



CONCEPT NOTE ON THE 25-YEAR REVIEW 1994-2019

27 SEPTEMBER 2018

1. INTRODUCTION

This concept note sets out the processes of conducting the 25-year review of service delivery performance of the democratic government. The 25-year review will be conducted by National and Provincial departments.

2. BACKGROUND

The period April 2019 will mark 25 years since the advent of democracy in South Africa. It is customary for the Presidency to direct the DPME to conduct reviews of progress with service delivery at each historical epoch of our democracy.

The 25th anniversary of the democratic dispensation requires government departments and institutions to pause and reflect on the journey to date, and review the achievements, challenges experienced, and actions taken to address these challenges since 1994.

Of great importance is that this occasion provides an opportunity to learn from both the successes and the challenges and use the latter to develop strategies that will accelerate the country's progress towards the triple goals of the NDP 2030 and qualitatively improve people's lives.

The significance of the 25-Year Review is that it is not simply the composite of all previous reviews conducted. It is not the 20-year review plus a 5-year review, it is not the combined reflection of the sum of parts but a depth of analysis that reflects that it is a review of the quarter of the century since our liberation.

The DPME will coordinate the 25-Year Review Project and ensure its successful completion working with all national and provincial departments, local government (through COGTA), Technical Implementation Forums and Ministerial Implementation Forums.

3. PURPOSE OF THE 25-YEAR REVIEW

The main question that the 25-Year Review seeks to respond to, is the extent to which government (in partnership with civil society, labour, private sector and other non-state actors) has succeeded in delivering on the promise of a better life for all South Africans since 1994.

Addressing this question requires an assessment of key milestones achieved against set priorities, and an honest review of challenges and impediments along this journey.

This should enable government to design an accurate trajectory for the 5-year period 2019-2024 and for the planning horizon 2019-2030, which will lead to the NDP 2030, most critical the next 25 years to 2044, which will mark the golden jubilee since liberation in 1994

The **25-Year Review Project** will culminate in a credible and evidence-based report, reflecting on our Liberation and what we have achieved in the last 25 years. It will reflect on this period through an in-depth analysis of the fundamental foundations and pillars of the country's democracy and the evaluate what has been achieved thus far.

4. ANCHORING THE 25-YEAR REVIEW

The 25 Year Review must be anchored on the Global Nation States objectives of the Sustainable Development Goal 2030 and continental vision of the African Union Agenda 2063. As we review the last 25 years and make recommendations for the next 5, 11 and 25 years we do this through the lens of the Global, Continental and Regional framework that guide South Africa's development goals.

The 25-Year Review will be therefore be anchored on the priorities adopted by the democratic government of South Africa namely, addressing the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality, which are espoused in the NDP 2030. The review will examine the extent to which these have been addressed, as well as the unfinished business to be tackled by the next administration.

The commitment to address the triple challenges is also espoused in successive macro plans adopted by government since 1994, which include the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) of 1994; the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) a Macroeconomic Strategy of 1996 and the Accelerated Shared Skills Initiative (ASGISA) of 2006.

Though the content of the plans might have emphasized different areas, the common themes that permeated them was the need to create a better life for all South Africans, by addressing the triple challenges reflected once more in the NDP 2030, adopted in 2012.

Different sector departments have also produced and implemented sector-specific plans during the 25-year period.

5. The NDP Vision 2030

The NDP envisions an excellent future for all South Africans, which all people will enjoy by the year 2030, and they will look back at dawn of democracy in 1994 with utmost pride and celebration. The cardinal points in the NDP's Vision Statement 2030 include the following core messages:

- (a) "We, the people of South Africa, have journeyed far since the long lines of our first democratic election on 27 April 1994, when we elected a government for us all".
- (b) "Now in 2030, we live in a country we have remade"
- (c) "Therefore, in 2030, we experience daily how: We participate fully in efforts to liberate ourselves from conditions that hinder the flowering of our talents"
- (d) "We all see to it and assist so that all life's enablers are available in a humane way"
- (e) "We all have actively set out to change our lives in ways which also benefit the broader"
- (f) "We all assist the institutions we have creatively redesigned to meet our varied needs; we reach out across communities to strengthen our resolve to live with honesty, to be set against corruption and dehumanising actions"
- (g) "We know that those to whom we have given the privilege to govern our land, do so on our behalf and for the benefit of all the people"
- (h) "We say to one another: I cannot be without you, without you this South African community is an incomplete community, without one single person, without one single group, without the region or the continent, we are not the best we can be."
- (i) "We acknowledge that each and every one of us is intimately and inextricably of this earth with its beauty and life-giving sources; that our lives on earth are both enriched and complicated by what we have contributed to its condition."
- (j) "South Africa belongs to its peoples. Now in 2030, our story keeps growing as if spring is always with us. Once we uttered the dream of a rainbow. Now we see it, living it. It does not curve over the sky. It is refracted in each of us at home, in the community, in the city, and across the land, in abundance in colour. When we see it in the faces of our children, we know: there will always be, for us, a worthy future"

