

# JEBS PLAN



A BLUEPRINT TO BUILDING A SOUTH AFRICA THAT WORKS



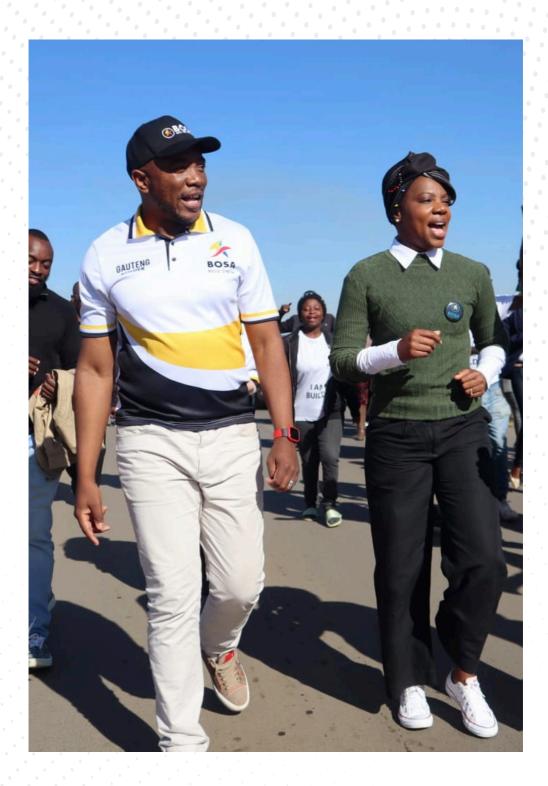








BOSA.CO.ZA



# **BOSA Election Manifesto 2024**

# JEBS PLAN



# A BLUEPRINT TO BUILDING A SOUTH AFRICA THAT WORKS

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# **BOSA's Values**

Equality, Unity and Inclusiveness: We believe in one South Africa, where all citizens have equal access and opportunity. We firmly believe that South Africans are stronger together and learn from each other to achieve the shared goal of creating a prosperous, safe and thriving country. We create space for our differences to be harnessed for a shared purpose; and speak with one voice to the world.

Dignity: At the core of ubuntu is the recognition of the dignity of each human being. We recognise the dignity of every citizen and strive to maintain and restore the dignity of every South African with every action we take, with every programme and policy we establish.

**Community:** We nurture a sense of common interests and a shared future; inspiring connectedness within Build One SA and the communities we serve. We serve the greater good of the collective. We are active members of our communities and seek to contribute to their development and growth. We are responsible in our engagements and relationships. We build trust between each other and seek to gain and maintain the trust of the general public by aligning our actions with the values we profess.

# **BOSA Leadership**

Founded by Mmusi Maimane and Nobuntu Hlazo-Webster, BOSA is led by a team with diverse experience in the spheres of politics, business, civil society, community leadership and academia.









From a young age, Mmusi has had a passion for fighting for the dignity of the poor, excluded and marginalized in society. This has fuelled his conviction to build One South Africa that is united, reconciled and prosperous.

Born in 1980, Mmusi grew up in Soweto – South Africa's largest township. He attended Allen Glen High School, where he matriculated in 1997. Mmusi holds two master's degrees – in Public Administration and Theology - and is working towards his

PhD in economic development. He speaks 7 South African languages fluently.

Through sacrifice, hard work, and a desire to use every opportunity afforded him, Mmusi has built an impressive career in business and has dedicated himself to community work in various ways. He has worked as a business consultant and trainer with a number of local and international companies, as well as lecturing at the GIBS Business Institute.

Mmusi is also an ordained pastor, a man of faith who has headed up the Liberty Church Discovery campus for many years. He has preached on several local and international platforms.

His outreach led him into formal politics where he became a councillor and led the opposition in the Johannesburg City Council for 3 years. Most recently, Mmusi was the Leader of the Official Opposition in South Africa, a position he held for more than 5 years. During that time, he championed the fight against government corruption which steals resources from the poor.



# **Nobuntu Hlazo-Webster** Deputy Leader

Nobuntu Hlazo-Webster is co-founder and Deputy Leader of Build One South Africa (BOSA) a political party that will appear on the ballot paper in 2024. The party exists as a vehicle to unearth and elect homegrown independent leaders in communities across the country.

She is also the founder of the SA Women's Commission, which assembles women from all walks of life to collaborate in contributing to change in South Africa.

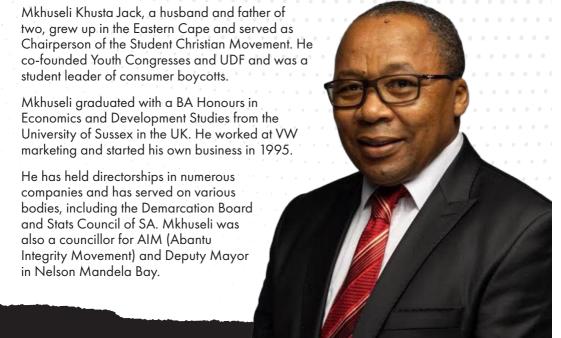


A respected business and community leader, Ms. Hlazo-Webster has led numerous development and advocacy organisations including the Businesswomen's Association of SA as Chairperson, the International Women's Forum as President of its youth chapter and the KZN Youth Chamber of Commerce as Regional Chair and as Provincial Secretary-General.

