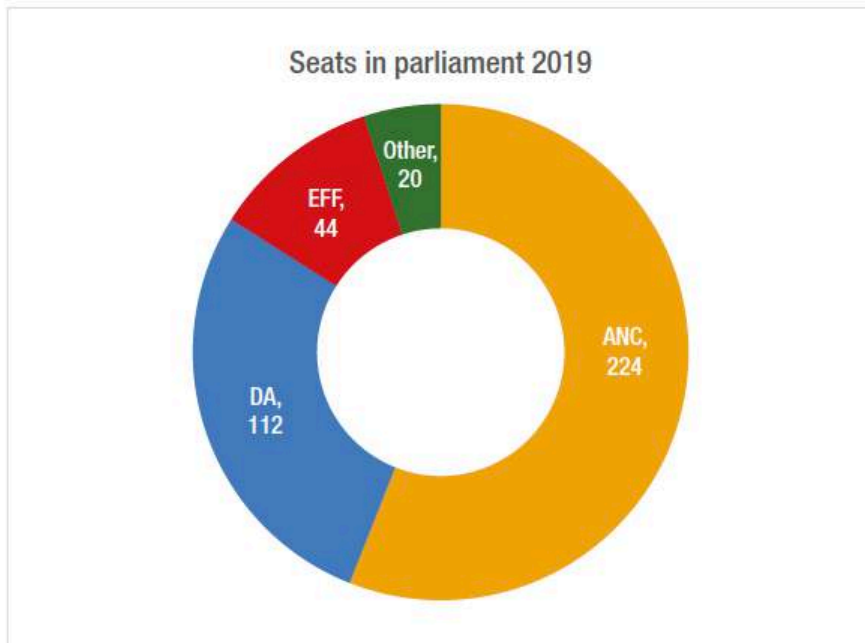


CURRENT SEATS IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

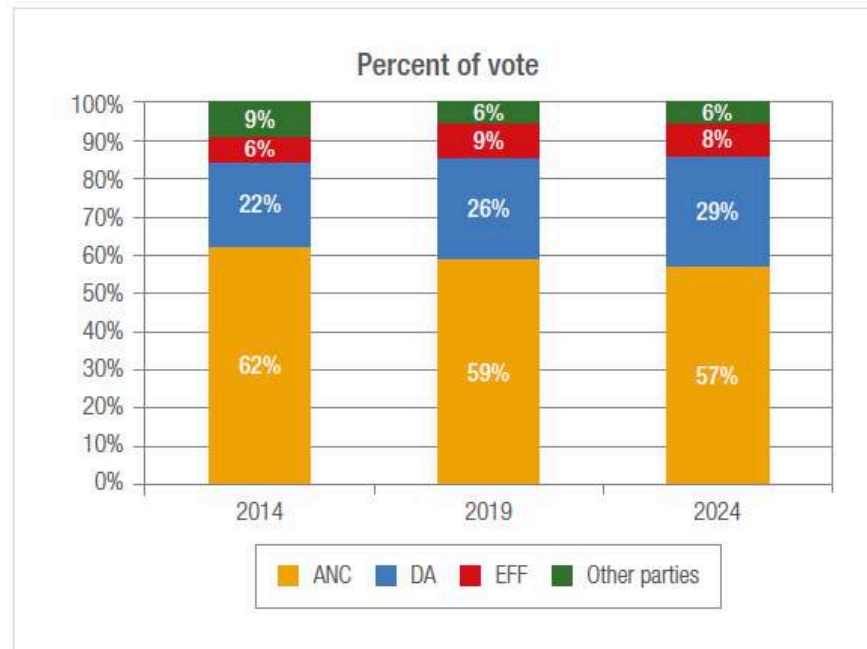
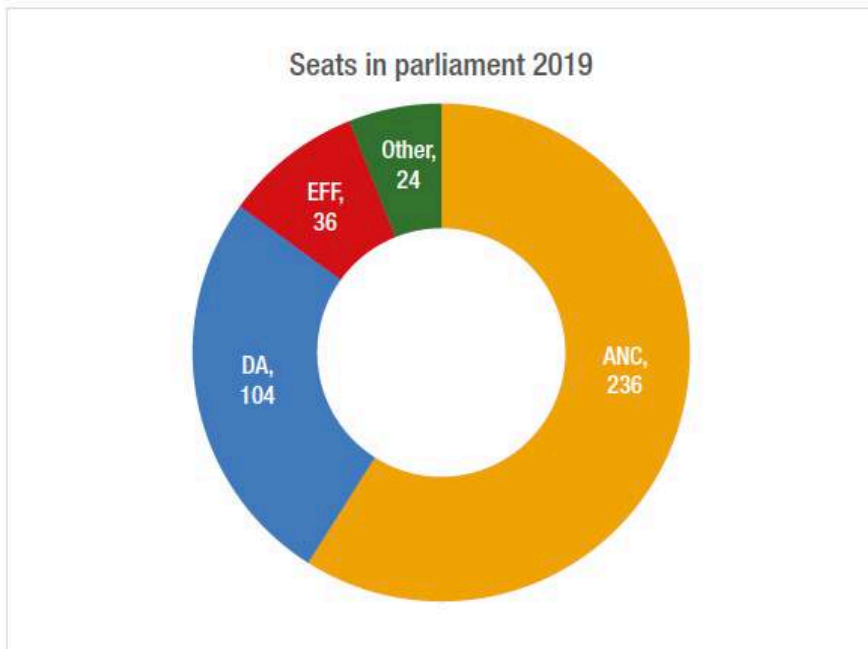


