South Africa ushered in a new era in 1994 with its first non-racial democratic elections. In ten years, the country has recorded some remarkable successes in guaranteeing democracy and improving the quality of life for millions of its citizens. Africa represents one of humanity’s great triumphs.

But as Bhorat said, “What is success, what is failure? Time alone will tell,” and of course, many challenges remain and new ones have emerged. The great uncertainties of our times include: the threat posed by HIV and AIDS; the changes in the weather patterns; how to build a world class economy and successfully deal with what Bonhoffer has called “the folly of evil.”

But while we celebrate the successes of the past decade, we must also focus on the future. The occasion of the tenth anniversary of freedom was an opportune time to think about the future South Africa will have to create if it is to guarantee freedom and improving the quality of life for millions of its citizens. South Africa represents one of humanity’s great triumphs.

In the early 1990s, a group of South Africans representing a wide spectrum of opinions, met regularly over a period of several months in an exercise that contributed towards shaping the future of the nation. That exercise produced the Mt. Fleur scenerios—fascinating and probing stories of how South Africa might develop between 1992 and 2002 under different strategies. South Africa rejected the “Ostrich scenario” that characterized the status quo, and embarked upon a strategic path that resembles in many respects the scenario called “the Flight of the Flamingos”. I was fortunate to participate in that fascinating and illuminating exercise.

This set of scenarios explores plausible futures for South Africa, provides key messages on how a desirable future could possibly be created, and identifies the pitfalls that must be avoided. As the players in this exercise the young leaders from a broad spectrum of ideas, philosophies, and backgrounds in South Africa: potential occupants of the leadership cadre of the nation by 2020. The team was enriched by six young leaders from other regions in Africa for an external African perspective on the issues South Africa may face. And it will stimulate a collective reflection on the kind of future South Africans want to build.

It is for this reason that the University of Western Cape has sponsored this initiative, South Africa 2020, as a follow-up to the Mt. Fleur Scenarios.

The players in this exercise were twenty-three dynamic young leaders from a broad spectrum of ideas, philosophies, and backgrounds in South Africa: potential occupants of the leadership cadre of the nation by 2020. The team was enriched by six young leaders from other regions in Africa for an external African perspective on the issues South Africa may face. I thank the participants who gave generously of their time and intellect over the year, and the many distinguished guest speakers who shared their knowledge and perspective on the issues South Africa may face.

But as Bonhoffer said, “What is success, what is failure? Time alone will tell,” and of course, many challenges remain and new ones have emerged. The great uncertainties of our times include: the threat posed by HIV and AIDS; the changes in the weather patterns; how to build a world class economy and successfully deal with what Bonhoffer has called “the folly of evil.”

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The celebratons at the end of the second decade of freedom focused on the achievements made in reaching the Millennium Development Goals. The emerging strategy developed earlier a decade ago was reviewed and updated to address new challenges facing society.

The development path pursued reinforced the strong anchor and community development aspects that have always been a feature of our society. As people looked to their local councils and MPs for delivery in terms of priorities which they were part of setting, there was an increase in the sense of accountability between councillor and constituency. To take this model forward, South Africa also adopted a mixed proportional representation and consociational based system at national and provincial government levels after the 2014 elections.

As the institutions of the state, including the criminal justice system and various oversight bodies, acted more visibly in the interests of ordinary people, confidence in these institutions grew.

The President, in her state of the nation address in 2020, proudly announced that for the first time, not a single South African was living in destitution, that South Africa had achieved a mix between formal and local community and cooperative sectors playing a complementary and reinforcing role, ensuring that all South Africans are on the train to prosperity. Poverty has fallen to 15% and GDP growth has doubled over two decades.

Inequality is an ongoing challenge for our country. The inequality we face today is the direct result of the systemic inequality and institutional racism which was a part of the apartheid system. South Africa is a diverse society and the challenges we face are many. Various surveys show that there is limited trust in the institutions of government.

The future is what we make of it. In South Africa we are proud to be building a just, non-racial and non-sexist society, where opportunities for a better life are within reach of all South Africans.

