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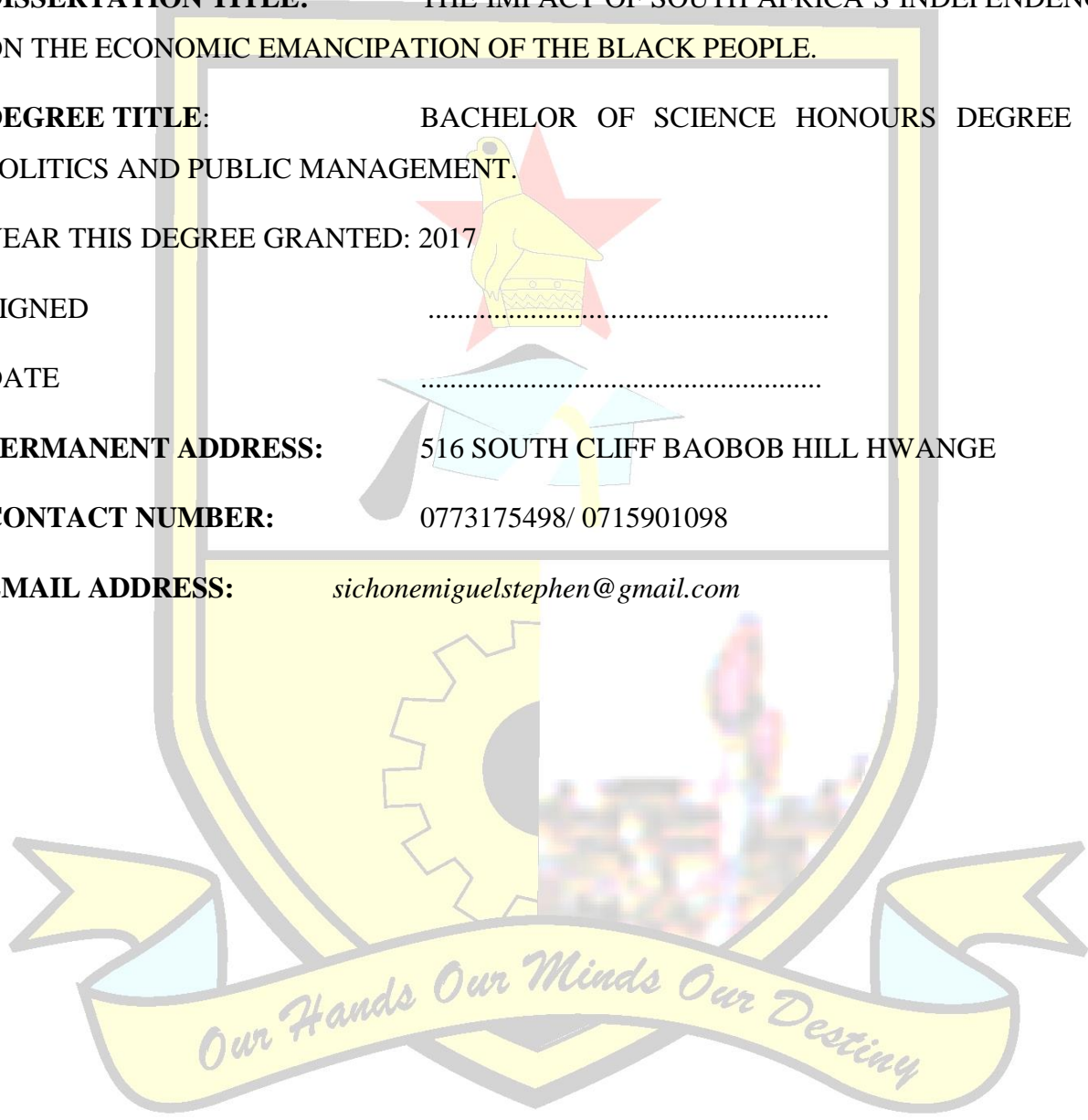
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DEDICATION

To my late mother Junior Dumani this one is for you.



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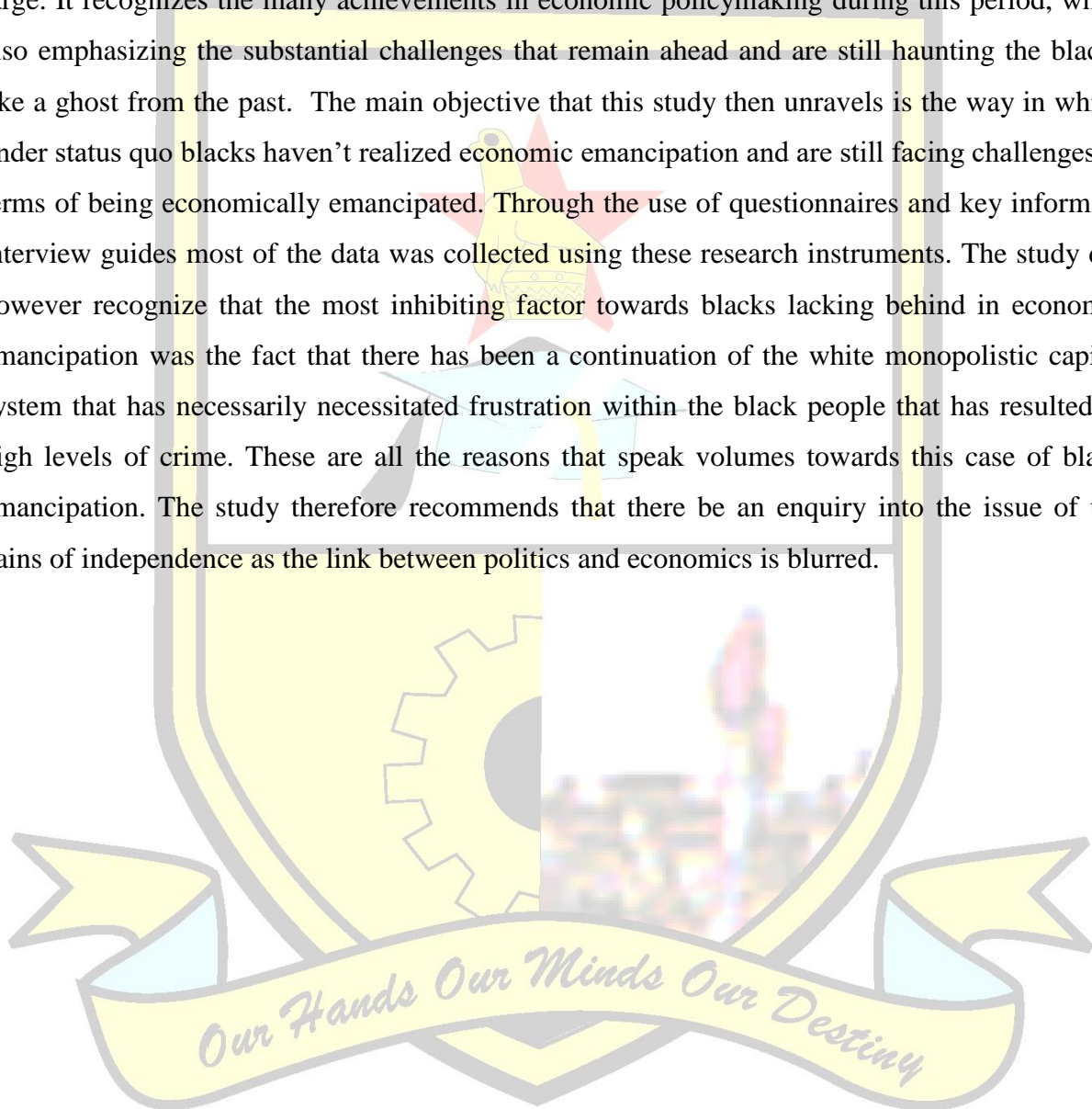
DECLARATION

This research is my own original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University. All the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



ABSTRACT.