Nobuntu is an alumnus of Future-Elect, the United States IVLP, and an International Women's Forum fellow. She has been recognised with numerous accolades from the Businesswomen's Association of SA, KZN Department of Economic Development and Cosmopolitan Magazine – to name a few.

Nobuntu holds a BPhil Honours degree and several post-graduate business qualifications. She sits on various NPO boards and is involved in numerous community initiatives. She has been married to her husband Ayanda Webster since 2007, and they together are blessed with two sons, Buyanda and Bukhosi.

# **Mkhuseli Jack** National Chairperson





# **BOSA's Jobs Plan** A blueprint to building a South Africa that works

30 years after the dawn of democracy and South Africa sits at a generationdefining crossroad. On every metric – economically, politically and socially – our nation is fast approaching breaking point.

South Africans are struggling. Millions struggle to make ends meet, to put food on the table and to educate and clothe their children. Those lucky enough to have a job wait patiently for payday, while the 11 million of our fellow citizens who don't have a job lose hope of ever finding one.

It is the bleak story of our country. We sit with the highest youth unemployment in the world, while corrupt politicians find new ways every day to steal, break, and bend the rules for their own benefit.

Young people are facing the brunt of this, falling behind when it comes to skills and jobs. Almost 70% of young people cannot find work. Others are trapped in under-employment. An entire generation is being robbed of dignity and of their most productive years.

Citizens are left to live on the pittances of social grants when they are not under threat by an incompetent SASSA. Daily, we face water and energy shortages. The cost of putting food on the table is going up, taxes are going up - all underpinned by a political ruling class that is detached, incompetent and arrogant.

BOSA exists to overcome these ills and build One South Africa using all our









country's resources for the benefit of all citizens.

We are convinced that the fastest and surest way to build this South Africa is to create more jobs, create more wealth for families and to share with those who are in need.

This election is about one thing: how to grow the economy and put a job in every home.

In the lead up to this year's elections, many political parties will list reams of promises in glossy paged manifestos as to how they will solve all the nation's ills if in power.

At BOSA we are not in the business of lofty ideals and empty promises. Our candidates, activists and staff have spent months engaging with South Africans about their wants, needs, aspirations and apprehensions.

We have trawled through thousands of suggestions – and what the overwhelming majority of South Africa are desperate for is a working economy that creates jobs, creates wealth, improves living standards and builds one South Africa.

BOSA's blueprint for change is a Jobs Plan – a manifesto to build a South Africa that works – centred around creating a job in every home, growing the economy, and upskilling and educating the nation for the future.

To support economic growth and job creation, our Jobs Plan spells out how BOSA will overhaul the education system to be modern and skills aligned, create a safer environment by radically reducing crime, and supporting this with a capable, efficient and merit-based government that gets on with doing the job.

Under this plan, within five years it is possible to rapidly grow the size of the economy, create millions of new jobs and educate and upskill young people to compete at the very highest level.

This is the only game in town, and it is our offer to the electorate when choosing who to vote for in this year's election.



# Growing the economy for jobs

Creating new jobs is entirely dependent on growing the size and reach of South Africa's economy. At present, the economy is not big enough to include every South African, nevermind create the conditions for meaningful work for all.

Despite the South African economy being one of the largest in Africa, it has been characterised for a long time by structural unemployment. For the past 10 years, the economy has remained mostly stagnant. The short period of steep growth in the early 2000s was largely jobless, with the official unemployment rate virtually unchanged at almost 20%.

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, South Africa's unemployment rate hit an all-time high in 2023 of 32%. For young people aged between 15 and 35 who constitute almost 21 million people, unemployment levels are even higher than the national average at a staggering 70%. Poverty levels also remain high, with 40% of the population living below the lower-bound poverty line (LBPL). The Living Conditions Survey of 2015 demonstrates that the proportion of people below the LBPL has increased from 39% in 2009 to almost 40% in 2015.









However, these dire levels of poverty and unemployment are merely indicators of a far greater challenge: a country with an economy that is deeply broken. Our resources are underutilised, and the great potential of our people is not being realised. In attempting to resolve the issues of poverty and unemployment, we need to first address the underlying causes of the failure of our economic system.

In order to build one South Africa, we need to give all South Africans an opportunity to develop their skills and generate value for the economy, helping it to flourish and contribute to the well-being of the global community. For this vision to be realised, BOSA's economy policy will address three main challenges: a lack of basic levers preventing upward income mobility; the apartheid legacy of separate development seen in spatial economic exclusion; and the challenge of ensuring that the advanced sectors of the economy continue to thrive, rather than digress.

# Addressing the obstacles to upward income mobility

The South African economy is the most unequal in the world. The fundamental issue here is not so much the inequality itself, but the reasons for it. It is the lack of basic levers which are foundational to upward income mobility, such as a quality basic education and reliable municipal services. If people are unable to meet their basic needs, their ability to generate income through value-adding activities is severely



### curtailed.

Without a good education, an individual lacks basic literacy and numeracy skills required in the workplace and is unable to think independently and creatively. This severely curtails their ability to start their own business or study further and become a highly skilled contributor to the advanced sectors of the economy.

Unfortunately, this is the current state of affairs for many South Africans who are unable to gain upward income mobility. Almost half of students drop out and are unable to complete their basic education, in spite of the increasing matric pass rate that we celebrate every year. Those who remain in the public school system are less likely to receive a quality education.

