



**STADIO ACADEMIC
CONFERENCE 2024**

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The quest for balance

The relevant curriculum for South Africa

K Sithole
25 September 2024

MAY 13, 2019

TIME

The World's Most Unequal Country

Johannesburg, South Africa, suburbs
Primrose, left, and Makause

time.com

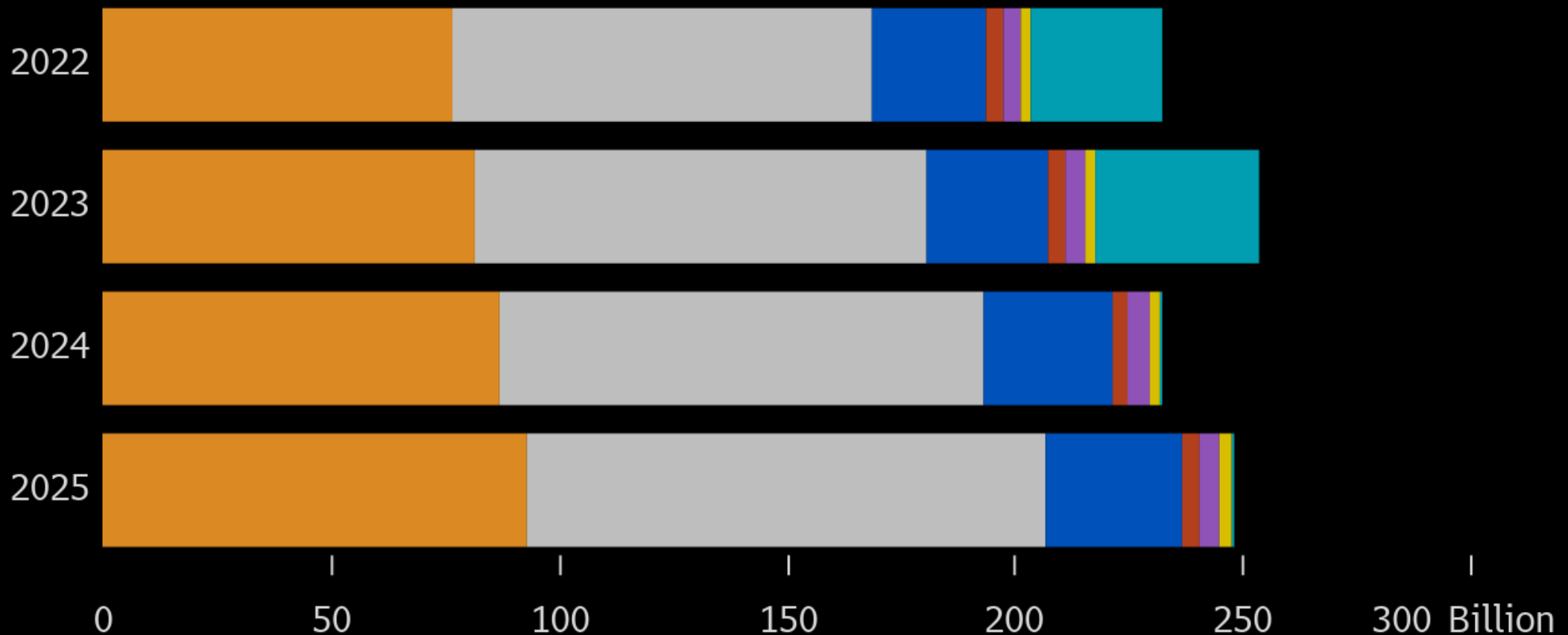
Grants – including Covid grant

Year	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23
Old Age Grants	3 423 337	3 553 317	3 676 791	3 722 675	3 774 604	3 886 708
War Veterans Grant	134	92	62	40	25	15
Disability Grants	1 061 866	1 048 255	1 042 025	997 752	1 004 798	1 035 437
Gant-In-Aid	192 091	221 989	273 922	267 912	283 771	328 507
Care Dependency Grant	147 467	150 001	154 735	150 151	153 768	156 982
Foster Child Grant	416 016	386 019	355 609	309 453	294 031	274 130
Child Support Grant	12 269 084	12 452 072	12 787 448	12 992 589	13 166 342	13 147 937
Total	17 509 995	17 811 745	18 290 592	18 440 572	18 677 339	18 829 716
Covid-19 Grants (est)				8 500 000	9 000 000	7 690 106
Value	R150bn	R162,7bn	R190,3bn	R218,9bn	R222,7bn	R232,7bn