Twenty-three years after the end of apartheid in South Africa, this study takes stock of how the government has managed to address the consequences of apartheid and lay the basis for a durable and broad-based improvement in living standards for blacks and the general populace at large. It recognizes the many achievements in economic policymaking during this period, while also emphasizing the substantial challenges that remain ahead and are still haunting the blacks like a ghost from the past. The main objective that this study then unravels is the way in which under status quo blacks haven't realized economic emancipation and are still facing challenges in terms of being economically emancipated. Through the use of questionnaires and key informant interview guides most of the data was collected using these research instruments. The study did however recognize that the most inhibiting factor towards blacks lacking behind in economic emancipation was the fact that there has been a continuation of the white monopolistic capital system that has necessarily necessitated frustration within the black people that has resulted in high levels of crime. These are all the reasons that speak volumes towards this case of black emancipation. The study therefore recommends that there be an enquiry into the issue of the gains of independence as the link between politics and economics is blurred.



LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBEE	-	Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment
EFF	-	Economic Freedom Fighters
BFLF	-	Black First Land First
ANC	-	African National Congress
DA	-	Democratic Alliance
SA	-	South Africa



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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

During colonialism and apartheid black people didn't enjoy much in terms of human rights benefits they were oppressed and disposed of their means of livelihoods and systematically striped of their basic human rights including the right to vote and freedom of movement and association. 2014 represented a historic milestone in the history of South Africa's 20 years of freedom and democracy. Literally in 1994 for the first time South Africans of all races, gender and creed cast their votes in the country's first democratic election. Until this momentous occasion South Africa could not speak of one nation. The first democratic election made it possible for people to stand together and begin to build one country that belongs to all who live in it. For majority of people who had never voted before their dignity was restored as they who would lead their country and fundamentally transform it from an apartheid state to a democratic state.

For the past 23 years, the governing party and its alliance partners have been shouting all relevant slogans and catch phrases, but failed to fundamentally transform the economic situation of blacks. The latest slogan and catch phrase is radical economic transformation. These are some of the feel-good catch phrases by the leaders of the governing party and the poor majority have nothing substantive to show in terms of economic transformation particularly the blacks. As a matter of fact, the governing party have had the required majority at municipal, provincial and national assembly to implement any fundamental economic changes that they required, but failed to use their majority for the greater benefit of ordinary people. When the governing party came into power in 1994, they all knew that black people were over the years systematically and deliberately excluded from the mainstream economy, and for them to recite radical economic transformation 23 years later, will not help accelerate the required urgent economic transformation in this country.

1.2 Background of the study

South Africa was under apartheid rule for nearly two decades, the apartheid system was designed to withhold citizens' rights from all non-white members of South Africa. Literally South Africans were forced to eat live think and dress like Europeans during the apartheid era It is crucial to note that apartheid was not a start of racial segregation but instead a crystallization of

segregation. There were already existing racial segregation policies like existence of homelands and pass laws which were targeted at black people which also limited where Africans could live for nearly fifty years. Following the land and livestock dispossession and deprivation of the opportunity to earn sustainable livelihoods, many black people were forced to migrate toward white owned farms and mines to work as cheap labor under appalling working conditions.

Workers had no rights they were paid very low wages, housed in compounds controlled by pass laws and segregated from their families. It is with such appreciation that the issue of economic emancipation played a pivotal role in the livelihoods of blacks as according to Mandela (1994) in his inauguration speech he noted that we have at last achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation suffering, gender and other discrimination. This necessarily meant that the advent of democracy would usher in a new social order a system where blacks would ascertain their dominance and be economically empowered, recognizing that the past hadn't been favorable to them.

This importance of apartheid for the white minority should not be overlooked. Relying on the low wages maintained by apartheid South African firms had average annual profit of 25 % by the early eighties compared to 6.5 % in Britain at the same time (Clark and Worger 2004,p 63). The economic improvements were only experienced by the whites whereas for Africans the situation became worse. In 1971 the real Africa mine wage was lower than it had been in 1911 and African factory workers were paid 18% of their white counterpart's wages.

It is with such justification that the problems faced by the blacks in South Africa still go on, whereby during the pre-colonial period the means of production were controlled by the whites and post 1994 the same system is still going on. One would argue that South Africans just changed faces of apartheid and didn't end the system as it is still going on. Basically it's just as the old saying goes old wine in new bottles. The rise of new political parties like the EFF which are fighting for the economic freedom and emancipation of the black people is testimony enough to show that there is an economic imbalance in the rainbow nation even though measures to mitigate such disparities have been enacted i.e. BEE

Since the inception of democracy in 1994 the main economic objectives of government have been job creation the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality. The democratic state had put in place a range of policies and programmes (B-BBEE) to transform the economic

situation of blacks to overcome the apartheid legacy. This included the establishing the National Empowerment Fund to support and facilitate increased participation of black South Africans in the economy by providing financial and non-financial support, so as to emancipate them.

Twenty-three years South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, a small group thrives whilst the majority is economically underprivileged or live in poverty. Those who were repressed by the system have experienced political liberation however the economy still appears to work in the favor of the white minority instead of those that needed it the most and government mechanism to alleviate this situation are either not working or failing.

The economic challenges that black people in South Africa are facing and the continued economic legacy (white capitalist system) of the whites after apartheid has been a cause of concern. Also troubling to broad swaths of the public as well as economist and analysts is the direction government and society itself are herding. Years later South Africa still faces the same challenges that it had during the colonial period where the lowest common denominator who is the black men and women languish in poverty while the white men seats and sips cocktails and drink sparkling water in their spacious houses all this based on the ideological belief that races should not mix however, Wolpe 1972 argues that apartheid was motivated by economic reasons. He further goes on to expand and say that the increase in cheap labor reached a stand point because of the deterioration in soil fertility to produce food needed for subsistence which led families to revolt and strike in the homelands. This then clearly shows the intrinsic need for economic emancipation for the black people as independence didn't do much justice in empowering blacks, which is the reason why this study wants to explore what really went wrong and show the gaps in logic when it comes to economic emancipation of the black people.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Two decades after the white led government relinquished power the levels of unemployment, poverty, corruption and crime have surged and South Africa now regularly tops the charts worldwide in terms of rape and murder.

1.4 Objectives

1. To examine whether the independence from apartheid brought with it the economic independence to the black people / citizens

2. To determine who benefited the most after the fall of apartheid and the 1994 peoples first government.
3. To identify the failures of government policies in trying to emancipate the blacks economically
4. To investigate the problems that blacks are facing in the modern day discourse in terms of economic affairs in South Africa.

1.5 Research questions.

1. Did the independence in 1994 holistically bring economic emancipation?
2. What has been done by the new South African government enacted policies in terms of economically emancipating majority groups
3. Which group has benefited the most from the economic system of South Africa Post-apartheid?
4. What have been the problems that have deterred realization of economic emancipation for the blacks?

1.6 Justification of the study

There is link between politics and economics which is political economy. In South Africa this is still a problem whereby there is economic inequality amongst the existing races and demography in the populace. This research will not only benefit academics and the institution but it's also going to be a benefit to the already existing literature out there on black emancipation. While on that note it is also important to realize that the existence of such political parties as the BFLF and the EFF already attest to the need of study to be in place when it comes to the aspect economic empowerment, so in essence it's also going to be beneficial to the proliferation of political parties.

There is need know how issues of economic emancipation are affecting the black folk in South Africa, therefore the study provides some insights to policy makers, academics, politicians and political parties that there is need to re visit the 1994 agenda of economically empowering the

blacks in a post-apartheid South Africa. This will then improve the way of lifestyle, basic health and efficient service delivery to these people.