This is the future that the NDP 2030 (pages 11-22) envisions for all South Africans, and provides a set of 15 Chapters that outline how this vision can be achieved. The

review will also reflect on the extent to which we have advanced in the realisation of this vision 2030 and what remains to be done in the period ahead?

The 25-Year Review will examine the extent to which our country is on track towards this vision as espoused in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights or how far it has strayed off course, and what needs to be done to revert back to the correct path.

The 25-Year Review will acknowledge the achievements of the first 25 years of democracy, which was a period of building institutions of democracy, peace and stability, making democracy work through credible elections, multiparty democracy and popular citizen participation. It also was about political liberation, building government, transformation from white minority rule to majority rule, installing and entrenching a black government and the majority rule in all state institutions and apparatus.

The 25 Year Review will also examine the extent to which this period was about socio- economic transformation, reversing the ravishing effects of apartheid or even dismantling the apartheid apparatus and eliminating its effects on our people. The progress made in social protection against the effects of poverty and inequality but also where we have not succeeded in eliminating the root causes of poverty such as apartheid spatial planning and underdevelopment of the poor black and working class.

Our failure to alleviate poverty is not simply because of lack or inadequate resources or pressures of multinational capital but due to specific political choices informed by within the ANC by powerful neo-liberal forces, postponing the plight of the poorest masses as a result of the proverbial fear of investors and interest of the elite class.

6. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A complex project of the magnitude of a 25-year review requires a combination of diverse measurement methodologies. These will include analytical techniques for reviewing performance, using the massive wealth of existing data sources from government information systems, and triangulating these with data from national household surveys, community satisfaction surveys; patient surveys, amongst other techniques.

While the DPME and Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) are custodians of data pertinent to the performance of government, the 25-Year Review will require the DPME to acquire technical expertise from credible academic institutions and research organizations to ensure credibility and to assist in data collection and analysis while ensuring the processes and conclusions.

As part of developing the 25-Year Report, it is encouraged that civil society and NGOs be involved especially around their inputs towards achieving the NDP goals, not only in identifying the challenges. The reports should as much as possible allow for inputs through roundtable or other forums to enrich the reports.

The private sector will be required to also reflect on what progress it has made in transformation of the various industries and sectors towards the realization of the Constitutional imperatives, Bill of rights, and objectives of the National Development Plan.

7. THE SCOPE OF THE REVIEW

The Scope of the 25 Year Review will encompass an enquiry into the past 25 Year like no other. The depth of interrogation of the impact of government policies over the last 25 years will be thorough. The examination of the elimination of discriminatory legislation, policy and practices particularly in the economy will be necessary.

The evaluation of the progress the country has made cannot simply be on the cumulative effect of government programmes over the previous review but an indepth review to assess the impacts of fundamental cornerstone of this democracy. *For instance, we need to answer the strategic questions of how the country is achieving its objective of being a **Developmental State**? To what extent has South Africa acted as a Unitary State or is SA a Unitary State with federal characteristics? To what extent is the country truly a constitutional democracy?*

To what extent has the nation achieved its objectives with respect to the following:

- 7.3.1 Triple challenges (poverty, unemployment and inequality)
- 7.3.2 Implementation of the themes outlined in the 15 Chapters of the NDP 2030. Although the NDP was adopted by Cabinet and Parliament only in 2012, it is used as a lens or prism through which to review progress since 1994.
- 7.3.3 Progressive realization of Human Rights enshrined in the Bill of the Rights
- 7.3.4 Progress in the implementation of macro plans developed by government
- 7.3.5 Recommendations made in successive reviews 5-year; 10-year; 15-year and 20-year reviews
- 7.3.6 Contribution of public entities towards addressing national priorities

8. MIXED METHOD APPROACH

Government departments will be encouraged to utilize both qualitative and quantitative research methods and techniques to analyze progress made and identify challenges to progress in achieving the goals the country has set itself.