South Africa Social Grant Coverage Is Expected to Increase

Forecast excludes extension of social relief stipend beyond 2024-25

Child support Old age Disability Foster care Care dependency
Grant-in-aid Social relief of distress



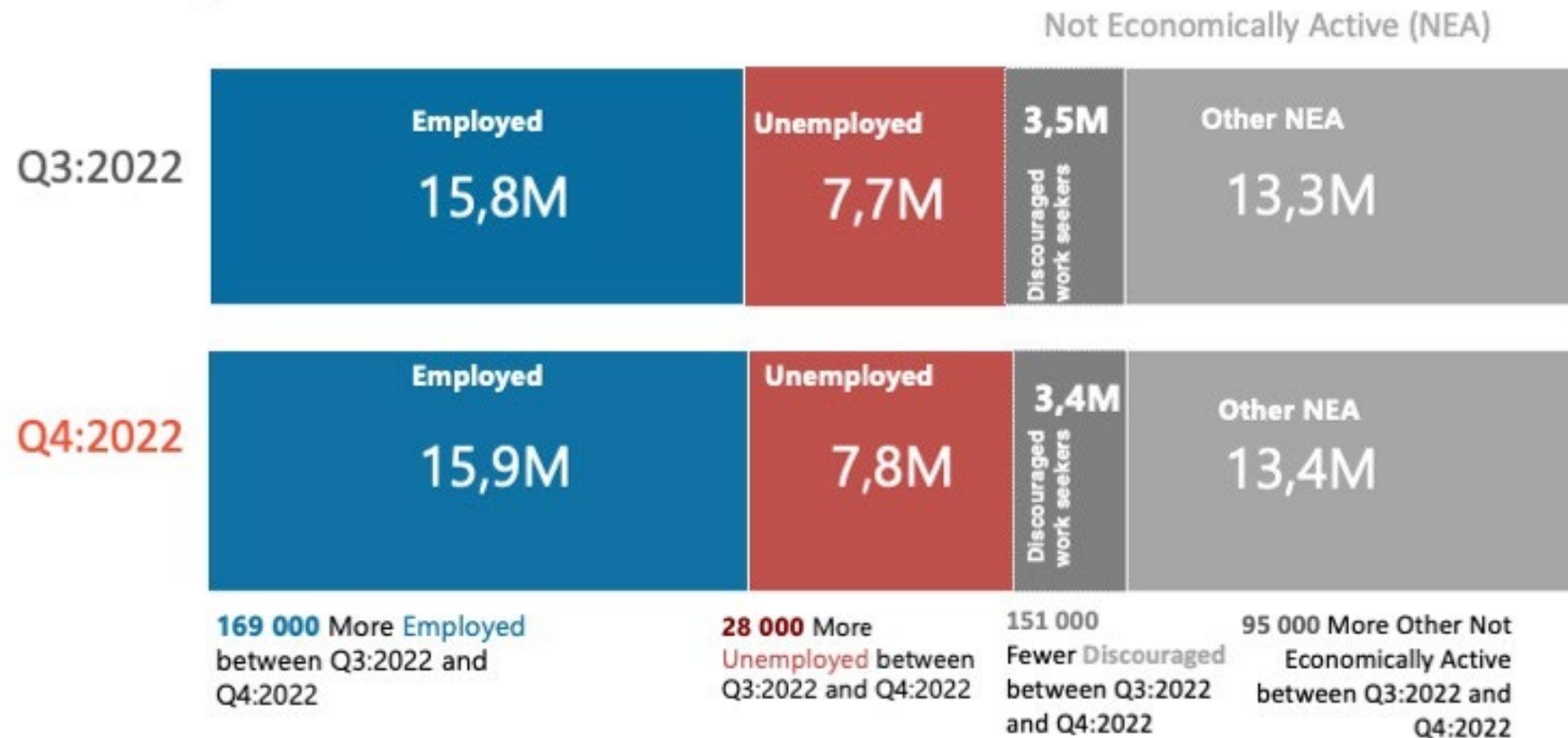
Source: National Treasury

Note: Chart shows data for fiscal years ended March 31

Bloomberg

The scale of disaffection amongst the documented

There were about **28 thousand** more people who were unemployed in Q4:2022 than in Q3:2022





NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL
ELECTION

WEDNESDAY
29 MAY 2024

“Beyond the fulfilment of our constitutional obligation, these upcoming elections are also a celebration of our democratic journey and a determination of the future that we all desire. I call on all South Africans to exercise their democratic right to vote and for those who will be campaigning to do so peacefully, within the full observance of the law. We also urge unregistered voters to use the online registration platform to register”

- President Cyril Ramaphosa



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



2024 Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa

Elections representing nearly 250 million sub-Saharan Africans will take place this year.

- 1 Comoros Jan. 14**
Presidential;
gubernatorial
- 2 Senegal Feb. 25**
Presidential
- 3 South Africa May–August**
Presidential;
parliamentary; local
- 4 Madagascar May**
Parliamentary
- 5 Mauritania June 22**
Presidential
- 6 Rwanda July 15**
Presidential;
parliamentary
- 7 Mozambique Oct. 24**
Presidential; legislative
- 8 Chad October**
Presidential;
parliamentary; local

- 9 Botswana October**
Parliamentary; local
- 10 Guinea-Bissau November**
Presidential
- 11 Namibia November**
Presidential; parliamentary
- 12 Ghana Dec. 7**
Presidential; parliamentary
- 13 South Sudan December**
General




Note: Tunisia and Algeria will hold presidential elections late this year. They are not included here because they are located in North Africa, not sub-Saharan Africa.

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Agenda

- 2024 Election outlook across the globe
 - New changes in the electoral landscape – parties, process, polls giving mixed signals
 - The fate of the big incumbents
 - The effects of the great exodus within the ANC
 - The economic outlook after the great scramble
- 

A turning point where nothing much turns?

- 2024 – a more contested, diverse and expensive election in South Africa
- **What it is** – a litmus test of democracy's ability to withstand threats to its pillars of fairness, trust, integrity in order to deliver credible elections and accepted results (the legitimacy dimension)
- An election subject to misinformation, disinformation, nationalism and populism

A turning point where nothing much turns?

- More parties have emerged + independents
- Big 3 parties and their plateau moments – where do they grow from?
- Costs of reaching the electorate and encouraging participation

A

Illustration: KAREN MOOLMAN



A turning point where nothing much turns?

- **What it is** – a litmus test of democracy's ability to withstand its pillars of fairness, trust, integrity in order to deliver credible elections and accepted results
- IEC under increasing scrutiny
- Electoral court and judiciary must be vigilant
- Safety concerns – revival of 1994 – KZN and MK Party

A turning point where nothing much turns?

- An election subject to misinformation, disinformation, nationalism and populism
- Capitalising on the accountability vacuum of modern communications
- Wider reach and wider scope for manipulating opinions and influencing attitudes ahead of the vote
- Nationalism and populist sentiments will rise