1.7 Limitations

- a) People might not be forthcoming when it comes to issues of answering or filling in questionnaires.
- b) Relying too much on written documents might bring negative contributions to the research as some information might be subjective and biased

In my bid to overcome these limitations it would be advisable to probe further particularly when it comes to issues of filling in questionnaires of simply alerting my target group in time that such an event might take place at a specified time. On that same note the use of focus group discussion will thus become relevant so as to balance up my textual evidence so as to have a critically appraisal of both sides

1.8 Delimitations

Will focus on blacks whether or not the much needed independence brought with it economic freedom as it did politically also paying particular attention to how other races have been systematically disenfranchised in the process.

1.9 Ethics to be observed

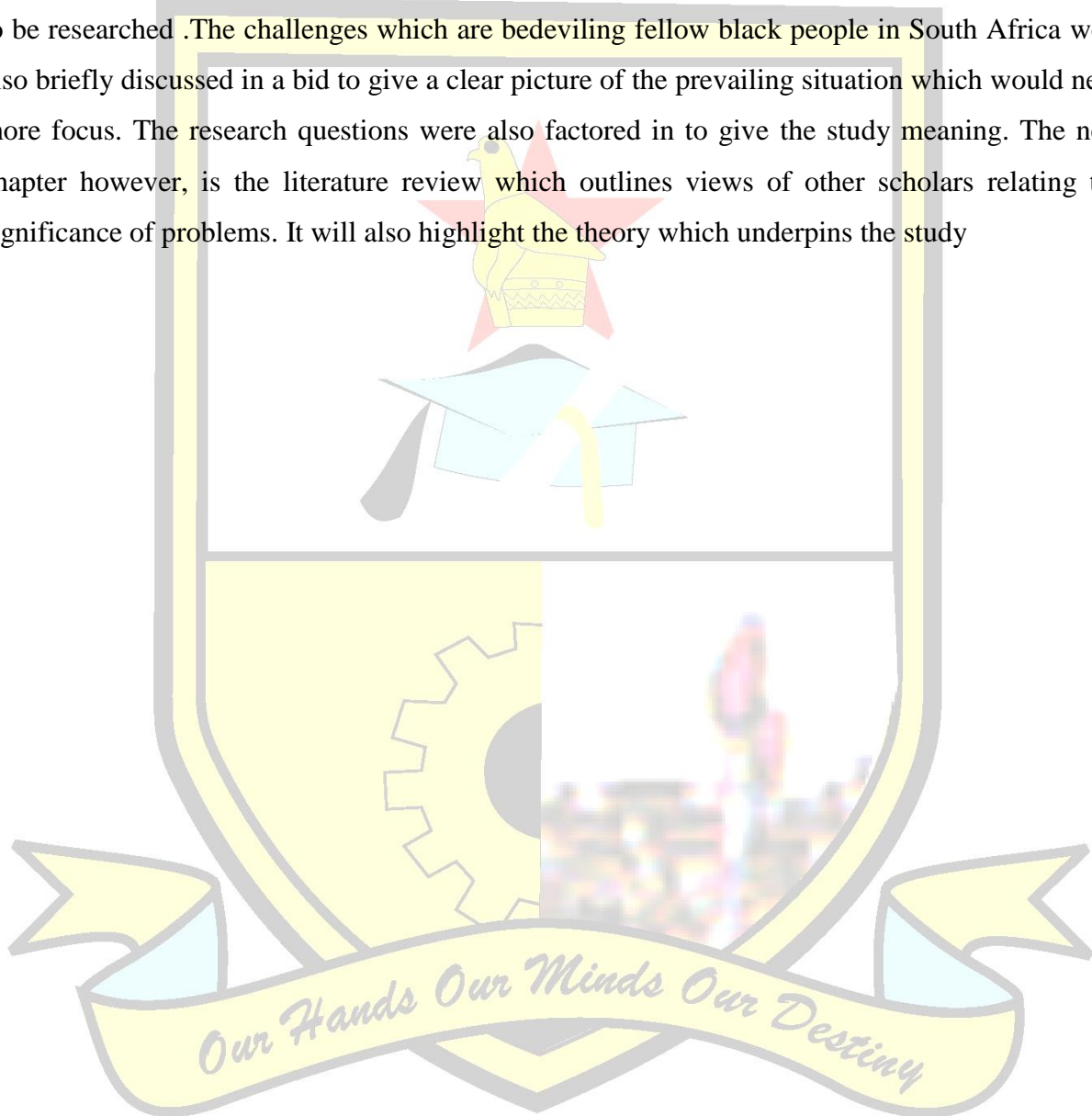
The enquiry worker vows to maintain high standards of ethical procedure since he will be working with different people from different demography's and people who might be very weary to tell the days of their lives since they live in abject poverty.

- Confidentiality – the researcher vows to be discreet in his research as the kind of information that might be asked might be too personal to certain individuals being interviewed.
- Objectiveness- personal feelings and bias would be put aside in data analysis and capturing. Information that might add flavor to objectiveness might be used in the research paper.

- Study subjects responses will not be disclosed to any one and the subjects have the right to the results from the study

1.10 Summary

This chapter gave details on the statement of the problem which has led to the topic in question to be researched .The challenges which are bedeviling fellow black people in South Africa were also briefly discussed in a bid to give a clear picture of the prevailing situation which would need more focus. The research questions were also factored in to give the study meaning. The next chapter however, is the literature review which outlines views of other scholars relating the significance of problems. It will also highlight the theory which underpins the study



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature on the subject matter of the study and will critically consider what has been researched and published which is relevant to the current study. The main thrust of this chapter is centered on identification, evaluation and interpretation of the existing recorded work convergence among various authors, identifying the gaps and areas of further study. Embedded in this chapter in particular is an overview of the impact of South Africa's independence on the economic emancipation of the black people. One will realize that ever since the fight against apartheid, there hasn't been any tangible change towards the life that most black generally lead in South Africa. The levels of poverty are worsening, crime is at its peak, unemployment is on the rise while health and basic social service delivery is slowly worsening and becoming a burden of the government.

The horror of apartheid in South Africa has been unrelenting on its historically victimized black majority populace. The nightmares that are its major tenets have rumbled back into consciousness on the economic forum whilst the repugnant political system's fall was hailed as a triumph universally. From independence to date white monopoly capital that is still a fervent memento of apartheid and any oppressor system still continues exhibiting economic inequality that with such humble privilege blacks languish further in poverty against purported gains of oppression. The strategic machination that was apartheid was wittily devised to serve interests of its proponents. Such shackles of its system need to be enquired on the economic front beyond the political realm, seeking to gauge if as so desired has economic emancipation agendas and spoils really prevailed against the background of renewed probes and protests on the land and economic questions by diverse sectors of the South African and pan Africanism nationalism spheres.

On a more comparative level a review will be made between South Africa and other African countries that have also undergone the same process of fighting against colonialism and fruitful gaining the much needed independence not only politically but also economically. Analysis will be made also at the risks that come with fighting against a system that purportedly is to be

beneficial to the greater good and the risks associated with the fight for economic emancipation taking into consideration the Zimbabwean context.

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review entails the evaluation, contrasting and comparison of the study that one investigates to the existing literature. It gives quality, weight, meaning and relevance to the study. It points to the loopholes that relate to what has been presented and written by other scholars in relation to the research under study. Books and Beile (2005) substantiated that literature review is meant to justify the study under investigation. One of the prominent figures in South African history Steve Biko had this to say in 1977 when asked about an egalitarian society “I think there is no running away from the fact that now in South Africa there is such an ill-distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless.” It does appear that the governing party have failed to take Biko’s caution seriously and up to date this still remains a ghost that haunts South Africa as a whole particularly the lowest common denominator who are the blacks, who still face challenges in terms of ascertaining their economic freedom 23 years after the fall apartheid.