Source: Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)

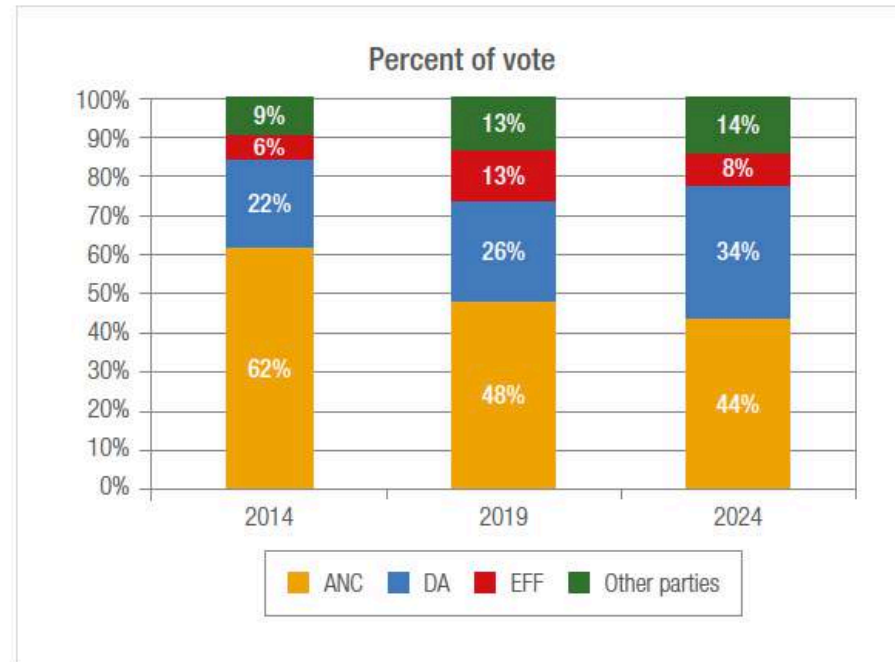
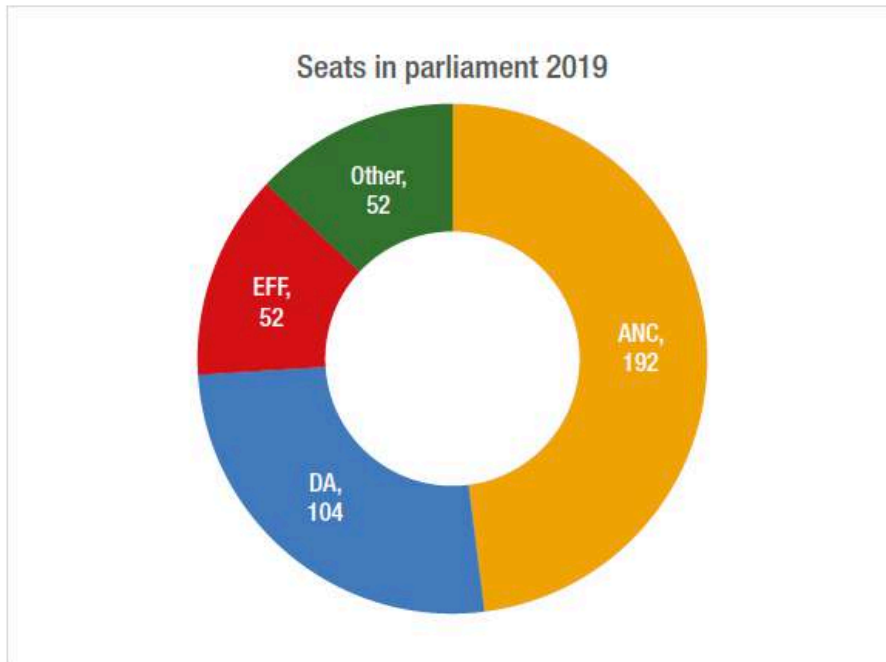
BAFANA BAFANA FORECAST