The changes in South Africa were possible through the deliberate cultivation of a culture of dialogue, participation, responsibility and collective action that substituted the individualistic "get rich quick" culture. The dual economy of rich and poor became a dual carriageway, with the mix between formal and local community and cooperative sectors playing a complementary and reinforcing role, ensuring that all South Africans are on the train to prosperity.

The President in her state of the nation address in 2020 made it clear that for the first time, not a single South African was living in destitution. The South African sentencing guidelines have ensured that there is a consistent and transparent approach to justice. To take these issues forward, partnerships will be difficult to build. We also appreciate that high levels of maturity will need to be exercised in arriving at the trade-offs that will need for collective appreciation of the complex challenges facing our society and that to address them may require changing attitudes and direction. Without a shared appreciation of the challenges we face, partnerships will be difficult to build. We also appreciate that high levels of maturity will need to be exercised in arriving at the trade-offs that will inevitably need to be made. We call for the enduring partnerships seeking win-win solutions but we appreciate that the politically and economically strong will have to support the weak for the optimal development of our society. A caring society will only emerge if we forge such symbiotic partnerships based on social solidarity and a common desire to uplift our society and reduce its inequalities. As a group, we hope that these scenarios will contribute towards debates as we look forward to our second decade of freedom.

The South African state is a mix of White rule, apartheid and Black rule, emerging from the defeat of the ANC and the victory of the rainbow nation. The ANC has a wide range of views and strategies as to how South Africa should proceed. The ANC is a mix of traditionalists, reformist and revolutionaries.

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Looking ahead, the challenges are clear. The country still faces the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Crime remains a problem. South Africa is still a divided society.

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Launchd in November 2003, the team met over a period of 10 months in five workshops and a series of sub-committee meetings. AfLI developed a scenarios approach which was used by the team. The approach focused on dialogue and consensus building amongst the broad spectrum of opinion reflected in the diverse team, around critical issues of today and tomorrow. It involved an interactive process of examining the South African context both local and external to distill the array of variables, forces and uncertainties into a limited set of divergent, interesting, simple and plausible stories of how the future could unfold, with the aim of delivering powerful messages on the choices and issues facing South Africa (see Figure 1). Between the workshops, the participants undertook assignments and participated in a series of online dialogues over a private space created for the SA2020 exercise on AfLI’s website. Experts were brought in to stimulate thinking and challenge accepted norms and received wisdom during the workshops.

This publication presents the outputs of South Africa 2020: Creating the Future exercise which include this report and the enclosed DVD/CD-ROM. The SA2020 exercise, designed and coordinated and facilitated by the African Leadership Institute (AfLI), is a futures creating exercise which explored the future of South Africa until the year 2020 from the perspective of the youth. Under the guidance and facilitation of AfLI, the team was challenged with reflecting on and providing answers to: What are the dominant issues South Africa will face over the next 15 years, at home and as part of the African continent? How do we tackle these issues to ensure a better South Africa and Africa for all? What could be the outcomes of tackling these issues in different ways? What Scenarios do they see for the future of South Africa, and what messages do these deliver? What South Africa do they wish to inherit as the leaders in 2020? What are the critical leadership capabilities that this next generation of leaders need to have to deliver the desired future, and how do we build this leadership capacity?
END OF THE FIRST DECADE OF FREEDOM

Following the ‘miracle’ transition of 1994, South Africa concentrated her efforts to consolidate democracy and political stability, to diversify its political system and lay the foundations to eradicate the social and economic legacy of apartheid. In 2004, as South Africa celebrated the end of the first decade of freedom, many achievements were noted:

- A stable and working democracy and public institutions have been formally put in place.
- Laws, policies and institutions have been deracialised; and
- Human, political and socio-economic rights and equality are entrenched in the constitution;

...
knowledge), their access to finance, as well as their means of living (food, assets and income) through robust government engagement. During the last 16 years a few key programmes were prioritised.

Key among these lead programmes was capacity building for developmental local government. It included the redeployment of many senior public servants from provincial and national levels and secondments from the NGO and private sector. Early childhood development centres were set up in communities, increasing the school-readiness of children and freeing parents to engage in economic activity. Community development and training programmes were implemented to develop community-based management skills. Local government, working with Community Development Workers, NGOs and CBOS, played an important role in initiating, coordinating and supporting prevention, treatment access and compliance and home-based care programmes and ensuring access to sufficient nutrition required to take the treatment.