According to the Mail & Guardian, out of 23,471 public schools, 20,071 have no laboratory, 18,019 have no library, 16,897 have no internet, 239 have no electricity and 37 don't even have any toilets. But education is only one factor to consider. State failure is only too evident in the near collapse of state-owned enterprises like Eskom, which has resulted in unreliable power supply, which is now a daily reality for businesses and households. Furthermore, in terms of food security, close to 14 million South Africans have inadequate access to food (CEBG, 2020).











To address the lack of basic levers that prevent upward income mobility, a BOSAled government will undertake the following:



Ensure that basic education meets an adequate standard, with indicators of literacy and numeracy comparable to the top nations in the world.



(For more on this, refer to our policy position on education.)

Provide reliable basic services, including municipal services and public health services.

Ensure that communities are safe and secure.



(Read more on this in our safety and security policy.)

Collaborate with NGOs, the private sector and faith-based organisations to establish adequate interventions to nourish the poorest who are unable to provide their own meals.



Collaborate with NGOs, the private sector and faith-based organisations to establish adequate interventions to address homelessness and inadequate housing for those who are unable to provide a home for themselves.



# 1. Stimulate employment in disenfranchised communities

One of the major legacies of apartheid is the spatial economic exclusion of the majority of South Africa's population through the policy of separate and unequal development. Today poverty levels are almost double for people living in rural areas, such as the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, compared to the Western Cape and Gauteng (IMF, 2020). This challenge, we believe, is not insurmountable. Because of the great potential of our people, each of these communities can become an economic hub if there is an environment that catalyses economic growth and development.

A BOSA-led government will stimulate employment in disenfranchised communities by:

Ensuring that the infrastructure required to support business development is provided. This will include:



Adequate road infrastructure through a rigorous public works programme.



Ensuring safe and secure means of public transport.



Providing adequate ICT infrastructure











# Stimulating township and rural economies by:



The creation of Township Special Economic Zones (TSEZs).



Incentivising the development and diversification of industries in rural communities through tax credits and tax advantages.



Investigating the regulatory and institutional deficiencies that hinder the growth of businesses and industries in these areas and address these deficiencies to ensure a supportive regulatory environment.

# Investing in entrepreneurs who establish businesses in townships and rural communities by:



Collaborating with the private sector to establish business training and mentorship programmes for entrepreneurs in need.



Providing investment capital to aspirational ventures in need of funding for further growth and employment generation.



Private sector incentivisation to incorporate township based businesses into their value chain.

# Ensuring sufficient supply of technical skills for the growing industrialisation in these areas by:



Growing the number of technical training centres in strategic areas



Ensuring that technical training centres are of an internationally recognised standard.



# 2. Support thriving advanced sectors of the economy

South Africa is privileged to have highly advanced economic sectors that consistently offer world-class, value-adding products and services - both locally and international. A BOSA-led government will ensure that these sectors of the South African economy continue to thrive. We will support these sectors by:

- Ensuring that infrastructure for the purposes of international trade rail and ports - are of a high standard and function reliably.
- Investing in research and development that allows for greater innovation.
- Investing in inspirational ventures in advanced sectors with high employment-generating potential.
- Ensuring immigration laws allow for easy access of skilled labour in sectors requiring skills
- Collaborating with the private and NGO sector to fund qualifying students and ensure that they are incentivised to remain and work in the country for a period of time.
- Addressing regulatory and institutional deficiencies that hinder economic growth in order to support the optimal functioning of businesses and industries.









South Africa's economy plays a vital role in the continent of Africa. Although it has been characterised by long-term structural unemployment, South Africa has what it takes to change this story. Our history has demonstrated that not only can we be a shining light for the world, but our growth and development can serve as a launchpad for the rest of the continent.

By addressing a lack of basic levers, the apartheid legacy of separate development and by supporting business and industry, BOSA's economic policy will provide the guardrails that will adequately address the challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality. We believe we are able to lay the foundation of a prosperous South Africa which future generations can steward into abundance for the rest of the continent.

# Unemployment rate by age group

Age	Number	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate Expanded definition	NEET rate
15- 24	10 234 000	60.7%	70.1%	34.2%
25- 34	10 542 000	39.8%	49.1%	52.4%



# Unemployment rate by sex

•	Sex	Number	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate Expanded definition	
	Female	20 532 000	35.7%	46.1%	
	Male	20 214 000	30.0%	38.5%	

Women remain more affected by unemployment than men indicating genderbased discrimination patterns in employment. Unfortunately, the unemployment data also reveals disproportionate racial disparities suggesting that the structural discrimination created by the apartheid regime has not been effectively and timeously dismantled.

# Unemployment rate by race

Race	Number	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate Expanded definition
White	2 806 000	7.4%	9.2%
Black	33 309 000	36.8%	46.6%
Coloured	3 586 000	21.9%	29.9%
Indian	1 045 000	16.6%	23.6%

Among South Africans who are fortunate to have employment there are some areas of concern. There is a prevalence of underemployment as well as a high proportion of people in the workforce working in low skill level occupations. For instance 50.1% of workers work for less than 40 hours a week and without permanent employment contracts.









## Employment data (Q2 2023)

Description	Number	Notes
Economically active	27.4 million	Expanded definition
Employed	16.3 million	58.61%
Formal sector	11.3 million	69.3%
Informal sector	5.10 million	31.2%
Permanently employed	8.14 million	49.9%
Sales and service	2.625 million	Skill level 2
		Customer service, communica- tion, sales techniques, problem-solving
Elementary workers	3.722 million	Skill level 1
		Janitor, Security Guard, Kitchen Helper

South Africa has a low workforce skills ranking. Areas of weakness include the quality of vocational training, the skills of graduates and the digital skills of the workforce. The lack of workforce skills has the impact of limiting the nature of investment that can flow into the country and limiting the types of industries that can be commercially viable in the country. High growth sectors such as the technology sector require workforces with digital skills and highly technical skills such as computer programming.