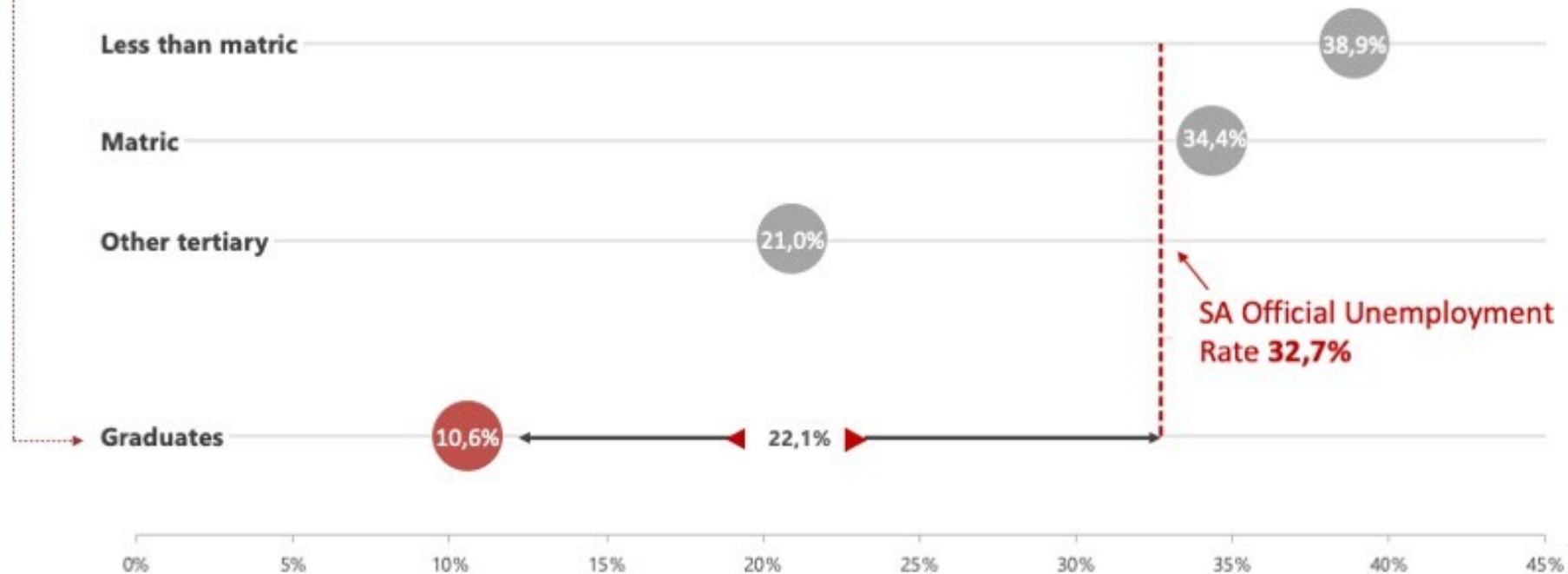
A turning point where nothing much turns?

- **What it isn't** – a 1994 moment...
- 1994 – currency of the ballot box undisputed – where was it lost?
- Service delivery protests – 2004 to today
- Vuwani – 2016 → #FeesMustFall – 2015 to today
- North-West ANC – 2018 → July Riots – 2021
- The migration across different forms of poverty...

Does higher education make a difference?

Graduate unemployment rate (10,6%) is 22,1 percentage points lower than the national official unemployment rate.

Official Unemployment rate Q4:2022



IMPROVING LIVES THROUGH DATA ECOSYSTEMS

Quarterly Labour Force Survey Q4:2022

Mending broken sociopolitical compact

- Getting the social wage to be the **springboard** for economic autonomy
- Addressing the '**proximal crisis**' points – things that are evident and painful right now: **Energy, Education, Employment, Economy** → Equitable social outcomes
- Creating a pathway towards the ultimate turning point – fundamentally fixing a broken society

The crux of the problem – the broken sociopolitical compact

- Given the limited reach of higher education and its dire outcomes across and within institutions – the socioeconomic exclusion persists and is deepening
- Foundational problems in higher education impact the transition towards economic participation and undermine national development

Performance of higher education system

Graduation rates % – regulation time	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Overall
3-year degrees	20	20	26	43	29
4-year degrees	30	28	31	47	36
3-year diplomas	16	27	27	38	20
All qualifications	20%	24%	28%	44%	27%
Attrition – first year	34	39	34	29	33
Overall attrition – regulation time	42	47	39	33	40
Graduation rates – 5 years	30%	31%	31%	47%	35%

Source: DHET – A proposal for undergraduate curriculum reform (Ndebele, 2012)

A turning point where nothing much turns?

- 1994 – currency of the ballot box undisputed
- What could make it a 1994 moment?
- **Participation** – young and disaffected voters
- **Political education** – beyond political party rhetoric
- **Party diversity** – more choices to engage more voters; affected by multifaceted barriers to access – costs; rules of eligibility

A turning point where nothing much turns?

What could make it a 1994 moment?