The state and private sector invested in establishing R&D centres to investigate diseases. This enabled South Africa to later become a leader in addressing new and more effective. Local government, working with Community Development Workers, NGOs and CBOS, played an important role in initiating, coordinating and supporting prevention, treatment access and compliance and home-based care programmes and ensuring access to sufficient nutrition required to take the treatment. An effective anti-retroviral drug programme became universally available as the health system was strengthened and became more effective. Local government, working with Community Development Workers, NGOs and CBOS, played an important role in initiating, coordinating and supporting prevention, treatment access and compliance and home-based care programmes and ensuring access to sufficient nutrition required to take the treatment.

The programmes coordinated and implemented at local level included an expanded public works programme, registering all people eligible for social assistance and free basic services, providing common land for housing settlements were built near social and economic amenities, reducing transport and other service costs. People are used as the basis for the development of infrastructure, housing and the creation of new local level economies. The state and private sector invested in establishing R&D centres to investigate diseases. This enabled South Africa to later become a leader in addressing new and more effective. Local government, working with Community Development Workers, NGOs and CBOS, played an important role in initiating, coordinating and supporting prevention, treatment access and compliance and home-based care programmes and ensuring access to sufficient nutrition required to take the treatment.

Some energy projects grew into large-scale projects while others were used as pilot studies by the Department of Minerals and Energy to determine their sustainability. By 2015, the forces of globalisation were presented as irresistible (there is no alternative to globalisation). Despite the advances, the world has also been characterised by a widening gap between rich and poor countries, and between the rich and poor within countries. There is greater awareness that we need to act together to ensure greater sustainability, for present and future generations.

The creation of the African Union and its various institutions and programmes was an attempt by the continent to take its destiny into its own hands. Africans are reclaiming responsibility for the social and economic development of the continent, for ensuring that the continent has more opportunities to participate in shaping its future. It provides a common platform for the continent to engage with the world, and to take its place as an equal partner in the global village.

The African continent has largely been marginalised in the global economic scene and is part of the South that has not benefited from the developments of the last decade or so. South Africa’s experience in the 1990s and other developments on the continent provided an opportunity to reduce poverty, disease, wars and famine. The creation of the African Union and its various institutions and programmes was an attempt by the continent to take its destiny into its own hands. Africans are reclaiming responsibility for the social and economic development of the continent, for ensuring that the continent has more opportunities to participate in shaping its future. It provides a common platform for the continent to engage with the world, and to take its place as an equal partner in the global village.

South Africa’s development is closely linked to that of the Southern African region and the continent as a whole. It provides a common platform for the continent to engage with the world, and to take its place as an equal partner in the global village.

The global and continental context is an important backdrop against which the birth of the South African nation and its development over the next sixteen years will unfold. This global and continental context is an important backdrop against which the birth of the South African nation and its development over the next sixteen years will unfold. It provides a common platform for the continent to engage with the world, and to take its place as an equal partner in the global village.

The first steps have been taken to eradicate apartheid backlogs in social services and providing millions more with access to water and sanitation, electricity, housing, health, education and communications. More people have been included in a broadened social security net. From stagnant growth in 1994, South Africa achieved macro economic stability, improved revenues and a modest 2.8% growth over the decade. It rapidly opened its economy without large-scale de-industrialisation, it diversified and grew its export markets. Despite these achievements, there are a number of plus-factors as a result of the legacy of the past: unacceptable levels of poverty and a persistent uneven distribution of income, assets, wealth and jobs. It is clear that the challenges are immense and the road ahead is long, not only in terms of creating the conditions for sustained and rapid growth, but also of fighting the cycle of poverty, disease, wars and famine.

The world we live in

In 1994 many South Africans looked to the future with hope and optimism. The creation of the African Union and its various institutions and programmes was an attempt by the continent to take its destiny into its own hands. Africans are reclaiming responsibility for the social and economic development of the continent, for ensuring that the continent has more opportunities to participate in shaping its future. It provides a common platform for the continent to engage with the world, and to take its place as an equal partner in the global village.