8.1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Departments will be also expected to draw information from a variety of sources, e.g.

- (a) Official statistics Published departmental reports
- (b) Administrative data system
- (c) Evidence generated from research evaluation of programmes,
- (d) Public national surveys

Use of qualitative data from case studies will be also recommended. Authors will be encouraged to triangulate as much as possible to promote validation of data.

9. KEY STRATEGIC QUESTIONS FOR THE 25 YEAR REVIEW

South Africa's history is characterized by socio-economic inequality resulting from over 5 centuries of policies of slavery, colonialism, racial discrimination and the institutionalization. The abovementioned discriminatory policies were worsened by Apartheid from 1948. The systematic discrimination against the black majority, evidenced by the social engineering and planning project that Apartheid executed with military precision with single-minded dedication to separate development and racial segregation is still ravishing the livelihood and fortunes of black South Africans, even today, 25 years after liberation.

In the first 25 years, the nation focused on the building of a new democratic dispensation, and establishment of the institutions of democracy. The Chapter 9 institutions, the institutions of parliament and provincial legislatures and democratic and participatory local government and the election machinery were also established successfully in the first five years.

In the same period, the country has also significantly expanded access to social services for the previously marginalized to a great extent from areas of pensions and social grants across all racial groups, shelter for the poor through RDP housing subsidies, education through public school system and greater access to institutions of higher learning, access to the public health system and private health care by the middle classes and employed.

The access to suburban residential areas was extended to other races without significantly altering the plight of the white population and marginally impact on the effects of Group Areas Act. Africans today still have limited access to financial services, limited access to economic and business opportunities. Africans have marginal access to social, health, housing and educational opportunities.

It is this continuing reform for access to the same apartheid architectural framework that we have achieved in the last 25 years. Is this what the revolution for the emancipation of black people in general and Africans in particular aimed to achieve? Should we be aiming to achieve our true revolutionary objective over the next 25 years? What should characterize this next phase of our revolution?

Apartheid spatial planning, apartheid access to social and economic services has continued to relegate black people to the margins of economic opportunities and social services. The lack of access to land in urban and rural areas continues over 300 years to impose a yoke of oppression that erodes meagre income of working class black Africans in particular. *Can the next 25 years be a period during which we dismantle the devastating apartheid architecture in our society and its adverse effects of entrenching poverty and deprivation on our people? Can we bring an end to apartheid spatial planning through integrated development on, infill development and densification on well-located land?*

Should the next 25 years not be about the total dismantling of apartheid system in its various forms beyond repealing legislation and hoping for trickle down changes in the fundamental pillars of society? Should the 25-year review not assist the nation to

evaluate the extent to which we have dismantled apartheid? How do we prevent our children and next generations from suffering the consequences of apartheid, beyond being born free, to be born free of apartheid effects? How will the next generations be free from the persistently high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality? How will we turn around the Gini coefficient from the current 0.69 to 0.66, and what fundamental changes do we have to engineer to achieve sustainable results in socio economic indicators for prosperity for the next 25 years?

All of the above has been achieved through the expansion of the apartheid framework, expanding existing township even further from urban centres, without truly creating a new South African identity for our democracy, through the creation of new settlements, towns and cities that espouse our democratic values and principles, our African values and cultural heritage. Should the 25-year review assess how much progress we have made in this regard and make recommendations, on how we may achieve the above objectives in the next 25 years?

10. KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR THE 25-YEAR REVIEW

For each of the thematic areas of the review, the key questions to be answered will be as follows:

10.1 Problem Statement – What are the key developmental priorities that the democratic government of South Africa has sought to address of its 25-years in office?

10.2 What has been the journey since 1994?

- (a) Historical endowment in 1994, the limited choices available, and the commitments made
- (b) Dynamics of the transition – how it evolved, trends
- (c) Summary of the situation now (showing the 25 years)
- (d) Comparison with benchmark countries

10.3 What have been the achievements?

- (a) What are the achievements? (intended and unintended, using evidence)
- (b) Reflection on the achievements, how they came about and how they are seen by citizens (include perception here)
- (c) What are we celebrating and how significant is it?

