SOUTH AFRICAN FUTURES 2030

Electoral forecasts associated with BAFANA BAFANA, NATION DIVIDED, the FUTURE IS ANC and RISE OF MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

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#SA2030
SCOPE

Summary of South African futures 2030

Is May 2014 a reflection point?

Research and summary 2019-2029 forecast

Scenario 1 – BAFANA BAFANA – our current pathway

Scenario 2 – A NATION DIVIDED – the ANC turns populist

Scenario 3 – MANDELA MAGIC – rise of multiparty democracy

Scenario 4 – MANDELA MAGIC – the future is ANC

How to get BAFANA BAFANA to make MANDELA MAGIC
INTRODUCTION

After the death in December 2013 of the beloved and globally admired former democratic president of South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, its uncertain political 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 ANC-led government, as well as the ANC’s National Congress (NWC). 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 (NDP) and a crucial issue between the ANC and its labour federation allies, 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 weakened story of a generally underachiever, always playing in the second league when the potential for international championship success and flashes of brilliance are evident all too often.

‘Mandela Magic’ is, on the other hand, 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 a single game plan, and are consistent in execution during every match, relying on anchoring their strategy as they go along. Changing the productive structures of South Africa’s economy to compete and challenge, however, competition is stiff and the barriers to success are high.

It is important to emphasise that South Africa is not doing badly. ‘Bafana Bafana’ is simply the well-known story of the perennial underachiever. 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 a set of decisions or developments that might cause the former Rainbow-Nation to split down to even worse levels of social violence, unemployment and poor performance. This is a story of the absent coach, no game plan, and individuals who are driven only by self-interest, sometimes passing the ball, but only when absolutely necessary.

Many factors could lead to the three scenarios described in this paper. The rise and leadership of the governing ANC are central to all three storylines, for it... despite the strong disappointment with the government.
To watch the video, click here
2014 – THE START OF CHANGE?

State of the ANC?
ANC leadership?
Young voters participation?

COSATU, NUMSA and leftist workers party?
Ability of DA and others to break into black vote?

Thus: Not yet change but certainly the start of change!
CURRENT SITUATION

Note: the category 'Others' includes the Independent Democrats (ID), which is set to disappear with the 2014 elections, African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Freedom Front Plus (FF+), United Democratic Movement (UDM), United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), African People's Convention (APC), Minority Front (MF) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>IPSOS MARKINOR %</th>
<th>ANN7 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGANG</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANN – African News Network

ANN – African News Network

Hanns Seidel Foundation & Open Society Foundation South Africa
WHAT WE DID?

Interrogated party-political implication of each of scenario

Forecast total South African population then Eligible Voting Age Pop (EVAP)

Estimated registration and voter turnout for each scenario for 2014, 2019, 2023 & 2029

Completed party support levels in %

Calculated seats in parliament (ranging from 48 200 votes per seat in 2014 to 53 000 votes per seat in 2029)

Results highly speculative – but useful framework for analysis
TOTAL SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION PER SCENARIO

- **BAFANA BAFANA**
- **MANDELA MAGIC**
- **A DIVIDED NATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2024</th>
<th>2029</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50,000,000</td>
<td>55,000,000</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
<td>65,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 2014: 50,000,000
- 2019: 55,000,000
- 2024: 60,000,000
- 2029: 65,000,000
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moderate decline in ANC support in May 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voter apathy and opposition support increase thereafter – but none decisive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacklustre implementation of National Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results based management slips as cadre deployment continues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex &amp; contradictory regulatory environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSATU steadily loses support but NUMSA party does not excite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education continues slow improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fracking stimulates economy post 2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International position steadily declines – loss of leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But life not bad for middle and upper class despite high levels of crime and corruption</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A NATION DIVIDED