- → Participation – registration ~ turnout
- → Political education
- → Party diversity

Current evidence

- Low participation rates across different areas of the country; poor civic education everywhere; high costs of party enrolment

Prospects across party lines


- So who will actually govern after 29 May 2024?
- Anxieties around co-governance and coalitions of chaos
- The prospect of a governance paralysis makes it a turning point where nothing turns
- Battlelines – 3 co-governance questions where the ANC remains central under all reasonable permutations

What are we doing on 29 May 2024?

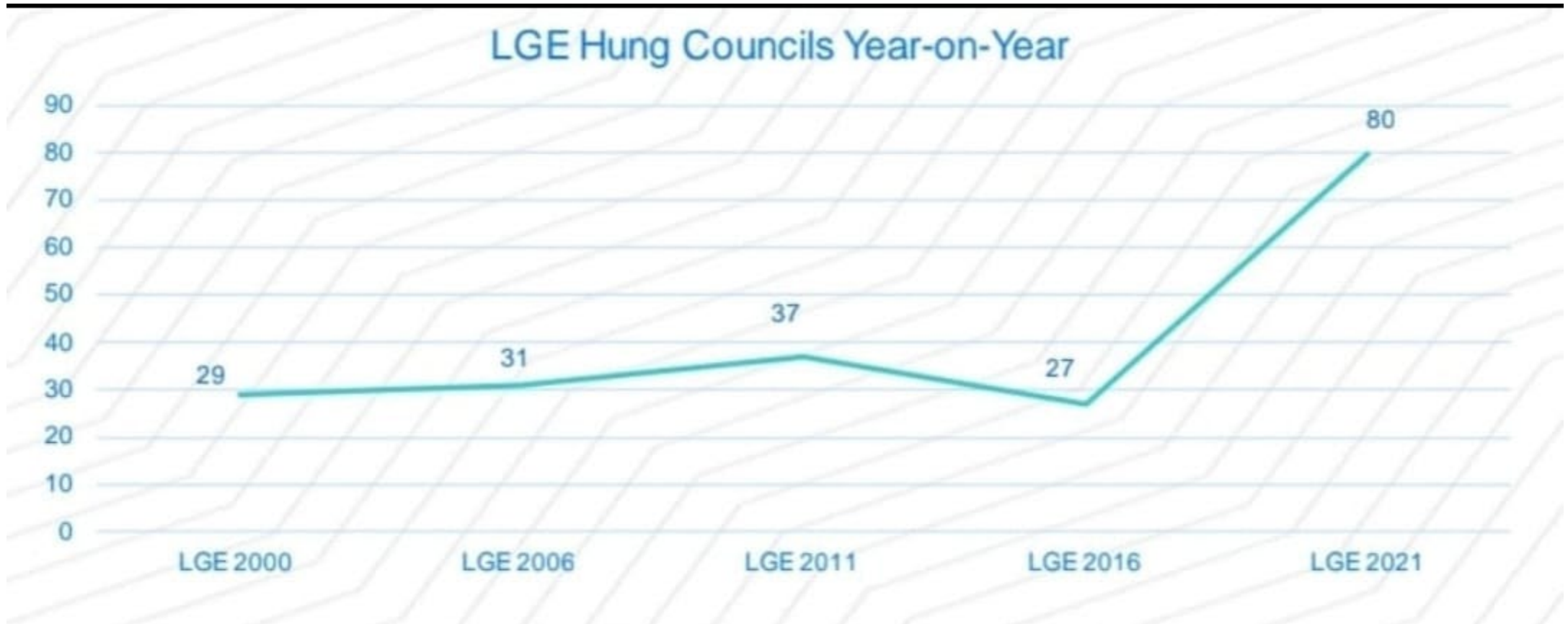
- 1 National Assembly – 400 seats – [200:200]
- National Council of Provinces
- 9 Provincial Legislatures
- 257 Municipalities – fate indirectly linked to national fate
 - 205 Local Municipalities
 - 44 District Municipalities
 - 8 Metros



Prospects across party lines

- Can governance continue in a paralysed governance chamber?
 - What becomes of the most important policies already in place?
 - Who will be in charge of what?
 - What are the economic consequences of the 29 May ballot?
- 

How does co-governance work?