# Global skills rankings of South Africa WEF 2019

Skill area	Global Rank	Improvement potential	
	out of 141	for South Africa	
Overall skills of current workforce	101	High	
Quality of vocational training	119	High	
Graduate skill set	102	High	
Digital skills among active population	126	High	
Skill of future workforce	107	High	

There are high growth opportunities in the manufacturing space. Manufacturing contributes 13.9% to the GDP however the industry employs 10.4% of the workforce. The manufacturing sector is weak in tertiary manufacturing as well as advanced manufacturing. This is a discrepancy that suggests that there is space for growth in the economy by boosting manufacturing.

The leading contributors to South African manufacturing output are petroleum, chemical products, rubber and plastic products division, these are primary manufacturing. South Africa has weaknesses in tertiary manufacturing such as manufacture of electrical machinery. BOSA will increase South African manufacturing by funding community workshops and factories in the townships of South Africa to create jobs in those townships and to make market viable products for strategic sectors.







South African manufacturing is very weak in areas such as textiles, furniture and electrical machinery and we have moderate performance in areas such as motor vehicles and parts.

# Manufacturing: Production and sales Q2 2023

Manufacturing Division	Percentage of manufacturing output	Manufacturing sales (R million)	Growth potential for South Africa
Textiles	4.26%	18 127	High
Electrical machinery	2.21%	21 379	High
Furniture	4.27%	31 048	High
Motor vehicles and parts	8.89%	120 401	Moderate

We will increase funding for sectors which have high potential for increasing the GDP and for creating employment. There will be funding for on the job training for those who have not completed matric.

# SMMEs and job creation:

To build a strong and sustainable economy that benefits all South Africans, fast tracking the growth of the SMME sector by increasing the financing and the availability of venture capital. Currently South Africa ranks very low in SMME funding in the WEF global competitiveness index and it is a weakness in our banking sector.



# Financial system competitiveness WEF 2019

Index component	Score	Ranking	Improvement Potential
Financing of SMEs	43.8	96	High
Venture Capital avail- ability	34.2	77	High

We will create a national venture fund for graduates from TVETS and Universities who want to create companies in line with our strategic manufacturing interests.

BOSA will support the growth and development of small, medium, and microsized enterprises, by ensuring SMMEs greater access to large procurement value chains within the government. We will end the tenderpreneurship culture and cadre deployment freeing up opportunities for entrepreneurs to compete fairly and on merit for government contracts.

We propose the establishment of a Jobs and Justice Fund to which businesses will contribute their empowerment funding and which will be administered by public finance professionals, not politicians. The fund will ensure real empowerment through distribution to real empowerment initiatives which bridge the gap between power and potential.

Finally, we will introduce a voluntary national civilian service as a year-long









program for post-matriculants. Young South Africans are particularly impacted by unemployment. We need to assist this sector of our society to become meaningful participants and contributors to the economy and long-term growth of South Africa.

A voluntary National Civilian Service year that bridges the transition from school into the working world. This year will allow matriculants to enter work-based training in the community healthcare, basic education, or SAPS fields, gaining valuable work experience while earning a small stipend.

# Keeping the Lights On: Combatting SA's Energy Crisis

A functioning energy sector plays a pivotal role in driving economic growth, enhancing the quality of life for many and contributing to sustainable and resilient energy infrastructure. As South Africans, we have sadly grown accustomed to everincreasing stages of loadshedding, electrical failures that take days to resolve, the fading promise of rural electrification and fuel prices that increase at a rate higher than inflation

BOSA plans to pass legislation that will revitalise South Africa's whole energy system by adopting a back-to-basics approach which ensures that the relationship between energy market players and end-users benefits from a prudent and rational decision-making approach. In the short and medium term, BOSA's plan will be used to tackle the electricity economy. Later, the lessons learned from this approach will be used to revitalise, transform and modernise the country's whole energy system.

BOSA aims to achieve energy security and reliability, market transparency, affordability, as well as infrastructure and environmental sustainability in South Africa's energy system. We will do this by ensuring that functional energy market players, including the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, utilities, traders and regulatory bodies (such as NERSA, NNR and Petroleum Agency SA) are accountable to energy end users through the promotion of their choice



and participation in energy markets. The policy will ensure the functioning and transparency of the legislative processes that govern the industry to eliminate collusion and corruption.

Our plan will be implemented in the electricity sector by enabling the entrance of multiple energy companies that will ensure a consistent and reliable supply of electricity in an electricity market where end users are able to exercise their choice and procure electricity at affordable rates. All energy market players will be held accountable for ensuring that their infrastructure and operations adhere to relevant and appropriate safety regulations and standards.

BOSA will ensure that DMRE, utilities and regulatory bodies are fully capacitated with capable and competent professionals. The BOSA plan will enforce transparency and clearer insight into the performance of all market players that report to DMRE. NERSA, which has regulatory oversight over these utilities, will be equipped with the resources it needs to conduct regular performance and compliance reviews of market players to ascertain that licence conditions are being met. This will enable clearer reporting on the market risks and capacity capability requirements of all players in the energy sector.