When one takes a wide approach to this issue and looks at people like Nkrumah who became an international symbol of freedom as the leader of the first black African country to shake off the chains of colonial rule. As midnight struck on March 5, 1957 and the Gold Coast became Ghana, Nkrumah declared: ‘We are going to see that we create our own African personality and identity. We again rededicate ourselves in the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa; for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent. This however shows how other leaders in general were so concerned with the negritude movement to such extents they publicly pronounced their quest to try and address the plight of black people which was not only socio political freedom but also economic freedom from the shackles of colonialism/apartheid.

The quest for independence hasn’t been an easy road for most African countries and particularly to South Africa as it is one of the last countries to break away from colonial rule but be that as it may there are issues that still need to be tackled when it comes to issues of economic emancipation in relation to the black majority. The bitterness associated with some people when it comes to this particular topic is toxic. Desmond Tutu in one of his speeches is noted to have

said white citizens needed to accept the obvious: "You all benefited from apartheid "Your children could go to good schools. You lived in smart neighborhoods. Yet so many of my fellow white citizens become upset when you mention this. Why? Some are crippled by shame and guilt and respond with self-justification or indifference, one is thus left wondering if the TRC was really a genuine cause of it was just a mere truce. This particularly highlights the major causes of rift within the South African political arena when it comes to issues of the economy.

With such a perspective on the issues that embody the South African government, the major question then becomes how is the link between politics and economics so blurred when it particularly comes to black people. This is so because in as much as these people broke away from colonial rule nothing much has been done to emancipate black people economically there is still the continuation of a white monopolistic capital system. It hasn't been a collective situation when it comes to people climbing the social ladder like communism would advocate but what then happens is the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. There is a huge gap when it comes to social stratification of people and even amongst blacks themselves which has led to the undermining of social cohesion within the status quo. Most scholars have been silent when it particularly comes to this issue of black emancipation, what has been happening over the past few years is that the best thing to ever happen was political freedom. As if that is enough to ensure that every tom dick and harry within the society is satisfied, that wasn't the case, but what then happened was that no one has been able to question such issues. This is particularly what this study will show how there has been a discrepancy in both governments and other state actors that work in tandem to undermine the self-actualization of blacks (economic emancipation)

2.2.1 South Africa's Struggle for Independence.

The South African freedom struggle began when the KhoiKhoi resisted the establishment of a refreshment station at Table Bay by the Dutch East India Company in 1652. But until January 1912, when the forerunner to the African National Congress (ANC) was established, the battle against growing oppression was localized. And even then it would remain fairly passive until the advent of apartheid in 1948, which ushered in a period of repression infinitely worse than anything experienced before.

At the behest of young activists like Nelson Mandela, the ANC began to change its direction to a mass-based movement intent on liberation from apartheid. Growing resistance culminated in the

Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960 in which 69 protestors were killed by police. In panic the government declared a state of emergency and banned the ANC and other liberation movements.

The ANC responded by taking the struggle in South Africa underground and establishing an armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation), which was at the forefront of the freedom struggle. The government, in turn, tightened its repressive measures and attempted to crush the movement, forcing those leaders who were not incarcerated on Robben Island to flee overseas. With the ANC inactive in the country, movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement grew in popularity, particularly among students.

Student involvement in that movement culminated in the 16 June 1976 Soweto uprising. On that day, the youth staged protests against the government's attempts to change the medium of instruction at black schools to Afrikaans. The uprising was violently crushed, with many of the students shot dead by the police. Many who survived left the country to join the struggle. The famous image of a shot Hector Pieterse being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo during that uprising became the symbol of youth resistance in South Africa. Paying particular attention to this issue the aspect economic justice was also at the fore front of these struggles during the fight against apartheid. The youths had taken it upon themselves to join in the struggle and fight against the oppressor. Poverty had been the order of the day

Meanwhile, the ANC in exile and internal underground structures were able to bring such pressure to bear on the apartheid government during the freedom struggle of South Africa that it unbanned all liberation movements in 1990, freed imprisoned leaders and entered negotiations, which culminated in the first democratic elections being held on 27 April 1994.

On that very same note the much needed independence had its short comings that the government ought to have addressed in the long run which have then become the problems that still face South Africa under the status quo. The hailed fall of apartheid should have brought with it land redistribution and restitution to the blacks but alas nothing of that sort has happened. According to Parker (2014) he notes that the process of land redistribution is fraught with problems. Some experts argue that there is a lack of capital to sustain farms under new ownership and that many black farmers who would win land claims do not have the skills to keep the farms commercially viable. The existence of such thoughts still show that there hasn't been much that has been done to try and alleviate the problems faced by blacks in South Africa

and not only that but the fact that the state of affairs when it comes to economic sustenance is still a cause of concern.

On a more advanced level there hasn't been much change in the state of affairs between the way of life blacks lead during and after apartheid. It's all about the comparative as Tutu notes that every day in a squatter camp near Cape Town, called K.T.C., the authorities have been demolishing flimsy plastic shelters which black mothers have erected because they were taking their marriage vows seriously. They have been reduced to sitting on soaking mattresses, with their household effects strewn round their feet, and whimpering babies on their laps, in the cold Cape winter rain. Every day the authorities have carried out these callous demolitions. What heinous crime have these women committed, to be hounded like criminals in this manner? All they have wanted is to be with their husbands, the fathers of their children. Everywhere else in the world they would be highly commended, but in South Africa, a land which claims to be Christian, and which boasts a public holiday called Family Day, these gallant women are treated so inhumanely, and yet all they want is to have a decent and stable family life. Unfortunately, in the land of their birth, it is a criminal offence for them to live happily with their husbands and the fathers of their children. Black family life is thus being undermined, not accidentally, but by deliberate Government policy. It is part of the price human beings, God's children, are called to pay for apartheid. An unacceptable price.

2.2.2 Governance by Corruption in the government and ANC



This is an image of a billboard enacted by ANC in Alexandra.

Ironically the government is worried about curbing corruption while at the same time the gains of freedom are being flushed down the drain. In the pictorial is a lady fetching water in a squatter camp. This shows the levels of poverty that fellow blacks are enduring 23 years after attaining freedom in a democratic South Africa. It is disheartening to realize that in as much they are worried to rid the governments of corrupt leaders they themselves are corrupt and it is with such irony that the blacks will be in difficulties when it comes to them realizing economic freedom. Its pot calling kettle black, why? Because most governments are quick to err out that there is corruption but in addressing this for the betterment of the citizens and the general populace at large is far from their initiatives. This then shows how such becomes a problem for blacks to be economically empowered because the leaders are corrupt which then hinders economic realization.

As the world remembers the passing of global icon Nelson Mandela, the fact that he was a man of principle is a clear element of his success as a leader and overall greatness. He understood the vital importance of the constitutional principles of accountability and the rule of law. He not only said as much, but also demonstrated the courage of his convictions by submitting himself before the courts when summoned to defend his decision to set up a commission to investigate alleged racism, corruption and nepotism in South African rugby. It is therefore saddening to see how far the ruling elite have strayed from the example set by this great man. An important barometer of the extent of this problem is growing public sector corruption, whereby public funds are being diverted away from the public good towards private interests. Of course private sector corruption is also a problem, but unless and until there is a handle on corruption in government, private sector corruption will continue to flourish and in the long run blacks will continue to languish in poverty and be at the receiving end at all time.