10.4 How can we become better as a state (all actors) to overcome the challenges that face us (how do we achieve this?)

- (a) Why are we achieving in some areas and not others – what are the enabling and disabling factors
- (b) What we need to think about and do differently
- (c) How do government and other sectors of society work together more effectively to address this

11. STRUCTURE OF THE REVIEW REPORT

The 25-Year Review Report will be structured as follows:

- 11.1. Policy summary:** A one-page summary of key policy issues emerging from the report during the period 1994-2019 and highlights of the impact of each policy
- 11.2. Executive summary** – this is derived from the main report, capturing the main content of the report.
- 11.3. Main Report** – must provide the main thrust of the key findings and be analysis based. It must draw on all the input documents and other sources of information as evidence.

12. ROLE OF TECHNICAL IMPLEMENTATION FORUMS

The Coordinating Department for each outcome should compile a report on progress made during 1994-2019, prepare an integrated and comprehensive Chapter of the 25-Year Review. The DPME will source and provide technical support to Departments where this is required.

These reports which must be tabled before the Technical Implementation Forum (TIF). Feedback from the TIF should be incorporated into the report and a revised report submitted to the DPME.

The DPME will produce its own 25-year review chapters, drawing from the reviews conducted by outcome coordinating departments, and triangulating with other sources of data.

13. ENVISAGED ROLES OF PROVINCES

Provincial Premier's Offices will be also requested to coordinate the completion of the 25-year reviews across all their government departments, assessing provincial progress towards the goals of the NDP 2030 during 1994 – 2019.

On completion of this process, Premier's Offices will be urged to submit a single, integrated and comprehensive progress report to the DPME.

14. QUALITY OF THE 25-YEAR REVIEW REPORT

The **25 Year Review Report** will be comprehensive and of high standard. While the process is essentially internal, where Coordinating Departments have resources, they will be encouraged to enlist the technical services of external service providers or social partners to enhance the quality of the **25-Year Review Reports**. The Department of Planning Monitoring and Evaluation will provide guidance on the process and substance for this 25 Year Review. It will also quality check the reports submitted by the departments. Departments are responsible for developing their reports.

15. CONSULTATIONS TO DATE

The DPME solicited from National Departments and Premiers' Offices inputs into the 25-year review process. DPME convened a workshop of National and Provincial Departments on 29 May 2018. Senior government officials from 11 National

Departments and 4 Premiers' Offices participated at this workshop and contributed to the development of the methodology for the 25-Year Review.

On 29 June 2018, the DPME consulted with Statistics South Africa (Stats') about the 25-Year Review, and agreed that Stats SA will play an important role in the review process, which goes beyond providing official statistics, to assisting with the analysis of the data that will be submitted to the DPME by other government departments.

A workshop was held on 23 August 2018 where Provinces and National Coordinating departments reported on progress made and stakeholders recommitted to adhere to the deadlines. Monthly meetings with Provinces and National Coordinating departments are planned. The DPME has produced and submitted the first draft as planned, which is being aligned to the TORs. The process of planning for another workshop is in progress.

16. TIME FRAMES

Activities	Responsibilities	Due Date
1. Establish a 25 Year Review Task Team	Coordinating Departments Premier's Offices	June-July 2018
2. Produce a Statistical Report reflecting progress towards key milestones	DPME and Stas SA	31 August 2018
3. Submission of first draft to DPME	Coordinating Departments and Premier's Offices	30 September 2018
4. Production of DPME Independent chapters of the 25-year Review	DPME	30 September 2018
5. First draft submitted to FOSAD	DPME	16 November 2018
6. Incorporation of FOSAD inputs	DPME	30 November 2018
7. Submission of the draft 25YR Review to Cabinet	DPME	15 December 2018
8. Final version of the 25 Year Review submitted to Cabinet incorporating feedback from Cabinet	DPME	30 January 2019

17. PROGRESS TO DATE

The DPME has produced a first draft report of the 25-year review, which entails some detailed discussion on each of the outcomes. The aim is to work on this draft to reduce the volume, improve the quality and ensure a better flow within and between the various chapters. Further, once the departments and OTPs have submitted their

reports, same will be considered for incorporation into one report, which will follow the process outlined in the above table.