MANDELA MAGIC FORECAST



NATION DIVIDED FORECAST



Protest and violence

Where we are, where
we're headed

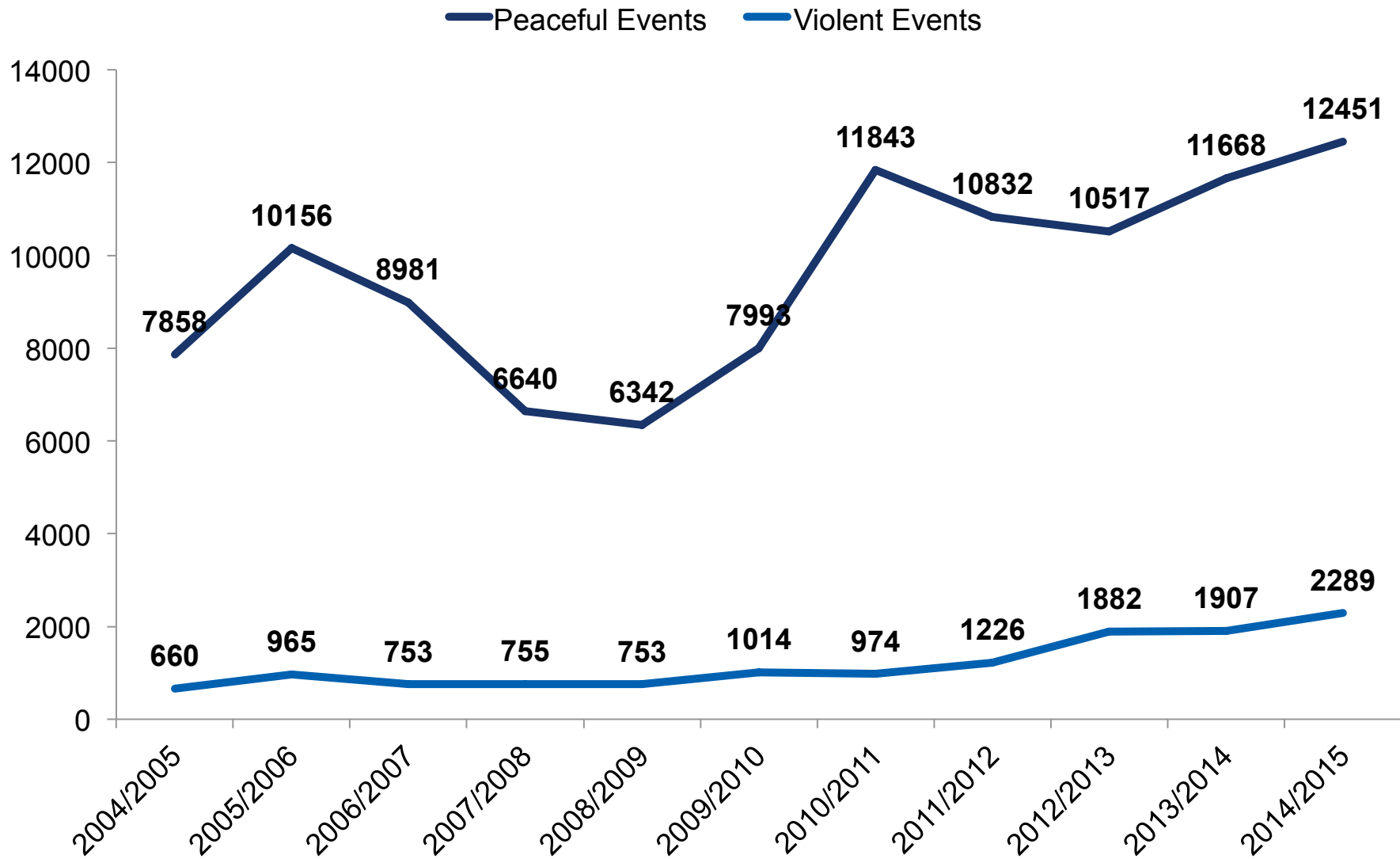
- SA culture of violence
- Large increase since 2010/2011
- Majority peaceful yet increasingly violent
- Fuelled by long-standing grievances
- Murder & armed robbery increasing since 2012