According to Newham (2014) there is evidence that the heart of the problem lies in the lack of accountability for maladministration and corruption. he further goes on to state that the problem starts with the president – while there are various efforts by the government to tackle corruption, “these actions were countered by the continuing impunity on the part of those who were politically and financially powerful”. In particular, it was explained that the "Gupta wedding saga and on-going fiasco surrounding the president's private Nkandla residence are indicators in the past year of impunity in operation". Little symbolises the nature of the public sector

corruption challenge better than the scandal of R215-millions of public money being diverted away from the public good to upgrade President Jacob Zuma's private homestead.

According to Mogotsi 2017 the governing party has been in power for the past 23 years and has failed to meaningfully transform the economy of this country, thus betraying many future generations of black people. Lately, our collective failure as black people to take over the economic power is being diverted by the deafening noise on the so-called white monopoly capital – why are we not paying attention to how we have been failed by our own black people and government. It is quite clear that political patronage and rewarding cadres is not working.

Amidst all this one is left wondering if there is really positive impact of the independence on the economic emancipation of the black people as the same people that are supposed to be the leaders in trying to alleviate the economic injustice are the same people that are squandering the money. It is therefore not surprising that research data later in the research supports the argument that corruption committed by politicians and government officials is driving negative public perceptions of corruption in South Africa which necessarily doesn't have that much of an impact when it comes to public good particularly when it comes to issues of economic emancipation.

Recently in his State of the Nation Address President Jacob Zuma is noted to have said “The objective of our struggle in South Africa, as set out in the Freedom Charter, encompasses economic emancipation. It is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the country to the people as a whole. “To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the roots of racial supremacy and exploitation, and does not represent even the shadow of liberation. “It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy; and our drive towards national emancipation must include economic emancipation. “What do we mean by radical socio-economic transformation? We mean fundamental change in the structure, systems, institutions and patterns of ownership, management and control of the economy in favor of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female, as defined by the governing party which makes policy for the democratic government. Twenty two years into our freedom and democracy, the majority of black people are still economically disempowered. They are dissatisfied with the economic gains from liberation. The gap between the annual average household incomes of African-headed households and their white counterparts remains

shockingly huge. What then is shocking under the context is the level of inconsistency within the government to try and alleviate the poverty situation of blacks.

White households earn at least five times more than black households, according to Statistics SA. The situation with regards to the ownership of the economy also mirrors that of household incomes. Only ten percent of the top one hundred companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are owned by black South Africans, directly-achieved principally, through the black empowerment codes, according to the National Empowerment Fund. In retrospect it shows the folly in both the government and the ruling party in trying to emancipate black people as noted by Blanton.

If really corruption has been a contributory factor towards the failure of government to help ensure that blacks enjoy economic empowerment, then there needs to be a thorough assessment on whether the mitigatory measures of trying to address this corruption are working or not.

2.2.3 The Black Economic Empowerment – Selective empowerment?

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a racially selective programme launched by the South African government to redress the inequalities of Apartheid by giving certain previously disadvantaged groups (Blacks, Coloureds, Indians, and Chinese) of South African citizens' economic privileges previously not available to them under White rule. It is a form of Affirmative action. Although race is the overriding factor, it includes measures such as employment preference, skills development, ownership, management, socioeconomic development, and preferential procurement. This has however been problematic in post-apartheid South Africa where they claim to be a rainbow nation that has put the past behind them but continually perpetuates spirits of segregation and racism. This has led to brain drain within the South African spheres as the qualified white expertise is immigrating to countries where they would not be discriminated against. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi (2007) is a strong critic of BEE and supports this view. He has stated that "the government's reckless implementation of the affirmative action policy is forcing many white people to leave the country in search of work, creating a skills shortage crisis". Warning that South Africa is sitting on a "powder keg," Archbishop Desmond Tutu argued that Black Economic Empowerment only serves a few black elite, leaving millions in "dehumanizing poverty. Clearly it shows that even if

mechanism have been put in place to empower blacks there still is some form of resistance from other entities within the government because of the inequality associated with these policies.

Since the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, black economic empowerment has been one of the foremost issues on the government's agenda. The government of South Africa recognizes that the majority of the people of South Africa for decades have been deprived of all influence in the society. As a result of discriminatory laws and practices, there are firmly established structures and patterns that do not vanish simply by repealing discriminatory laws. Black economic empowerment has a key role in the transformation process aimed at re-balancing the society after the years of apartheid. It is the government's policy to actively promote a more equitable distribution of wealth. This is believed to be necessary in order to secure the newly started democratic process in South Africa.

The government of South Africa promotes black economic empowerment in a number of ways. Beyond enforcing empowerment through legislative measures, emphasis is put on how well the business is compatible with the principles of black economic empowerment when granting State contracts, licenses (for example broadcasting, fishing, casino, radio and cellular telephone licenses), and giving financial and other assistance to business. Therefore, it is critical for all companies, and particularly companies having dealings with the government in the course of business, to understand the concept of black economic empowerment and its impact on business in South Africa today.

According to Smith (2016) he is of the opinion that the discourse in South Africa of the black economic empowerment has returned with a bang to the question of race and racism, but much clarity has been lost on the BEE question. It is now common place to be accused of anti-black racism if one objects to this holy-grail, regardless of whether you keep Karl Marx and Frantz Fanon or Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek in your briefcase. This, of course, plays perfectly into the hands of the benefactors of BEE, whether white or black. It is thus necessary to re-clarify a few things.

The official aim of black economic empowerment is to deracialise the distribution of wealth in South African society. Contrary to the beliefs of those nostalgic for the apartheid days of

economic and social segregation, this is an important and necessary project to pursue. However, though the principle undergirding it is uncontroversial, all evidence suggests that BEE has only served to enrich a handful of well-connected black businessmen and politicians thus disregarding the major majority.

While on the note of black empowerment it is important to note that the benefactors of this government endeavor are only the political elite. A very good case in point in the opinion by Myre (2014) when notes that a recent anti-corruption report criticized Jacob Zuma for spending more than \$23 million to upgrade his private home, including amenities such as a swimming pool and an amphitheater. He was booed at a memorial service for Mandela last December even though the crowd was dominated by members of his party. For those struggling to get ahead, a common complaint is that only people with connections to the party or the government are advancing. There's even a name for them: "tenderpreneurs," a reference to businessmen who are skilled at getting government contracts, or tenders. Clearly the intended benefactors have not really benefited much from the government as government corruption is an endemic problem. Violent crime has not been tamed. The HIV/AIDS rates are among the highest in the world. Squatter communities just keep expanding, and millions of poor blacks have seen little or no improvement in their lives. Openly B-BBEE has failed in trying to bring economic justice in the lives of blacks. One then is left wondering as to whether the much needed hailed independence brought with it the much needed freedom and if it's not the case the problem as clearly articulated is the existence of our revolutionary leaders who have developed a sense of entitlement when it comes to, leadership and they fail to develop their fellow kinsmen.

There has been so much criticism when it comes to B-BEE instead of using this type of policy, it has been shown by critics that a policy of qualification equality should be used. This would allow businesses to focus on employing the person with the highest qualifications, the most experience and the best recommendations. To allow previously disadvantaged individuals to achieve these qualifications and experience, critics of BEE say that the government should place more emphasis on secondary and tertiary education, as well as subsidizing companies wishing to employ entry level applicants, or fund tertiary education for students from previously disadvantaged communities

Smith 2016 notes that empowering the black poor would involve the scrapping of BEE and the instituting of meaningful redistributive policies that would engineer the structural transformation of South Africa's economy. These include land reform, a total revamp of our basic education system, greater infrastructure spending, the scrapping of outsourcing and the de-commodification of service delivery (housing, electricity and water), to name but a few. No one should be blackmailed into believing that asserting this is to commit some form of anti-black racism as the B-BBEE is nothing but a mirage

2.2.4 The Stubborn Land Question and Black probes into economic emancipation.

The extent to which indigenous people were dispossessed of their land by whites in South Africa under colonial rule and apartheid has no parallels on the African continent. Since the advent of democracy in 1994, issues at the heart of the land question in South Africa are how to reverse this phenomenon and how a large-scale redistribution of land can contribute to the transformation of the economy and the reduction of poverty, both rural and urban. The Land Question in South Africa debates these issues against the backdrop of a land reform programme that made limited headway in the first decade of South Africa's democracy in trying to empower the blacks. This is because there exists economic injustice with the social structure of South Africa.