A BOSA-led government will ensure that energy utilities and other related market players are free to raise capital to enable the modernisation and resilience of South Africa's energy infrastructure, especially our ailing electricity infrastructure, using environmentally sustainable technologies and processes. These market players will be encouraged to future-proof themselves by implementing tax incentives that encourage investment in research and development initiatives.

These will lead directly to human-capital growth and the attraction of valuegenerating competencies within the country. In the short term, this will allow viable future technologies that improve the efficiency, reliability and sustainability of electricity generation and distribution, which in the long term will fortify South Africa's economy.











We are confident that by going back to basics, we can revitalise our energy economy. BOSA's energy plan aims to emulate the success of the country's telecommunications industry. Thanks to the oversight of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), South Africans enjoy 99% of 3G connectivity and have seen 4G connectivity grow rapidly from 53% in 2015 to over 97% in 2023.

While our telecommunications industry may be a source of pride, the costs of connectivity leave much to be desired and unfortunately, we are not leaders in 5G or Starlink connectivity. What this does show, however, is that when we allow South Africans to innovate, choose, compete, explore and take risks, the fruit of that activity is a collectively better experience for all and, most importantly, the end user is the greatest beneficiary.

We need to change our attitude about the role that ordinary citizens and private companies play in the energy economy. We want to give South Africans more freedom to choose who they want to partner with to obtain their energy. We want companies to be free to choose whether they want to enter the market to generate, distribute and sell electricity. We believe that by liberalising the electricity market and encouraging accountability and transparency between the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, NERSA and the various other market players, we will avoid the current situation in which Eskom has a monopoly in the electricity market and is incentivised to dominate competitors and control the entire industry by bailouts that reward incompetence and bad decision-making. We don't put up with this in the telecommunications industry, so why should we accept it in the energy sector?

South Africans deserve an energy economy that allows numerous companies to compete against each other for the title of the most reliable, affordable, dependable, efficient, innovative, inclusive, compliant, resilient, customer- orientated and environmentally sustainable utility. In the electricity sector, these could be utilities



that specialise in modular nuclear generation, small-scale embedded generation or coal-based energy generation. They could be utilities that specialise in installation and maintenance of block-chain regulated microgrids or even utilities that are specialised in tariff collection. We need to increase the opportunity for choice and specialisation, rewarding companies which are interested in becoming market players in the energy economy.

The more choice consumers are given, the more freedom market players are given to explore, investigate and specialise. Similarly, the more transparency we expect of NERSA through the DMRE, the more accountable NERSA will be to enforce energy laws and regulations. In this way, we will build an energy economy that not only keeps the lights on, but is a shining beacon of excellence and hope to the continent and the world. Debates about the right mix of renewable energy and fossil-fuel energy should be encouraged, as well as whether nuclear energy is appropriate. We should also discuss how much to invest in the maintenance and upgrading of grid infrastructure, whether smart-grid technologies should be adopted and what tariff regime should be used.

Vodacom and MTN are both mobile operators that were started by significant support from the South African government, but their innovation, expansion and reliability haven't been hamstrung by the government. Rather, as private companies whose leaders have made good decisions since 1994, they have been free to operate in a competitive market, with the result that they are now globally recognised brands. Despite the flaws of our telecommunications industry, taxpayers haven't had to bail out MTN. When Telkom was found guilty of anticompetitive behaviour in 2013, it was fined R200 million. Similarly, BOSA believes that our current energy crisis can be turned around into our brightest opportunity.









As we welcome knowledge exchanges with international collaborators, just as MTN and Vodacom did, we can transform our energy challenges into unique opportunities.

We need to revitalise South Africa's electricity sector by unleashing private utilities that operate across various sectors of the energy economy, competing for distribution, generation, transmission, maintenance, customer service, upgrading and innovation. We need to enhance the transparency of NERSA and pass brave legislation that will ensure that the monopoly of Eskom is a thing of the past. We need to ensure the most optimal use of our natural resources and the adoption of forward-looking renewable and decentralised energy. In the long term, we need to give South Africans the freedom to participate in the whole energy economy.

BOSA's plan will allow us to go back to basics and ensure that the whole is much better than the sum of its individual parts.

# Reforming education for jobs

A crucial aspect of our jobs plan is to prepare young people to add value to the marketplace and contribute to the economic and social needs of the country. To accomplish this, our education system requires a complete overhaul.

Build One South Africa's vision is for affordable, accessible and quality education from the earliest stages of schooling to tertiary degrees that will prepare South Africans to earn well, realise their potential and to be competitive in the digital economy. We must ensure every child has equitable access to quality education,



opportunities for life-long learning and a career of their choice.

South Africa faces a critical shortage of skills, ranging from doctors, engineers and artisans. According to the Engineering Council of South Africa, the country has one engineer for every 3,100 people, compared to , for example - Germany - which has one engineer for every 200 people. South Africa needs to produce ten times more engineers to compete globally. According to the World Economic Forum's global competitiveness index, South Africa is underperforming in human skills development, particularly in digital skills. This is directly hampered by the education system.

The urgency to improve the quality of education is driven by internal and external factors. Externally, there has been an acceleration in artificial intelligence, robotics and quantum computing. The nature of work is being redefined. Internally, there is pressure to address the dangerously high levels of unemployment.