VIOLENCE - A FORM OF COMMUNICATION

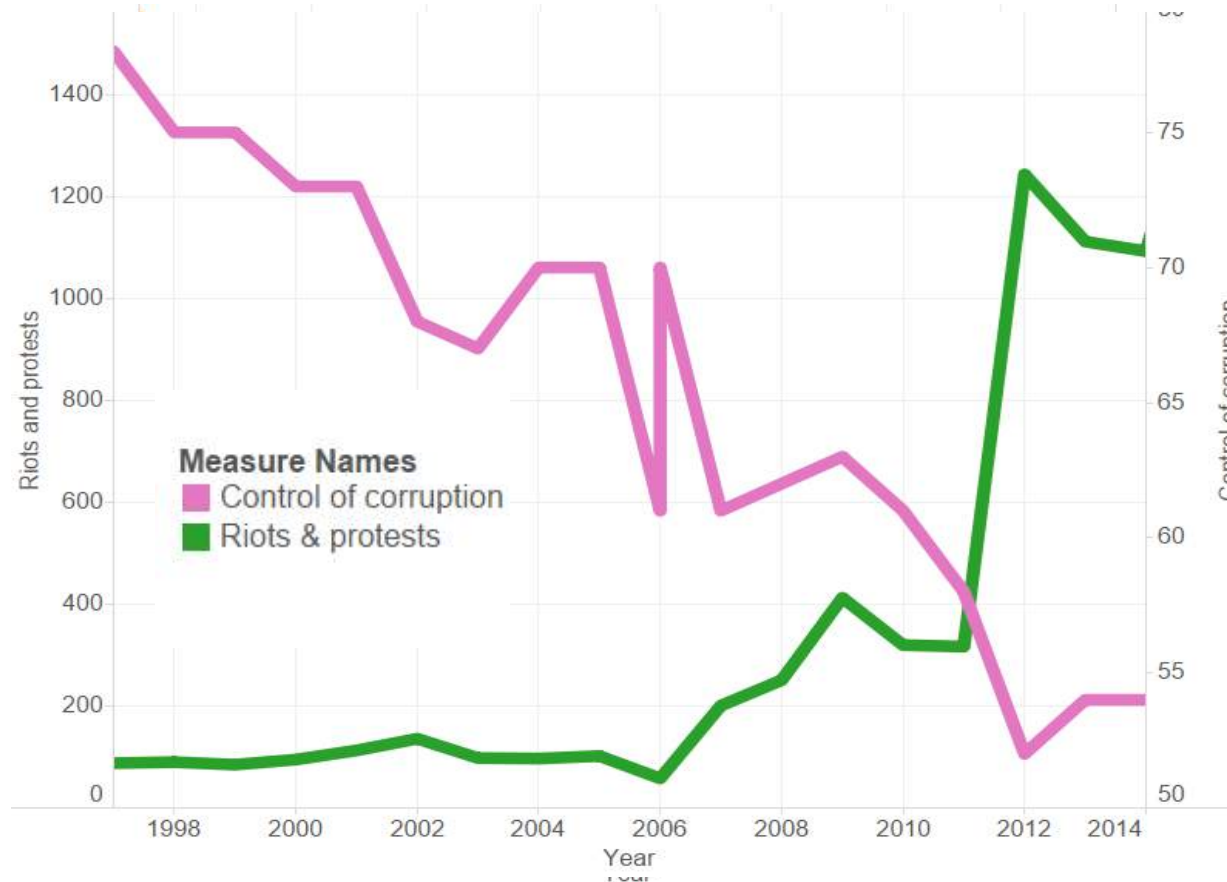
ATTERIDGEVILLE, TSHWANE, 21 JUNE 2016



SAPS PUBLIC GATHERINGS DATA, 2004/5 TO 2014/5



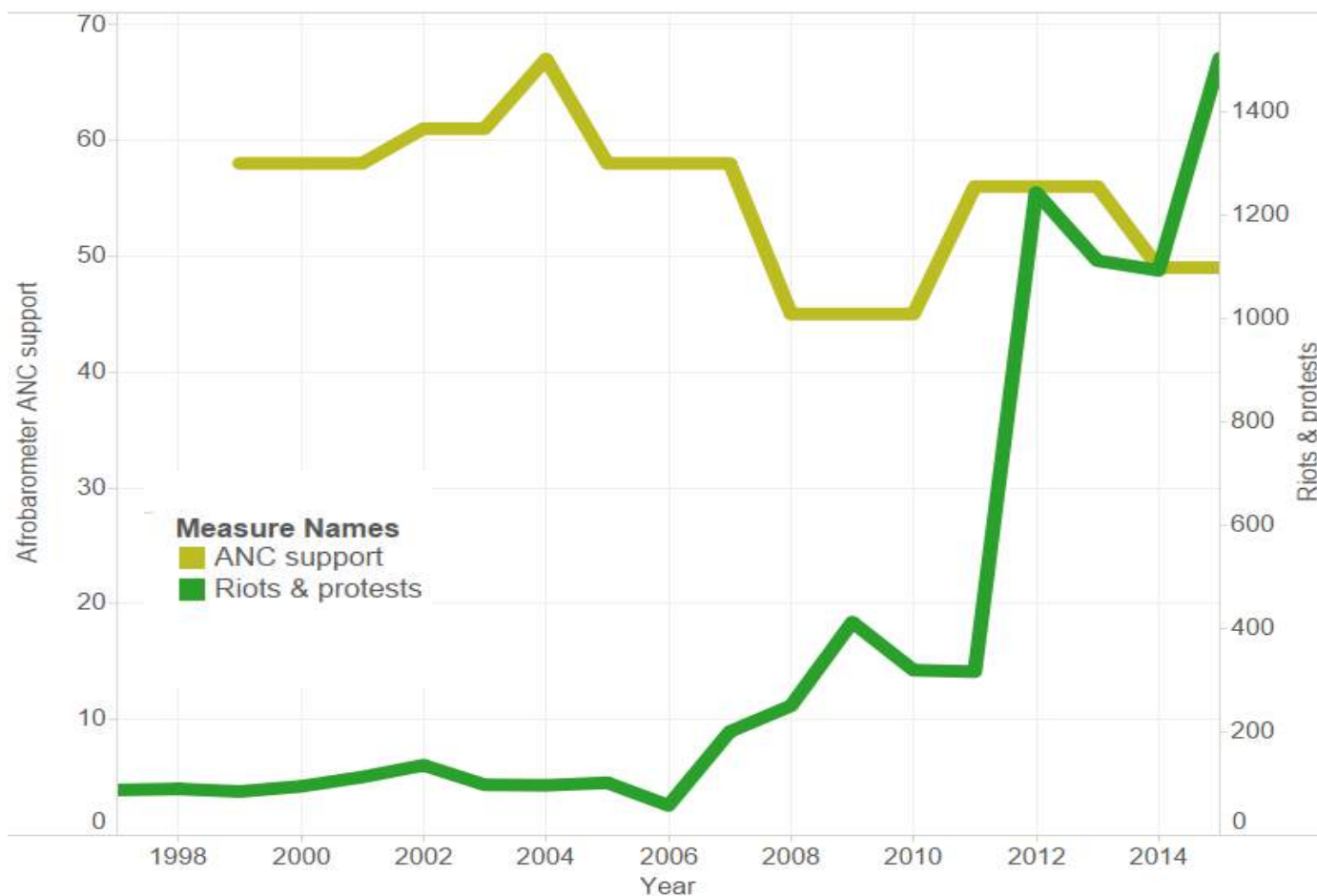
SOUTH AFRICA'S GOVERNANCE INDICATORS AND RIOTS AND PROTESTS, 1997-2014



- Inverse relationship between public perception of government effectiveness and number of riots and protests
- And with control of corruption.