Land reform has fallen far short of expectation and official targets in every respect in the amount of land redistributed in the alleviation of poverty and unemployment, in the restructuring of agricultural economy to create opportunities for the previously disadvantaged people (blacks). Most of the land that has been transferred lies unused because of lack of capital and skills on the part of the new owners, greatly exacerbated by the imposition of unworkable business plans by state agencies, coupled with a dire lack of support services. According to Drimie (2001) he is of the opinion that it is not that land issues and land reform are not important for the millions who do look to the land to provide or supplement a living. It is that successful programmes of restitution, redistribution and enhanced tenure security will, at best, provide only some of the preconditions for emancipation from oppression and poverty

Land as has been a form of identity for the black people since the colonial era and when they were stripped of their fertile lands during this period of apartheid, it was however unjustified and undignified as land was and is a source of wealth for most Africans. This is the same reason why

there has been mixed feelings among political parties in South Africa when it comes to the land question according to Ntingi (2017) he notes that the ruling ANC is split on the matter, while the main opposition party, the DA, says it wants a form of land restitution that will insulate food production from any potential disruption while bringing more black people into commercial farming and land ownership. The EFF, South Africa's third-largest political party however, wants a far-reaching land restoration programme based on the expropriation of commercial farmland from white farmers without compensation, a proposal that has been publicly backed by President Jacob Zuma and his supporters in the ANC.

According to Cousins (2016) he is of the opinion that land is inextricably tied with class and race. Writing in the Daily Maverick, Cousins said: "If the nature of the South African economy in general, and of the agricultural economy in particular, cannot be understood without consideration of racial oppression, then it is equally true to say that racial inequality cannot be understood apart from the class dynamics of capitalism." These two dynamics are inextricably intertwined, and in South Africa tend to 'co-produce' each other." In addition to this Ntsholo (2016) agreed that there would be no need for land reform in South Africa, "were it not for this history of dispossession." He said that the primary issue that the land reform discourse needs to deal with is "the question of the return of land from minority white to majority blacks." It needs to be swift, radical and uproot the interests of minority white landowners if it wants to be successful, said Ntsholo. In essence what both these scholars agree on is the aspect that land ought to be restored to the black. What they fail to realize is the risks that are associated with land reform and how Zimbabwe can be a good example in trying to understand land reform. The question then still remains will the land reform bring with it much needed economic independence since the government and the rest of its policies for the past 20n years have failed to address issues of economic injustice.

2.2.5 The Rise of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and other political parties.

Malema's term as ANC Youth League president was embroiled in controversy, on 29 February 2012, his public statements had gotten him suspended from the African National Congress (ANC) for 5 years. Malema was found guilty by the ANC's National Disciplinary Committee (NDC) of sowing divisions within the ANC. ANC Youth League spokesperson, Floyd

Shivambu and ANC Youth League general secretary, Sindiso Magaqa were also suspended from the ANC for 3 years.

Since their expulsion, Malema and Shivambu set out to continue their fight for economic freedom. They believed the ANC had mistreated them because they had publically and internally observed the directionlessness of government on domestic and international policy options since 2009. Malema had championed an ANC Youth League of the past, one that had ideologically and politically been at the forefront of working class struggles. In February 2010, the ANC Youth League had produced a document on the nationalization of mines. On various platforms, the ANC Youth league announced that they would only support leaders for re-election at the ANC's 53rd National Conference, held in Mangaung, Free State Province in December 2012, if they supported economic freedom, specifically the clarion call of nationalization of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy. This is basically in line with what BLF has been advocating for since its inception in 2015. Issues of economic justice have been at the core of when it comes to BLF as a political party under the presidency of Magxitama (2015) who notes that, without land there is no freedom or dignity. We want Land First because it is the basis of our freedom, our identity which forms part of their nationality and place in the context of South African politics our spiritual well-being which directly speaks to how then land becomes an issue that ought to be considered for blacks to then realize economic emancipation our economic development and culture. The land of Africans was stolen and this theft has rendered us landless in our own land. We want all the land with all of its endowments on its surface together with all the fortunes underground as well as the sky. All of it belongs to us! We are a people crying for our stolen land! Now we have decided to get it back by any means necessary" SCI: "By any means necessary means without regard to famine, bloodshed or deteriorating as Zimbabwe did as our spiritual well-being demands it. In retrospect both EFF and BLF have been at the center of this fight for economic justice as they have realized the levels of poverty amongst the blacks when one takes a look at the standard of living in Soweto and Alexandra it is disheartening

According to SAHO (2017) they note that even though Malema's position of ANC Youth League president had been revoked, the reality that he was at the forefront of the struggles for the emancipation of many South Africans remained unchanged. Malema and Shivambu felt they had been deprived of the opportunity to revolutionize the ANC as the founding fathers had, and thus

took the decision to mobilize society outside the ANC and continue their role of economic freedom fighters. With this in mind it does not only speak to the level of economic injustice existing in South Africa but also directly responds to the failure that ANC as a political party has failed to uphold the black theology which in essence is the emancipation of black people. This can be perfectly juxtaposed to the rise of black first land first a political party that seeks to also restore economic justice to the black majority by initially giving back land.

The EFF draws inspiration from the broad Marxist–Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in their analyses of the state imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society according to one of its declarations. It criticizes the African National Congress and their primary opposition the Democratic Alliance, for their allegedly pro-business stances which it claims have sold out the black people of South Africa to capitalism as cheap labor. It promises to tackle corruption provide quality social housing, and provide free primary healthcare and education for all as well as proposing to expropriate stolen land nationalize the mining and banking sectors double welfare grants and the minimum wage, and end the proposed toll system for highways. Inclined to the EFF on a more satirical level is what the BLF had to say about how he viewed the existence of whites in South Africa (white monopoly capital) and the state of affairs when it comes to economic emancipation of the black people Mngxitama blamed White Monopoly Capital for a severe storm that hit Cape Town the preceding week. Mngxitama is of the opinion that climate change is the fault of "capitalism and racism". Mngxitama stated that white people have assaulted nature and that Africa is now paying for these assaults. He goes further to argue that there are no natural disasters, only white made disasters such as droughts and earthquakes. Mngxitama also stated that the blame for deaths caused by the Cape Storm should be placed at the feet of the Oppenheimer and Rupert family as well as the Democratic Alliance (South Africa).

The EFF has been vocal in its criticism of black business owners and black owners of mining companies in South Africa. In an address at the Oxford Union in November 2015, Malema spoke out against billionaire mining company owner Patrice Motsepe. Further protests in 2015, the EFF delivered demands that included the socialization of the mining sector and called for more explicit targets for the 26% BEE ownership required by law. In line with EFF's action the Democratic Alliance has also taken it upon themselves to clarify where they stand when it comes to

issues of black emancipation. Helen Zile is noted to have said that she supports the B-BBEE that creates jobs. Black advancement benefits everyone. And B-BBEE that benefits not just the few

2.3 Theoretical framework

2.3.1 Capitalism Theory.

The symbiotic relation of democracy and economic development in post-apartheid South Africa in relation to black people can be best explained by the capitalism theory. In essence capitalism is an economic system where private entities own the factors of production. The four factors are entrepreneurship, capital goods, natural resources and labor. The owners of these exercise control through companies and this is as according to Scott. In theory ownership means two things on the private entities. Firstly they control the factors of production. Secondly they derive their income from their ownership this then gives them the ability to operate their companies effectively. It also gives them the incentive to maximize profits.