South Africa achieved its democracy in a world, which has increasingly become globalised in a post cold war geo-political setting, with many advances in nearly all aspects of human development, the ending of apartheid and an open market economy. When the ANC won in 1994, it was seen as a new chapter in the history of South Africa.

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The world we live in
In the meantime South Africa's economic growth from 1991 - 2002 averaged a mere 2.8% per year compared to the over 6% attained by Nigeria, Botswana, Algeria and Mauritius. Poverty levels had not dropped and inequality had in fact increased. There was increasing activism and agitation around the lack of delivery of basic services, slow transformation in the economy and the slow pace of land reform.

South Africans accepted that political democracy would struggle to flourish in an unequal society where the masses remained poor and unemployed.

South Africa was keen to learn from international best practices but realised it also needed to draw on the strengths, experiences and wisdom of its own people and history. Strengths such as its active citizenry organised as communities, associations, and sectoral organisations, as social, business and political movements or simply as individuals making a difference.

As 2004 drew to a close, increasing calls were made from different sectors of society for a rapid move towards an inclusive economic and social development path.

A groundswell of public opinion, especially from grassroots level, resulted in the country’s leadership increasingly beginning to define a vision for the society based on the values of ubuntu: self-reliance, solidarity, participation and collaboration. The informal or secondary economy is intervened upon to ensure it can generate sustainable livelihoods.

During the first few years much emphasis was placed on strengthening developmental local government and local participation. Communities, civil society and local government came together to map out ways of reversing the downward economic cycle in townships, informal settlements, small towns and rural areas. The Integrated Development Plans born at local level influenced national debates and policy, highlighting the need for a two track path: on the one hand, interventions into the second economy to improve the productivity of the informal sector and build sustainable livelihoods and, on the other hand, the transformation of the first economy so that it could be more inclusive and meet the needs of a developing country.

The approach to building sustainable livelihoods was primarily aimed at increasing the productivity of the 23 million people living below the poverty line. Measures include concerted efforts to support and expand their capabilities (education, health, information and
A drought just ahead of the 2010 World Cup, followed by floods in the DRC and the SADC region saw a slowdown in growth. South Africa was lucky to record a 2.5% growth rate on the back of a successful World Cup. A drought just ahead of the 2010 World Cup, followed by floods in the DRC and the SADC region saw a slowdown in growth. South Africa was lucky to record a 2.5% growth rate on the back of a successful World Cup.

The 2004 national elections and reflections on the first decade of freedom sparked a national debate about what needed to be done during the second decade regarding the transition, South Africa is still confronted with some of the same challenges faced by the Mandela government in 1994: how to reduce inequality and build a better life for all of its people.

By 2020, more than a quarter of a decade after its culture of instant gratification and quick fixes. For them the current leadership is stuck in the past and is way too cautious. Change has not occurred at a fast enough pace for the who had high expectations of democracy and freedom in the 90s and who are informed by the global kwaito generation.

Celebrations for the second decade of freedom in 2014 were marred by the fact that the Millennium Goals would not be achieved for another decade. In the 2014 electorate, a new party, the Civil Society Imbizo, had entered the fray. Its support came from the unions, youth and women's liberation and various sectional organisations whose main concerns were poverty and unemployment. Amidst apathy, the ruling party won with a much-reduced majority, the Civil Society Imbizo capturing 10% of the vote.

Over the next five years a weaker ruling party continued to steer a cautious middle path amidst growing discontent from opposition parties, from the community, the markets and investors.

The younger generations found themselves, by and large, outside the ‘traditional’ modes of participation in society and were largely spectators in the national debates. Change has not occurred at a fast enough pace for the who had high expectations of democracy and freedom in the 90s and who are informed by the global kwaito generation.

Nevertheless, initiatives to deal with poverty, inequality and unemployment have not been sufficiently bold or imaginative. The promised "better life for all" seemed to have receded into the distant horizon. The government’s promise of a "society that will have proudly taken its place within the world community of nations, as an economic and political equal. Our continent, the origin of humankind, has also lifted itself out of the cycle of poverty and marginalization. Though the world is still unequal, there is a growing force of alternative voices raising the call to improve the world for all its inhabitants and for future generations.