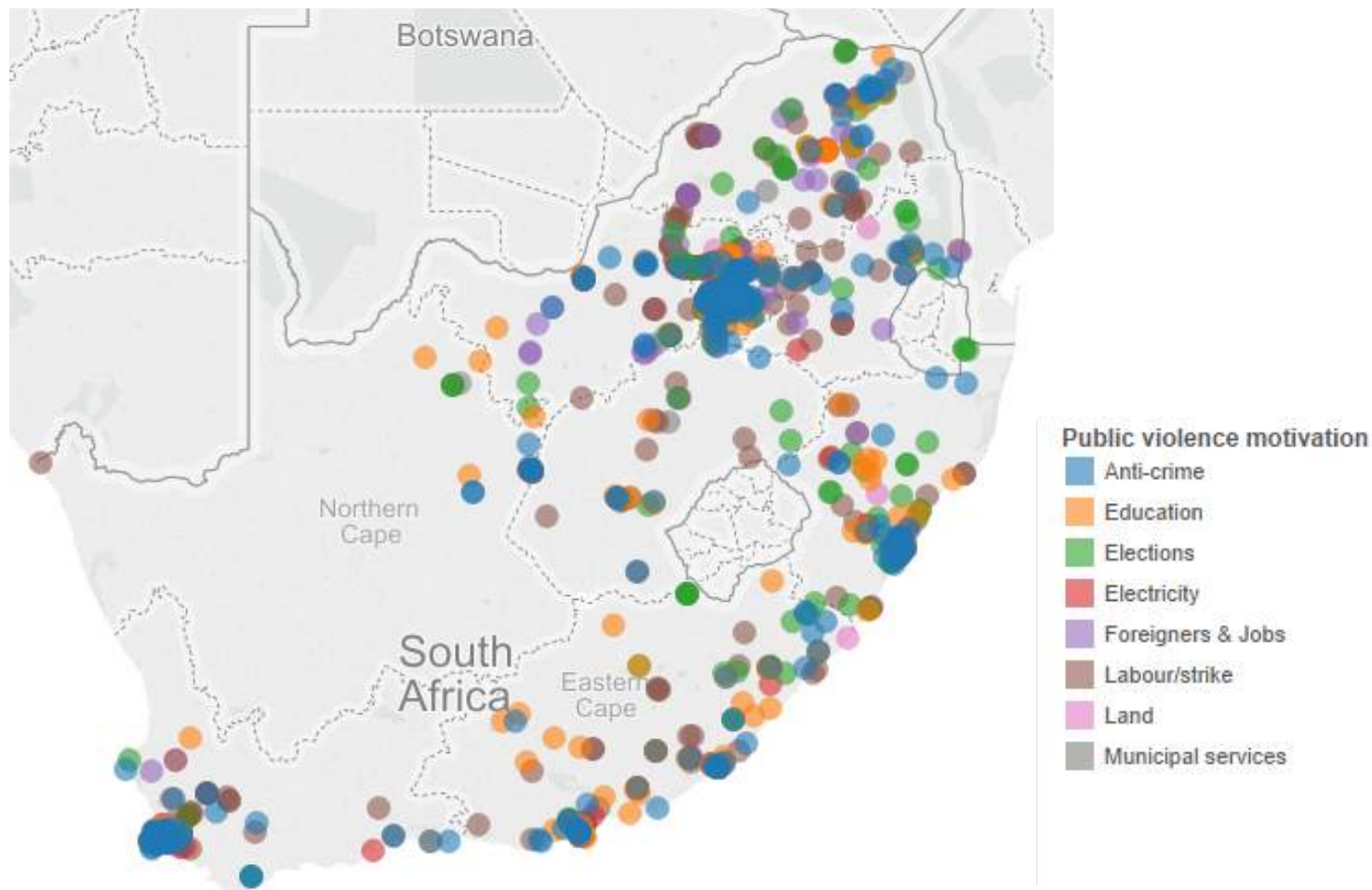
Source: ACLED, Version 6, 2016; World Governance Indicators, 2015