# Bloated education system with a poor track record

We have a bloated education system which costs hundreds of billions of rands every year. In 2022, there were almost 13,5 million pupils in both public and private basic education. Of these, almost 95% attend public schools. Education is one of our biggest expenditure items in the budget. South Africa spent close to R300 billion on basic education in 2023.

And yet despite the amount spent on education, the government has little to show for it. After thirty years in power, the ANC has failed to erase the legacy of Bantu education. Four out of ten pupils who start Grade 1 will not make it all the way through to matric. Recent studies have shown that less than half of children know the alphabet by the end of Grade 1.

International benchmarks give a dismal picture of the performance of our pupils.









According to the 2021 Proficiency in Reading and Literacy Study, more than 80% of Grade 4 learners are unable to read for meaning. At high school level, the performance is equally bad. Only one in five matric pupils has passed mathematics over the past five years – and this trend is not changing.

The numbers are irrefutable: there is an education crisis. This crisis is affecting the employment prospects of many. According to the last quarterly labour force survey of 2023, there were 11 million unemployed South Africans. Of those actively seeking employment, almost 40% of the unemployed didn't complete high school, while a third of the unemployed were in possession of a matric certificate.

The unemployment rate for graduates is almost 9%. In addition, over three million people aged 15 to 24 years aren't in employment or studying. There is a clear need to get South Africans to finish matric well and study further.

### Reforms

The interventions that BOSA proposes implementing would immediately rescue South Africa's education system. These are targeted interventions that are desperately required.

# 1. Drop the 30% pass mark

The Department of Basic Education's own Diagnostics Report shows that the overwhelming majority of matric students who take crucial subjects, such as Maths and Physical Science, pass them with less than 50%. It is no surprise that we have a shortage of engineers and scientists as we are failing to equip enough people to meet the market's needs. Low expectations drive down excellence in achievement.



The current standards tell our learners that 30% and 40% are acceptable pass marks. To achieve high levels of education performance, we must aim high. That includes raising the minimum expectations. Once we set a benchmark to a pass mark of 50%, a clearer picture of student performance emerges. We must equip our young people to compete and win in the global economy. They can with quality education. This begins by upping the matric pass mark.

# 2. Introduce an independent education ombud

An independent education ombud would hold government accountable for their poor performance.

We term it the Inspector General of Education, an office separate from the DBE that can adjudicate school standards, teacher excellence and complaints. This office will operate in a similar way to the Office of the Public Protector. In the Netherlands, they have an office called the Dutch Inspectorate of Education and it is a critical part of their educational success.

Such an office, established in South Africa and accounting directly to Parliament, will help us deal with the issues of corruption and quality control in education. This will prevent wasteful expenditure by the DBE.

# 3. Raise salaries for educators and curtail unions' power

Teacher-to-student ratios are a significant factor contributing to the quality of learning. Over half of primary-school pupils are in classes with more than 40 pupils, with about 15% of classes exceeding 50 pupils. According to education economist Martin Gustafsson this ranks South Africa worse off than countries such as Chile, Indonesia, Morocco and Iran. The National Development Plan targets an additional 160,000 teachers, with a severe shortage of teachers in STEMrelated subjects.









In South Africa, we have a shortage of teachers coupled with low morale. We therefore propose increasing teachers' salaries and benefits to a competitive level. Attracting younger teachers will also revitalise the sector, allowing underperforming teachers to retire and introducing new performance indicators. It will also motivate teachers who have been over performing under adverse conditions. As the adage says, you get what you pay for.

In addition to raising salaries, we must strongly curtail teacher unions. The largest teaching unions have become too powerful and too involved in politics, hindering necessary educational reform.

# 4. Replace Life Orientation with an externally examined subject

Life Orientation must be scrapped and replaced with something more rigorous and in line with our present needs. BOSA proposes the introduction of an externally examined subject which promotes critical thinking and general knowledge.

This subject would have a curriculum based on conceptual analysis, systems and design thinking, political and moral philosophy, and strategic thinking and logic. South Africa currently ranks 95 out of 141 countries worldwide on our quality of critical thinking education. This is indicative that we need to revamp our approach to critical thinking.

### Incentivise students

To boost participation and performance in STEM subjects, we must financially reward top-performing pupils. Because young people respond well to incentives, we can keep up the level of performance among high-school learners.

These incentives can be given after the completion of online tests. This will enable us to track teacher competence in real time and to take remedial action if necessary.



# 6. Strategically focus on primary schools

The first stages of education are the most crucial and predict whether a child will succeed in life. If we fail to address the root causes of stumbling blocks in early education, there's very little that can be done to rectify a child's progress later on.

Too much focus is placed on the later stages of the education system. Senior phases of high school and tertiary education are prioritised ahead of educating children younger than 10. BOSA proposes doubling the number of Maths and English teachers in primary schools. Social workers must be equipped to work closely with creches to identify any home-related obstacles to learning. Creches must be stimulating environments to encourage creativity and learning.

# Implement tighter security at all schools

We need to remove the scourge of violence, bullying and gang-related activities in our schools. There have been too many cases of student stabbings and fights with teachers to ignore. The learning environment must be one that is free from any violence and disruption.

Schools must be a place that makes teachers and pupils feel safe. We propose tightening security measures at schools to promote an effective environment of teaching and learning.

Security must be increased to reduce levels of vandalism and theft of school property by criminals. Programmes to eliminate violence should be introduced - ones not only to prevent violence, but also to break behavioural patterns associated with violent behaviour.