Emerging issues from the preliminary assessment include the following:

Major achievements

Based on the DPME assessment of the situation, the democratic government seems to have had numerous **major achievements** during the last 25 years including:

- (a) South Africa remains a beacon of peaceful democratic transition in Africa and the world;
- (b) South Africa's Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) remains one of the best in the World;
- (c) The culture of human rights is well-entrenched in South Africa, accentuated by the separation of powers between the three organs of the state;
- (d) South Africa has a vibrant democratic Parliament, an Independent Judiciary and Chapter 9 Institutions, including the Public Protector;
- (e) Access to Early Childhood Development has improved;
- (f) South Africa has achieved near universal access to basic education for young children aged 7-14 years of age;
- (g) Following years of decline during 1994-2005 owing to the impact of the rampant HIV and AIDS epidemic, the health status of South Africans begun improving in 2006. Although the country did not achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) targets for 2015, key health status indicators reflect major improvements from 2006 to 2018, consistently;
- (h) South Africa emerged out of AIDS denialism that characterised the first decade of democracy, developed a comprehensive response to HIV and AIDS, and now boasts the largest Antiretroviral (ARV) programme in the world;
- (i) Gains in health and basic education have resulted from government's progressive *policies of free basic education, free Primary Health Care, and the provision of a social wage to the indigent including free housing, water, electricity and sanitation;*
- (j) *Access to higher education and training by black students* has expanded massively over their 25-year period, including through TVET colleges;
- (k) Despite vicissitudes in the economy, the democratic government of South Africa has provided a safety net for the poor and vulnerable individuals and households, from which 17 million South Africans currently benefit; and
- (l) South Africa is a major role player in the SADC Region, continent of Africa; BRICS and the United Nations. South Africa's peace efforts resulted in a brand new country, South Sudan.

Persistent challenges

Notwithstanding the catalogue of successes highlighted above, democratic South Africa has also encountered major constraints along the journey.

- (a) None of South Africa's democratically elected Presidents has completed two terms in Office. President Mandela voluntarily left office after serving only one term between 1994-1999, whereas Presidents Mbeki and Zuma were involuntarily recalled by the ruling party. President Motlanthe was an interim Head of State from September 2008 until the 2009 elections.

- (b) While this may reflect deepening democracy, since the transitions were peaceful, it might also be interpreted as dwindling confidence over time in the elected Presidents. Also, these changes had an impact on the strength of South Africa's currency;
- (b) South Africa had a stable and consistently improving economy, which was favorable from 1998 to 2008, which cushioned the country against the impact of the global economic recession. However, the economy has since experienced dramatic fluctuations;
- (c) Although the total number of people employed has increased between 1994 and 2018, it has not kept up with the labour market, hence 27,2% of people of working age are unemployed, the majority of whom are the Youth;
- (d) The long time it takes for TVET college graduates to receive their certificates delays their absorption into the labour market.
- (e) The levels of poverty and inequality remain obstinately high, and have recently increased from 36% in 2011 to 40% in 2015, when measured in terms of Lower Bound Poverty (LBL), which is what the NDP 2030 seeks to decrease to zero (0) by 2030.
- (f) 27% of our children under-5 were stunted in 2016 the same trend that was there in 1994.
- (g) The pace of land reform in South Africa over the 25-years has been extremely slow. Drastic measures are needed to accelerate land reform
- (h) Although the democratic government has built over 4 million housing units for the indigent, apartheid spatial planning still persists. The majority of black people continues to live in the townships and commute to work in the cities every morning. It is estimated that lower income groups spend close to 30% of their salaries on transport costs;
- (i) Violence against women and children shows disturbing trends- despite so many efforts by government to curb this scourge;
- (j) Perceived and real corruption show increasing trends. Communities have grown impatient with the government's slow service delivery pace, as demonstrated by increased service delivery protests; and
- (k) Incidents of blatant racism remind us that South Africa is not yet a socially cohesive nation and that polarization seems to be growing.
- (l) Public opinion of basic service delivery has deteriorated. The proportion of people who believe that government is performing well in service delivery has decreased from 72% in 2000 to 43% in 2017.

18. CONCLUSION

The 25-Year Review Report will open up major debates amongst South Africans about the sojourn of ordinary citizens through the democratic dispensation. Some milestones over the 25 years are worthy of celebration. However, there are also key challenges, amongst which are the fact that some elements of the apartheid architecture remain in place. There is likely to be contestation about the achievements and challenges, and whether government could have performed better under the circumstances it has faced.