ANC SUPPORT AND RIOTS AND PROTESTS



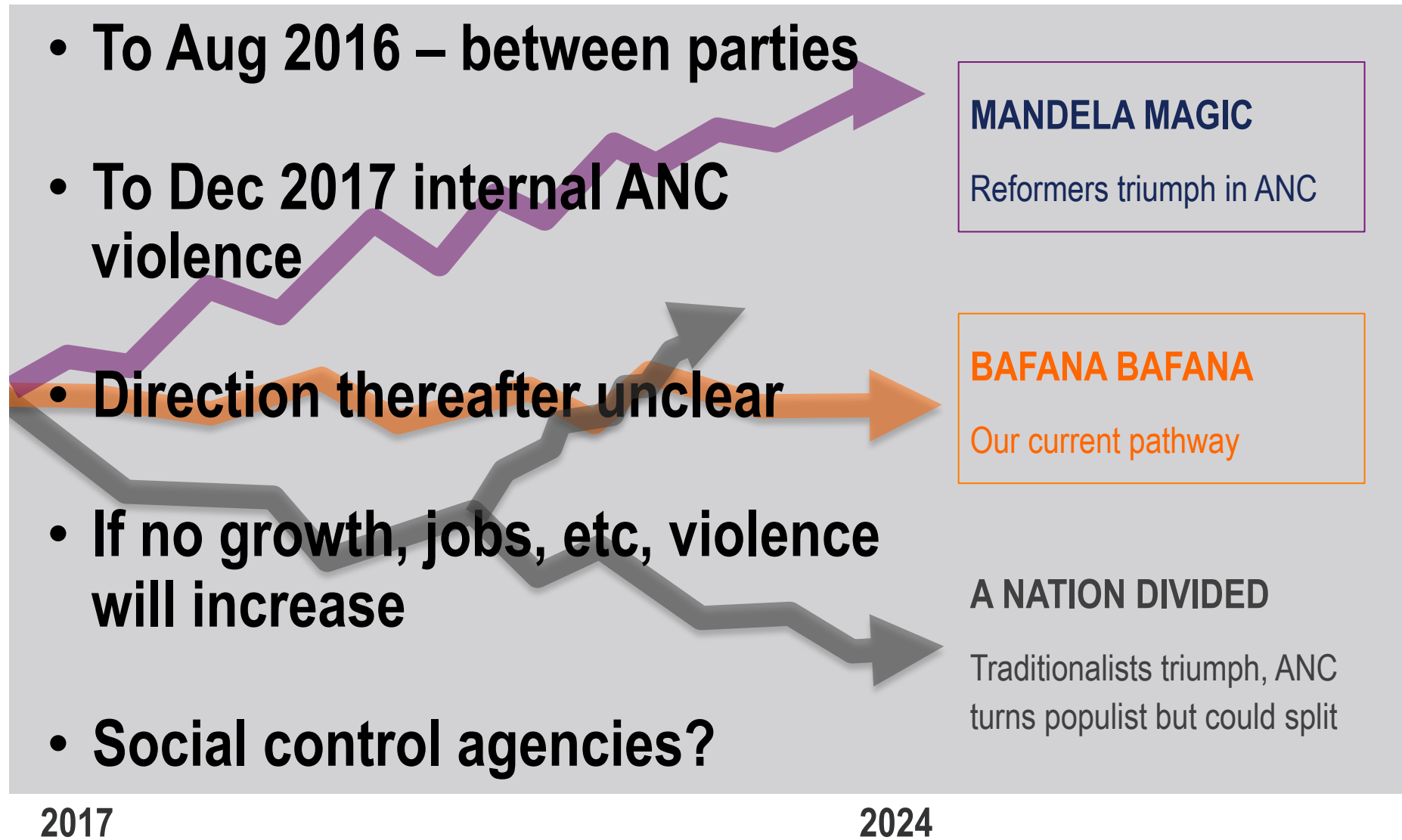
Source: ACLED, Version 6, 2016; Afrobarometer Round 6, 2016