In its scenario exercise, the SA2020 group imagined a future South Africa that is vibrant, diverse and caring and which draws on the best of all who live in it. We would like to see a South Africa, we said to ourselves, that will be “an inclusive, prosperous and just society founded on the values of ubuntu, equality and freedom, fostering creativity and innovation both at home and abroad”.

We imagine a South Africa that will have proudly taken its place within the world community of nations, as an economic and political equal. Our continent, the origin of humankind, has also lifted itself out of the cycle of poverty and marginalization. Though the world is still unequal, there is a growing force of alternative voices raising the call to improve the world for all its inhabitants and for future generations.

Public opinion is evident in the shock results of the 2019 elections. For the first time since 1994, no party has an absolute majority in parliament. It’s all about the dual carriageway.
The seeds for the future are already present today, as we continue to grapple with how to build a better country, continent and world, for everybody. There are some who believe that the future of Africa lies in the hands of the business elite. This may be the case in the developed world, but not in Africa. The pursuit of individual wealth, as quickly as possible, and the display of that wealth – be it through, for instance, big business or the exorbitant compensation for land expropriated for a general sense of things fall apart. There were high expectations of the micro finance assistance funds, but quibbling between NGOs and the Department of Trade and Industry resulted in delays of a few years. The resultant loss of productivity in the private sector and the effects on the public sector in terms of health, education and AIDS orphans prompted more urgent action to overcome the challenges.

As the first decade of freedom draws to a close, there is a sense of optimism, that we will be able to resolve the more pressing problems facing our society. There are others who warn against complacency, that we seem to sleep too easily, living with extreme poverty and wealth as bed fellows.

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However, by this point, government was beholden to business and changing gear would mean alienating its most attentive supporters. Coming out of the sharp right turn was proving to be difficult for the majority. For unskilled workers, finding and staying in a job became a battle. Many working class people found themselves in sweatshops in the export oriented industrial processing zones.

By 2014, the majority of voters were young and first-time voters who did not have the same loyalties as those who had suffered under apartheid. They, along with the disappointed disillusioned older voters, voted for change in the words of the Provisional Government. Those with good fortune celebrated the elections. In the lead-up to the elections, civil society activists and unions formed a number of radical parties to contest the elections winning a sensible number of seats. They accuse the ruling party of being out of touch and not representing the majority. It reaffirmed its commitment to eradicate poverty and unemployment and continued therefore on the same trajectory, but managed to maintain a majority by making inroads into the white constituency.

The results forced government to introduce its election promises of a Basic Income Grant and free basic services. It was, however, too little too late and widespread social protest ensued. SLOWS PUNCTURE

In 2016, four of the radical parties formed the New Socialist Coalition to contest local government elections, and became the official opposition in many local governments. In 2016, four of the radical parties formed the New Socialist Coalition to contest local government elections, and became the official opposition in many local governments. The 2019 elections are fiercely contested and the New Socialist Coalition won a slight majority on the promise that they would reverse the right turn of the governing party 15 years ago. The 2019 elections are fiercely contested and the New Socialist Coalition won a slight majority on the promise that they would reverse the right turn of the governing party 15 years ago.

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Amendments were made to the Labour Relations Act, formally allowing for a two-tier labour market, with less stringent protection of workers in industrial processing zones and in small and medium businesses. A national youth employment scheme was also introduced, with subsidies to businesses that employed school-leavers in apprenticeships. When the unions protested, they were branded as being selfish and caring only about themselves while millions of people were unemployed and selling to work at any price. An aggressive drive was mounted to liberalise the economy, deregulate, increase competition, reduce unemployment, and make the country more attractive to both tourists and investors.

Conscious of the need to ensure that the benefits of the recovery had not trickled down to the poor as fast as promised, the President promised in her election campaign to raise corporate taxes by one percent to help pay for the introduction of a Basic Income Grant and the reintroduction of free basic education, and in small and medium businesses. A national youth employment scheme was also introduced, with subsidies to businesses that employed school-leavers in apprenticeships. When the unions protested, they were branded as being selfish and caring only about themselves while millions of people were unemployed and selling to work at any price. An aggressive drive was mounted to liberalise the economy, deregulate, increase competition, reduce unemployment, and make the country more attractive to both tourists and investors.

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