Who can work together here?



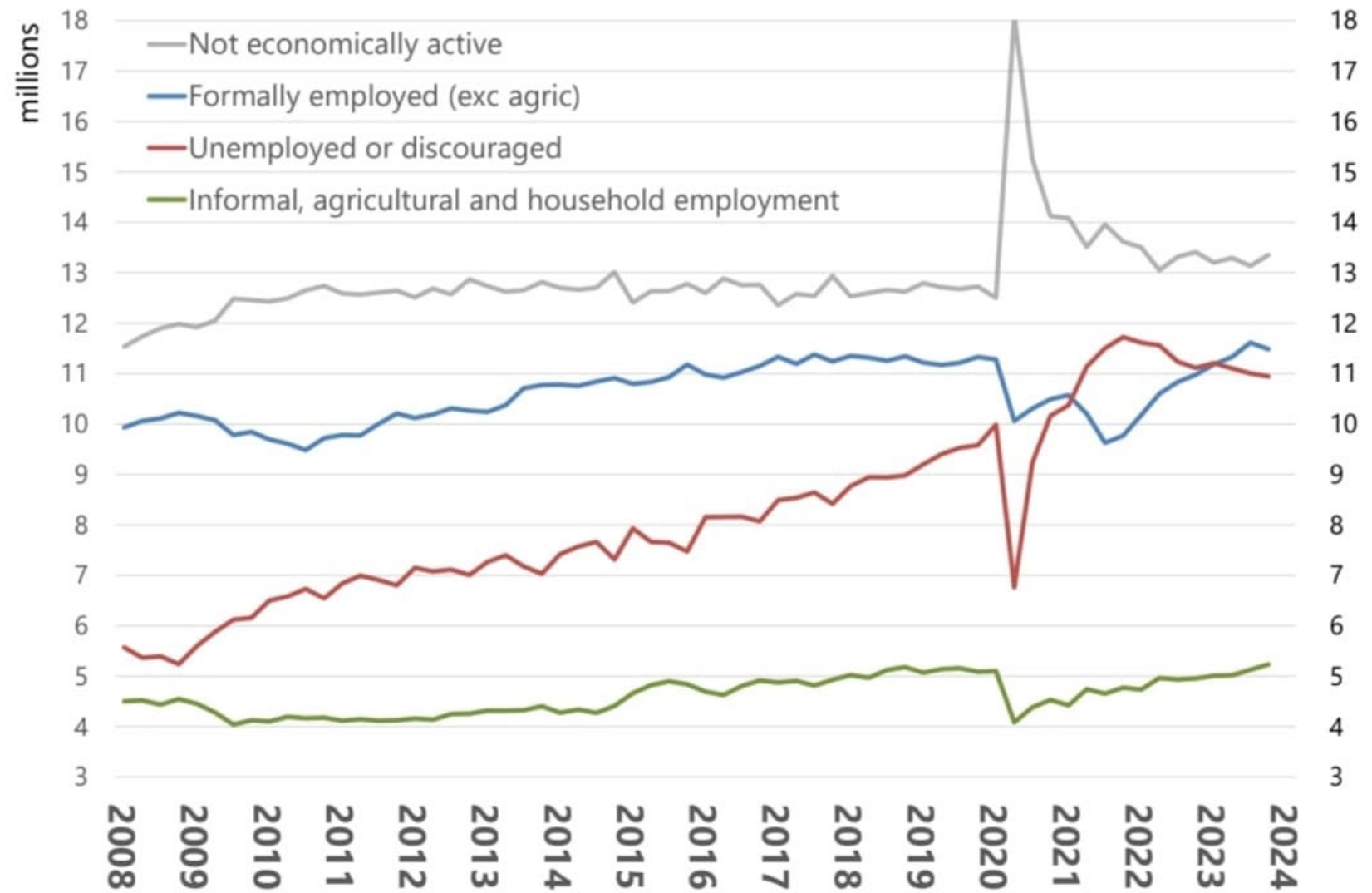


The crux of the national problem

- Social risks – will escalate ahead of 2024 and beyond
 - Political risks – collapsing coalitions and declining resources, significant threats to socioeconomic rights
 - Economic risks – downgrades, recessions and greylists
 - Climate and transition risks – will persist regardless of how lethargic our political system is
- 