SOUTH AFRICA PUBLIC VIOLENCE BY LOCATION AND MOTIVATION



Source: ISS Public Violence Monitor 2016

SUMMARY OF SCENARIOS IN PAPER

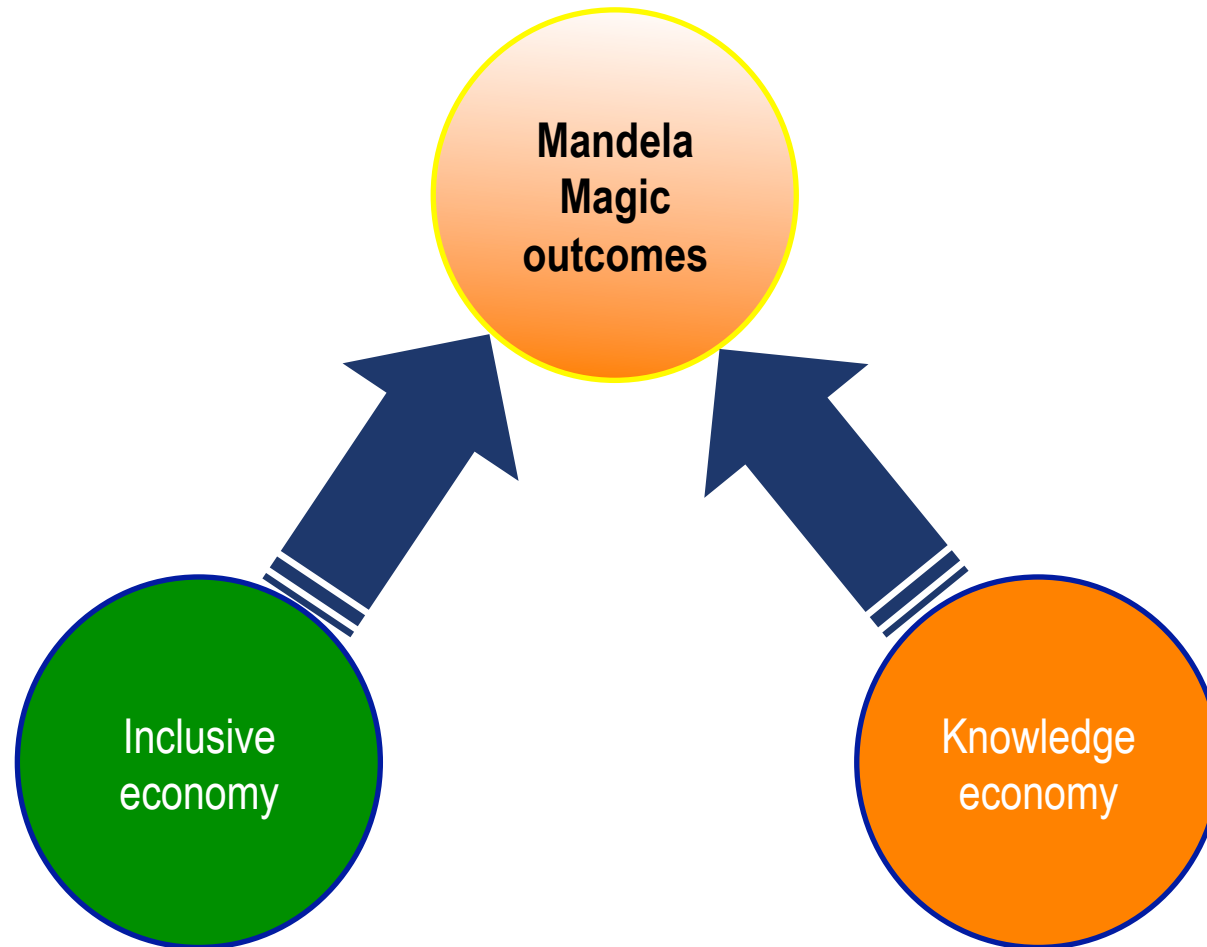


Policy recommendations & Conclusion

Things will get worse before they get better

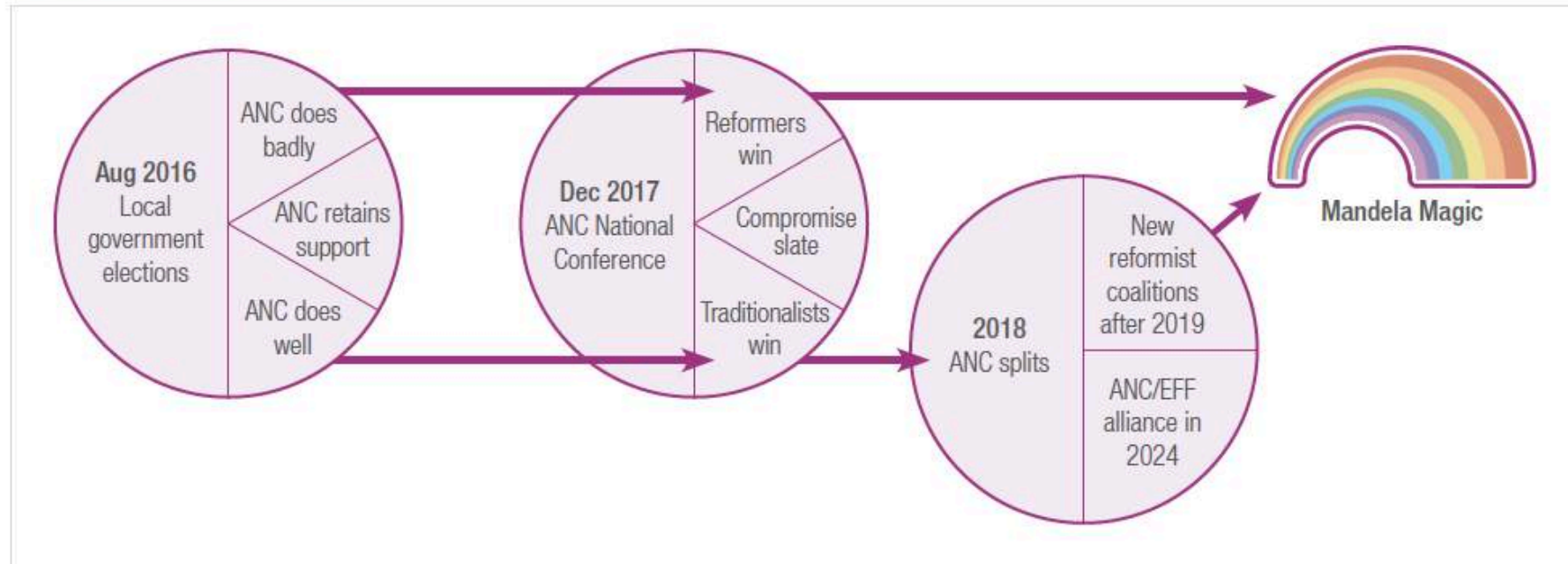


South Africa has considerable growth potential



**Only jobs can significantly reduce inequality in medium/
long term**

POLITICALLY A SOURCE OF HOPE?



- **Reclaim** political inclusion
- **Establish** economic inclusion
- Or provide coherent **leadership**



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