Trauma and counselling should be available to learners in violence-stricken areas and should include debriefing in crisis situations and in-depth therapy where necessary.









Discipline is the responsibility of teachers in partnership with parents who need to agree on what is appropriate, so that they can support each other in cultivating the right set of values.

# 8. Expand programmes for underperforming learners

Expanded programmes are useful for helping students who aren't progressing at the right pace. They allow for the curriculum to be extended from a period of three years (Grades 10, 11 and 12) to a period of four years. This additional year will allow for targeted interventions to close the gaps in knowledge.

This programme should also be offered to learners who have completed their matric exams. This would be a post-matric year in a structured environment with the aim of allowing pupils a second chance to improve their Grade 12 marks.

# 9. Reprioritise spending for digital learning and infrastructure

If we are to adequately prepare learners for the future of work, bridging the digital divide is the most vital need. Our education system requires a major overhaul to improve the quality and access to technology skills.

According to the DBE, only 20% of schools in South Africa have internet connectivity for teaching and learning. These figures are worse for the Eastern Cape (11%), KwaZulu Natal (9%) and Limpopo (4%). The same report found that just 36% of schools have computer centres. This exacerbates inequality and removes the opportunity from young people to pursue meaningful careers at home and abroad.

We need to ring fence a sizable portion of the annual R263-billion education budget to fund a massive rollout programme of broadband connectivity and computer centres in all schools in South Africa.



### 10. Conduct a nationwide teacher skills audit

Over 5,000 teachers in the public education system are either unqualified or underqualified in their area of specialisation. Having ill-equipped teachers impacts negatively on learner performance on all levels.

Every school must conduct a skills audit to measure proficiency in teaching and in subject matter. Underperforming teachers must be put through a skills and training programme before returning to the classroom.

Lastly, an Annual National Assessment must be introduced. This will allow the DBE to assess teachers periodically to ensure that those excelling are rewarded and those not succeeding are either upskilled or removed.









# Building a capable state for jobs

Growing the economy and creating jobs depends on a capable state machinery that is able to provide basic services to businesses, execute against government plans, and root out malpractice and corruption that halts growth.

The lived reality for many South Africans is that at every point when they have to encounter the government they experience powerlessness, frustration and poor service delivery. Whether they are dealing with the police, home affairs or traffic department officials, the experience of the nation is one of perennial disappointment. At the same time that civilians drive over pothole-filled roads, rely on private healthcare and private security, all citizens are paying taxes for services that they do not receive.

It has become painfully apparent that our country is currently led by a corrupt and unproductive government that impedes well-meaning civil servants from carrying out their duties. The toxic combination of crippling red tape and wasteful expenditure evidence has contributed directly to widespread infrastructure decay, an ailing economy, and the systemic collapse of education, healthcare and criminal justice.



# Interventions

Changing the law to allow for the direct elections of public representatives

Implementing changes to legislation and the constitution to allow for:

- An Independent speaker of Parliament
- The reduction of cabinet size
- Removal of all deputy ministers
- Increased number of cabinet members from outside Parliament
- A professionals charter for all public servants to match skills and competence to positions
- 6. Monthly performance reviews for employees in all key departments
- Reform of the Public Service Commission (PSC) to have tighter guidelines on appointment, clear job specs and adhered thereto
- An ethics ombudsman to proactively monitor cabinet members conduct
- Lifestyle audits of all senior positions in government departments. These must be forensic in nature — looking into bank accounts, debit payments, school fee payments, trust accounts and all money that changes hands with politicians.









We will introduce digitized systems of document collection submission, this will apply to job applications and other services being rendered by government. For instance police dockets will be uploaded to a centralized repository.

All public officials will have a digitized rating system in their respective departments, any worker who is reviewed consistently below 7/10 by members of the public will face penalties and eventually dismissal for repeat offenders.

We will restructure the financial packages for key public servant positions to capacitate the technical capabilities of the government, this will allow government to attract talent from the private sector and from the region.

Finally, we will ensure that all public procurement contracts, transactions and the state's ability to transact with citizens is digitised.



# Creating a safe environment for jobs

No one can run a business that creates jobs in an unsafe environment in which the fear of crime, robbery or being attacked remains front of mind. Moreover, direct investment into the economy rests on investor confidence that they are not pouring money and assets into a dangerous and unsafe environment.

Crime, from petty theft to brutal violence, has become a reality for many. Its roots lie in a tangled web of poverty, inequality and historical injustices. This complex interplay feeds violence and insecurity at all levels.

Crimes reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS) have risen consistently over the last 10 years. The increase in the number of serious contact crimes reported, including murder, attempted murder, assault and sexual offences, along with the increased risk of kidnapping, robbery and home burglaries, contributes to a pervasive sense of fear and insecurity for many South Africans.

Our homes and streets are becoming increasingly unsafe. Recent crime statistics reported by SAPS indicate that almost two thirds (63%) of rape cases and just under half (45%) of assault cases take place in the home of the victim, perpetrator or someone known to the victim. By contrast, half of all murders (51%) and 40% of attempted murder cases are reported to have taken place in public spaces.

The right to safety isn't a privilege, it's a fundamental human right. Right now, too many South Africans feel unsafe in their own homes. We believe BOSA holds the key to unlocking a South Africa where everyone can live freely without fear, and conduct business without the increased risk of crime. Our solutions will tackle the root causes of crime, rebuild trust in the justice system and empower communities to reclaim their streets.