Economic

Working age population by employment status

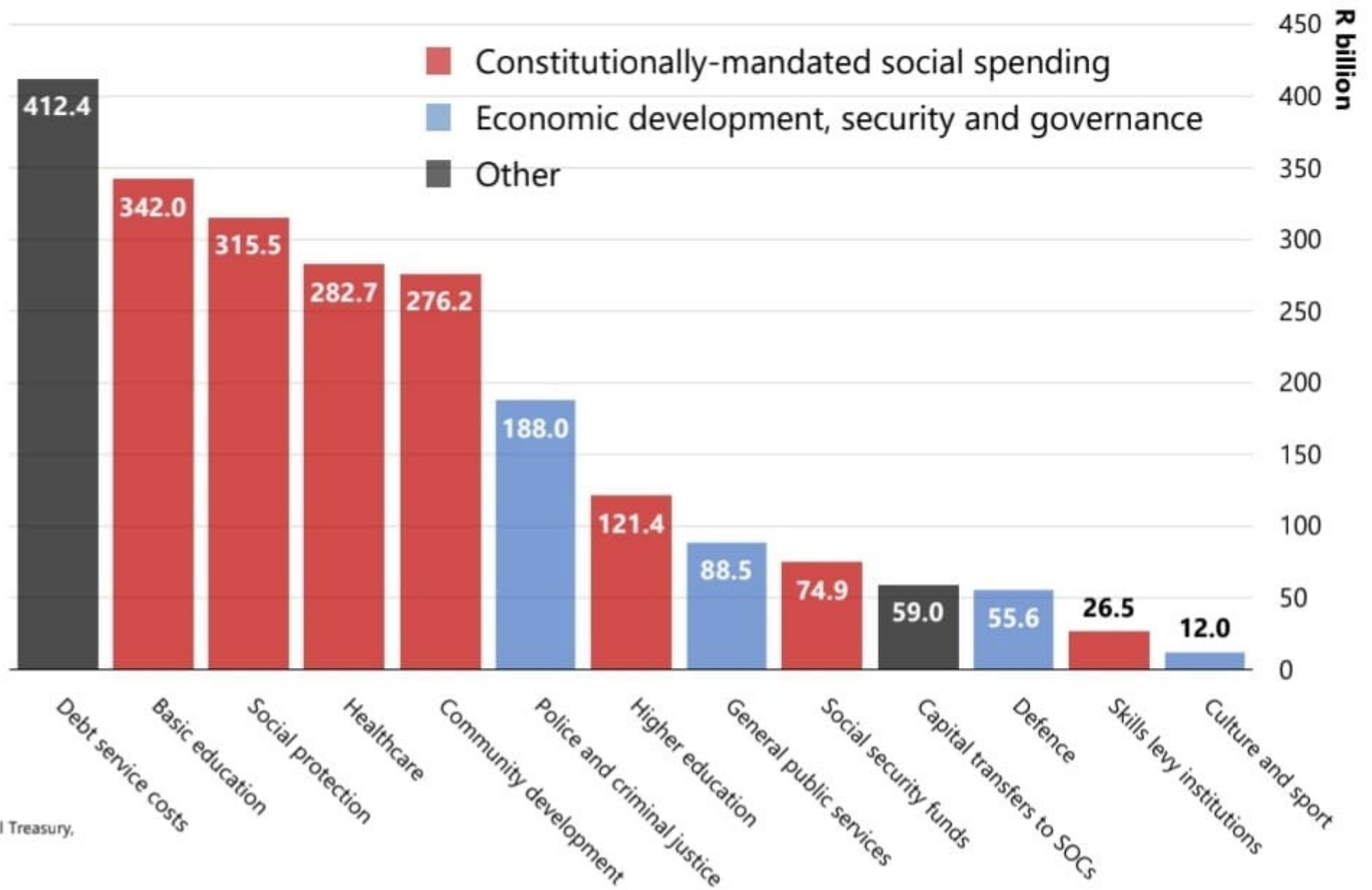


Source: StatsSA; Quarterly Labour Force Survey