South Africa today is a morass of wretched inequality racial tensions and class conflict as the legacy of the past remains everywhere in the present. This is best explained by the capitalist theory whereby the white minority still has an upper hand as compared to the black majority, this has led to the rise of terms like 'white monopoly capital' which basically means the same as the whites owning the means of production and blacks being systematically isolated from opportunities long after the collapse of apartheid. According to Patel (2014) he notes that the white capitalist monopoly in South Africa is still a problem long after Mandela tried to address the issues of inequality after his release from prison when he is reported to have said "the white monopoly of political power must be ended and we need a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to address the inequalities of apartheid and create a genuine democratic South Africa. This is the same reason that has led to the rise of political parties like the Economic Freedom Fighters and Black First Land First that seek to redress the imbalance in the economic spheres but not only that but also seek to restore the pride in blacks by given them what is rightfully theirs.

According to the SAFTU online 2017 they note that the ANC government embraced the worst kind of cut-throat free-market capitalist fundamentalism. This arose from the negotiated settlement which led to the democratic breakthrough of 1994 but which also guaranteed the

continuation of monopoly, white-owned capitalism and brutal austerity programmes. This neoliberal agenda has been spearheaded by successive presidents, ministers and cabinets, policed by the rating agencies, with their blackmail threats to downgrade the economy and thus dry up investment. As a result South Africa has become the most unequal society in the world with one of the worst levels of unemployment and 14-million facing hunger. This is at the heart of the ANC crisis of governance, made even worse by the domination of the Zuma/Gupta faction which is hell-bent on creating the worst possible type of corrupt and unaccountable capitalism.

Furthermore the relationship that the president has with the Guptas is what is alarming under the context whereby he tries to make policies that are not only harmful to the greater majority (blacks) but are only beneficial to a selected few. Reports suggest that Zuma's desperation to find any such incredible excuse to sack the ministers is that his pay-masters, the Gupta family, face a crisis at the end of the month when the last bank in which they still have accounts is going to close them down, in line with other banks. They want Zuma to appoint a finance minister who will bend the rules and find ways to reopen bank accounts for them. Zuma is thus handing over the fate of the country to a faction of corrupt, crony capitalists in league with corrupt political leaders, who are solely interested in looting the economy, and enriching themselves, at the expense of the people of South Africa. This is the reality of the system of capitalism, a system which enriches an elite minority, who exploit their workers and leave the poor majority and humanity as a whole with a crisis of mass unemployment, hunger and ignorance, all of which will continue in perpetuity if this system remains in place.

2.3.2 Frustration Aggression

Frustration-aggression hypothesis, otherwise known as the frustration-aggression-displacement theory, is a theory of aggression proposed Dollard (1939) and further developed by Miller et al. in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal. This theory basically attempts to give reasons as to the causes of violence or when people perceive that they are being prevented from achieving a certain goal their frustration is likely to turn to aggression. In light of the above this basically explains the status quo in South Africa, where there is a rise in issues to do with black empowerment vis-a-vis the continued white supremacy in terms of economics. One cannot talk

about frustration aggression without taking a look at land issues which have been a continued apartheid legacy. To blacks economic justice is associated with the issue of land, whereby they believe that whites have to be stripped off their land that was unjustly acquired during apartheid, it is believed that if this is done it will bring the much needed economic emancipation.

According to Parker 1994 he notes that the government has made big promises. But less than 10 percent of white-owned land has been handed over since 1994. Out of the nearly 80,000 land claims submitted during the 1990s, 8,000 still have not been settled due to protracted legal battles. Corruption could also taint the process as politically connected traditional authorities try to push through large land claims. Taking this into consideration juxtaposing it with the famous land reform in Zimbabwe, if South Africa is to go on like this the much needed economic justice for blacks will not be attained why? Firstly when Zimbabwe had the fast track land reform what necessarily happened was, those politically linked got the vast tracks of land while the greater majority didn't benefit and not only that these people have failed to utilize the land effectively and the country still faces economic challenges as there was a decrease in agricultural produce. In the same light South Africa runs the same fate of either losing it completely or risking the idea and truing into a new Zimbabwe where land will be given to people without the economic muscle to utilize it or let alone produce the much needed produce to benefit the rainbow nation. In essence this means the frustration that political parties have towards the government of lack of economic justice are justified but however need careful consideration first.

2.4 Chapter summary

This chapter focused on literature review and theoretical framework. Definition of literature review, the history of South Africa was presented in the first section of the chapter and theories that include capitalism and frustration aggression theory were discussed. The researcher also made an in-depth analysis of the black economic empowerment and the role other political parties are playing when it comes to issues of economic emancipation amongst the blacks.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.0 Introduction.

This chapter highlights the methodologies used by the researcher in gathering the data relevant to the study. The researcher used primary research including interviews and questionnaires targeted at specific informants. The secondary research technique that compliment primary research and concerned the pursuing of relevant resources for the study was also discussed in the following chapter. An analysis of methods employed by the researcher for study effectiveness. The description of the research techniques, the instruments for data collection, target population and justification of the sampling methods that were employed was exhibited in this chapter. In fact, this chapter covered the importance of research design referred to as the plan of actions or an approach of investigations

3.1 Research Design.

Reinharz (1992) postulates the point that the configuration of a survey is utilized as part of present day research and study. It seeks to gather information from individuals that are part of a grouping, populace or organisation so as to identify the current status of that populace or subset of a grouping regarding one or more variables. On account of this study the impact of South Africa's independence is under investigation. The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible

3.2 Qualitative

Qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects and works with non-numerical data and that seeks to interpret meaning from these data that help us understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places. People often frame it in opposition to quantitative research, which uses numerical data to identify large-scale trends and employs statistical operations to determine casual and correlative relationship between variables.

Within social science, qualitative research is typically focused on the micro-level social interaction that composes everyday life, whereas quantitative research typically focuses on macro-level trends and phenomena. Methods of qualitative research include observation and

immersion, interviews, open-ended surveys, focus groups, content analysis of visual and textual materials, and oral history

Qualitative research is designed to reveal the meaning that informs action or outcomes that are typically measured by quantitative research. So, qualitative researchers investigate meanings, interpretations, symbols, and the processes and relations of social life. What this type of research produces is descriptive data that the researcher must then interpret using rigorous and systematic methods of transcribing, coding, and analysis of trends and themes.

3.3 Quantitative

Quantitative seeks to tell the story of a particular group's experiences in their own words, and is therefore focused on narrative (while quantitative research focuses on numbers). The logic of qualitative research can be challenging for researchers more accustomed (as most of us are) to the traditional deductive approach. Unlike quantitative research, in which researchers state specific hypotheses and then collect data to empirically test them, most qualitative research employs an inductive approach in which the researcher first collects data and then attempts to derive explanations from those data. As such, qualitative research tends to be more exploratory in nature, seeking to provide insight into how individuals (or organizations, groups, etc.) understand aspects of their worlds.