MANDELA MAGIC
Rekindling the best in us

BAFANA BAFANA
Our current pathway

A NATION DIVIDED
The ANC turns populist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC does badly, NUMSA launches party to left &amp; COSATU splits</td>
<td>Labour unrest continues, investing in South Africa ‘risky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmoil in ANC</td>
<td>• Provinces reject nationally imposed leadership • NDP formally abandoned but no clear replacement although ANC adopts series of populist policies including restrictions on foreign ownership, land redistribution, minimum black ownership quota’s ahead of 2019 elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By 2017 international credit rating at junk status</td>
<td>Higher social grants and increased security expenditure crowd out education and infrastructure – debt increases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased crime &amp; violence, corruption up, social tension</td>
<td>A lexicon of race, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism from a country with a diminishing international voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despite lower energy requirement – nuclear…</td>
<td>Smaller economy = lower employment = higher unrest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A NATION DIVIDED

Western Cape
Northern Cape
Eastern Cape
KwaZulu-Natal
Limpopo
Mpumalanga
Gauteng
Free State
North West
Northern Cape
ANC majority
ANC largest party
DA majority
Left party majority

ANC 152
EFF, 4
Others, 16
IFP, 4
DA, 116
Left, 108
MANDELA MAGIC – MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

MANDELA MAGIC
Rekindling the best in us

BAFANA BAFANA
Our current pathway

A NATION DIVIDED
The ANC turns populist

DA does well and through leadership renewal maintains its momentum

ANC concerned – internal reform to improve delivery

Labour less important
- COSATU splits and then splinters
- NUMSA establishing left wing party but no momentum
- Greater labour market flexibility and thus employment

Social compact amongst key sectors to implement NDP

Quality of national, provincial and local government improves

Easing of regulations = larger role for private sector

Larger economy = larger employment = reductions in inequality…
…but needs more energy, emits more CO²

South Africa an investment destination and gateway to Africa

A race to the top as ideological grandstanding gives way to technocratic, consultative management

South Africa eventually also associated with MINT countries
MANDELA MAGIC – MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

[Map of South Africa showing party strengths in different provinces]

- ANC, 172
- DA, 160
- Western Cape
- Eastern Cape
- Northern Cape
- Mpumalanga
- Limpopo
- KwaZulu-Natal
- North West
- Free State
- Gauteng
- Eastern Cape
- Western Cape

Legend:
- ANC majority
- ANC largest party
- DA majority
- New party majority

Others, 28
Left, 40
MANDELA MAGIC – THE FUTURE IS ANC

MANDELA MAGIC
Rekindling the best in us

BAFANA BAFANA
Our current pathway

A NATION DIVIDED
The ANC turns populist

MANDELA MAGIC – THE FUTURE IS ANC

Introspection, internal reform and appointment of strong executive deputy president/change in president

Split in COSATU enables ANC to implement NDP with support from compliant labour partner

Social compact amongst key sectors

Stability and predictability attracts local and foreign investment

Leadership commitment to rule of law - inquiry into policing, improvements in security

Transformation to a capable civil service and a harmonising of contradictory regulations

Larger economy = larger employment = reductions in inequality…

…but needs more energy, emits more CO²

Continued ideologically orientated foreign policy - South Africa continues to seek leadership in Africa

Maintains its African and global position as member of BRICS

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SCENARIO SUMMARIES

2013
GDP of
R3.5 trillion
GDP per person
R109 000

Ave growth 5.1% pa

Ave growth 3.8% pa

Ave growth 2.6% pa

MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY
- COSATU splinters
- DA and others gain support igniting healthy multiparty democracy
- Social compact on NDP

THE FUTURE IS ANC
- ANC appoints a strong deputy president and implements the NDP with Cosatu support

Voter apathy but opposition parties unable to excite born frees despite uninspiring ANC leadership

2030

MANDELA MAGIC
GDP of R8.2 trillion
GDP per person R166 000

BAFANA BAFANA
GDP of R6.6 trillion
GDP per person R145 000

A NATION DIVIDED
GDP of R5.5 trillion
GDP per person R127 000

- COSATU splinters and left-wing parties gain support
- ANC responds with populist policies
ABSOLUTE POVERTY NUMBERS (MILLION PEOPLE BELOW R14/DAY)

Million people

2013 2016 2019 2022 2025 2028

BAFANA BAFANA MANDELA MAGIC A DIVIDED NATION
Electoral Reform

Report of the Electoral Task Team

January 2013
Introduce mandatory voting for local, provincial and national elections coupled with an additional ‘none-of-the-above’ option on ballot paper.