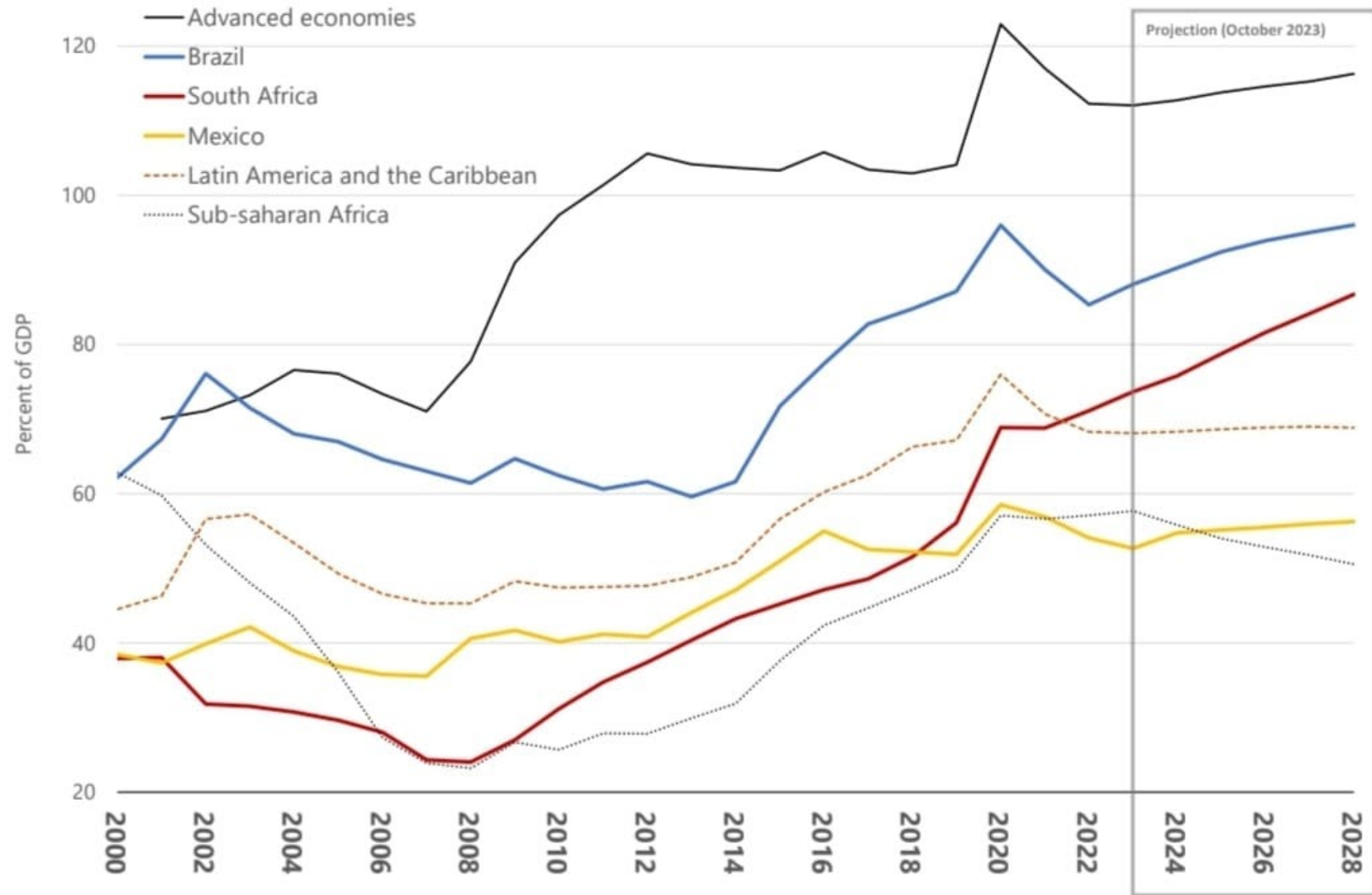


Economic

Average annual spending (2023-2026)



Debt-to-GDP ratio: 2000-2028



Source IMF (WEO October 2023)



Thanks for
Listening