In order to adequately tackle crime, we need a multi-pronged approach that addresses both its root causes and immediate threats.









While we invest in long-term social and economic programmes to break the cycle of poverty, unemployment and inequality, we must also bolster and empower our law enforcement.

This means professionalising the SAPS, equipping them with cutting-edge technology and training, and ensuring accountability through transparent internal mechanisms. Simultaneously, we need to streamline the criminal justice system, making it swift and efficient in bringing perpetrators to justice.

Our plan prioritises immediate action on three fronts. We understand that tackling crime's deep roots takes time, but these immediate interventions can deliver tangible results within the next three to five years, with demonstrably lower murder rates and a weakened grip of organised crime on our communities.

# 1. Professionalising SAPS

Rebooting policing requires more than money. The collapsing internal disciplinary system needs a complete overhaul, with robust witness protection, secure evidence management and stricter penalties for misconduct. The Independent Police Investigative Directorate must be empowered to hold officers accountable, not merely gather dust.

Additionally, promotions must be performance-based, ensuring a leaner, more effective force. With strategic resource allocation and targeted reforms, we can rebuild trust, improve performance and create a police force South Africa can be proud of.

Police misconduct has a human cost. With internal disciplinary hearings plummeting by 73%, countless incidents of alleged wrongdoing among police officers go unaddressed. This feeds into a cycle of impunity, reflected in the fivefold increase in civil claims against the SAPS.



The consequence? The Institute for Security Studies reports that a mere 27% of South Africans trust police officers, the lowest level in over two decades. We can't let this decline continue. We need bold action to rebuild trust and ensure safety for all.



Rebuilding trust in SAPS through a focus on accountability: SAPS must be professionalised through the improvement of police leadership and the removal of corrupt and poor-performing members of SAPS. We will empower the Independent Police Investigative Directorate to hold officers accountable.



Building capacity of SAPS at station level: We will recruit and train 120,000 new police officers to increase visible policing and boost specialised detective services at station level. This will reverse the almost 10% decrease in police officers between 2012 and 2023 and bolster community-based services, leading to a more favourable police-tocitizen ratio from 1:453 to 1:238.



Resourcing SAPS for effective and efficient response and prevention actions: We will ensure that resources and equipment, such as police vehicles and rape kits, are adequately funded, acquired and maintained for effective and efficient response from all SAPS stations.

# 2. Decentralising and localising law enforcement

To combat crime effectively, we will usher in a new era of decentralised policing, bringing law enforcement closer to the communities they serve.



Smaller regional and municipal police forces will prioritise trust and collaboration with their surrounding communities, drawing strength from diverse stakeholders. To augment their capacity, we will explore









controlled partnerships with private security providers, clear limitations and robust public oversight mechanisms. This integrated network will deliver comprehensive safety services, from crime prevention and first response to investigations and by-law enforcement.



Comprehensive anti-bias, racial sensitivity training will be mandatory for all police officers, including private security personnel. Additionally, we'll invest in specialised training for all first responders, including SAPS and judicial officials, to effectively address gender-based violence and the provision of survivor-centred services.

# 3. Revitalising the criminal justice system

South Africa's justice system is often hampered by lost evidence, missing dockets and delays in processing cases through the court system. We will combat this head-on.

Maintaining a clear chain of custody for evidence is a major issue for law enforcement officers. BOSA proposes the following measures to strengthen the chain of custody and put an end to lost evidence:



We will forge partnerships with private laboratories to offer forensic support services to law enforcement agencies and integrate their data into a national electronic forensic database.



We will mandate the digitalisation of all dockets which will be uploaded to secure and encrypted local and national servers, ensuring transparency and accessibility.



We will resource the broader justice system and more than double the NPA's budget to R10 billion.



We will establish a National Criminal Investigation Directorate.

Composed of elite investigators and prosecutors, this task force will pursue and prosecute the top 100 most violent criminals and crime



organisations. Their updated list will be a public testament to our zerotolerance policy.

We are confident that through these measures, BOSA will build one South Africa where all people feel safe and are satisfied with the criminal justice system.

# **Gender-based violence**

Gender-based violence (GBV), in particular crimes against women and children continue to grow in prevalence and violent nature. In 2022, SAPS reported the murder of over 4,000 women and over 1,000 children. In addition to murder, reported cases of common and serious assaults and sexual offences increased year-on-year.

Many who experience GBV, do so in silence, fearful of the stigma and increased threat of violence should they report, coupled with inefficiencies in the criminal justice response, whether experienced or perceived.

BOSA will institute the following measures to increase the effectiveness of the state's response to gender-based violence:



Institute an automated national register for protection orders.



Advocate for an updated and public sexual offenders register.



Mandate legal aid to victims of gender-based violence who want to sue the government for failure to protect and provide services.



End the shortage of rape kits at all police stations.



Build more specialised sexual offences courts.











# Conclusion

South Africa is at a crucial crossroads. While our country is filled with extraordinarily talented people who have risen above hardship to build a robust society, we are being held back by corrupt and incapable political leaders.

The time for political change in South Africa is now. As BOSA, we will rebuild our country through an integrated, citizen-centred approach that requires us to protect what we have built and to invest in a future we can all be proud of.

Our Jobs Plan is the blueprint for change – a manifesto to build a South Africa that works – centred around creating a job in every home, growing the economy, and upskilling and educating the nation for the future.

Now is the time for ethical leaders with purpose and a plan to stand up and lead our nation.. Let us build One South Africa together.





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