There are numerous data collection techniques commonly used in qualitative research. A classic approach is observation, also sometimes called field research. Observation in the qualitative research tradition requires prolonged, systematic assessment of a particular setting. Researchers can choose to remain separate from the setting they are observing, by passively observing without revealing their purpose or by actively disclosing that they are a researcher conducting observations of the setting. Researchers can also take the role of participant observers, becoming actively involved in the setting they are observing and carefully recording both their observations and their own actions and interpretations of the setting. The data collected through observations are the carefully recorded notes which the researcher makes immediately after each observation, which may include descriptions, impressions, quotes, and even sketches when spatial aspects of the setting appear important.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

This research, amid the procedure utilized two interconnected strategies - the purposive/judgemental testing strategy and systematic sampling to blend the quantitative methodology which the researcher used. Dillman (2000) in Williams (2012:14) is of the view that a sampling technique refers to the technique(s) used in depicting samples commencing targeted population, typically in such a way that will assist in answering pre-determined research objectives and questions requires answers from the population going to be selected.

3.5 Stratified Sampling

Stratified sampling is a probability sampling method and a form of random sampling in which the population is divided into two or more groups (strata) according to one or more common attributes. Stratified random sampling intends to guarantee that the sample represents specific sub-groups or strata. Accordingly, application of stratified sampling method involves dividing population into different subgroups (strata) and selecting subjects from each strata in a proportionate manner. Stratified random sampling is superior to simple random sampling because the process of stratifying reduces sampling error and ensures a greater level of representation of all. Stratified random sampling ensures adequate representation of all subgroups. When there is homogeneity within strata and heterogeneity between strata, the estimates can be as precise (or even more precise) as with the use of simple random sampling. The idea behind stratified sampling is to ensure that there is an understanding on who benefited the most from the fall of apartheid, thus the population of respondents will stratified into two or more groups particularly the blacks and whites.

3.6 Purposive sampling

The focus was on exacting features of the population that are able to offer relevant and required data for the effectiveness of the study that was at most excellent, allowed the researcher to accurately respond to the research problem and objectives of the study which is to investigate the failures in government policies in trying to empower blacks. Under this metric the researcher thus has to get expert knowledge on policy issues in South Africa. As noted by Williams (2012) purposive sampling should be employed as part of non-probability sampling in which the researcher will deliberately choose relevant considering that the selected people should have related characteristics relevant and significant to the study. Embedded in this study also was the idea that those persons who supply information managed to provide relevant and suitable data

especially where the nature of study requires a diminutive sample and subjects with suitable variability in what it includes targeting social groups, As supported by Basly (2012) the use of purposive sampling acts as a representative compartment of the whole population, created to provide a precise and required data that the researcher passionately looked for.

3.7 Target population

In this research, this referred to the whole group of respondents or items to which the researchers are more concerned in and those people used to simplify wrapping up of the study but as according to Powell (2008) population may furthermore imply the totality of the entire cases conformed to the pre-particular principle or set of condition. Relating to this the researcher's targeted population included the black people of South Africa and a select few white individuals.

3.8 Data Collection Method

3.8.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires can be thought of as a kind of written interview. They can be carried out face to face, by telephone or post. Questionnaires have been used to research type A personality (e.g. Friedman & Rosenman, 1974), and also to assess life events which may cause stress (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). Questionnaires provide a relatively cheap, quick and efficient way of obtaining large amounts of information from a large sample of people. Data can be collected relatively quickly because the researcher would not need to be present when the questionnaires were completed. Under this metric of using questionnaires the researcher intended to get basic information like the kind of problems that blacks are facing in the new democratized South Africa be it from service delivery to accessing of basic social amenities. This kind of method is useful for large populations when interviews would be impractical. However, a problem with questionnaire is that respondents may lie due to social desirability. Most people want to present a positive image of themselves and so may lie or bend the truth to look good, e.g. pupils would exaggerate. Also the language of a questionnaire should be appropriate to the vocabulary of the group of people being studied. For example, the researcher must change the language of questions to match the social background of respondents' age / educational level / social class / ethnicity etc. Questionnaires can be effective means of measuring the behaviour, attitudes, preferences, opinions and intentions of relatively large numbers of subjects more cheaply and

quickly than other methods. An important distinction is between open-ended and closed questions. Often a questionnaire uses both open and closed questions to collect data. This is beneficial as it means both quantitative and qualitative data can be obtained.

3.8.2 Observations

MARSHALL and ROSSMAN (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p.79). Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the situation under study Allen, (1993). Demunck and Sobo (1998) describe participant observation as the primary method used by social scientist doing fieldwork. The use of observation was opted for so as to get a pictorial view of the status quo which would then show the living standards of the people under investigation who are the blacks. This also ensured that there would be comparative between whites and blacks thus answering one of the research objectives of what has been the barrier to blacks attaining economic emancipation. Fieldwork involves "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience" Participant observation is the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. It provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides). Lecompte (1999) define participant observation as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day

3.8.3 Desktop Research

Online research methods (ORMs) are ways in which researchers can collect data via the internet. They are also referred to as Internet research Internet science or iScience, or methods. Many of these online research methods are related to existing research methodologies but re-invent and re-imagine them in the light of new technologies and conditions associated with the internet. The field is relatively new and evolving. With the growth of social Medias a new level of complexity and opportunity has been created. Inclusion of social media research can provide unique insights into consumer and societal segments and gaining an "emotional" measure of a population on issues of interest. This method of data collection was used as a research instrument so as to comparatively view issues from different author's perspective and particularly gather data that would show the intensity of blacks failing to attain economic empowerment.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality was a panacea during and after the research took place. In fact, names, addresses and area of origins of the respondents were not be used. The researcher assured the respondents that names were not going to be mentioned since the research is for academic purposes only and that happened. The researcher promised ethical behaviour, claimed to be honest and conducted the research decently during and after research. Indeed, the researcher conducted the research honestly displaying integrity, responsibility, respect whilst pursuing excellence, reliability, loyalty and fairness. In other words, the researcher acknowledged information borrowed from other people's works to avoid copyright infringement, avoided bias selecting interviewees or respondents and in data presentation, protect confidential information -that was avoiding capturing information that the respondents did not want to be published in the research or avoiding the use of names of those respondents who may not want to be known or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting.

3.10 Analytical Framework

Having collected primary and secondary data from the respondents using interviews and structured questionnaires through qualitative and quantitative research the data was then analysed using descriptive statics. Quantitative was employed in the form of graphs and pie charts to present the empirical findings of the study.

3.11 Summary

This chapter presented the research analysis on the research materials and design used on the ground by the researcher. Within the chapter, the research methodology outlined approach that include qualitative, the use of questionnaires as a research instrument to be used in the research was elaborated. This validates the path taken in addressing the research questions raised in the first chapter and the underpinnings of this research as a whole. The research described and discussed main issues related to a targeted population. The chapter presented also the research sampling techniques used that involved purposive and non-probability sampling. The advantages and disadvantages upon the used instrument was mentioned. The solutions to the demerits were articulated as a pre-conditioning measure that promoted effective research. The chapter also highlighted that data required to respond to the research questions will be in either qualitative or

quantitative. The data gathered was analysed, assessed and purified prior to data presentation. The next chapter will be dealing with data presentation and analysis from the information gathered through the use of questionnaires and interviews.



Chapter 4

Data Presentation and Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents all the research findings and results extracted from the field work in South Africa Johannesburg. The chapter will try to highlight and provide possible answers to the research questions propounded in chapter one. The information obtained from field work will be linked to research objectives as highlighted in chapter one, and scholarly views in chapter two. The data collected will be presented in, pie charts, tables, variables (in percentage) and graphs.

The researcher also requested the respondents to give information on highest academic qualifications, sex and the number of years (age) in order to assess the quality of data given. The information gathered was analysed using the thematic analysis. Thematic analysis can be identified through engagement of literature, prior experiences of the researcher and the nature of research question O'Leary (2004). Themes can therefore emerge from insight garnered through the process of data collection. The findings from the research were in tandem with the research questions and the questionnaires which were given to the respondents.

4.1 Profile of Respondents

4.1.1 Gender

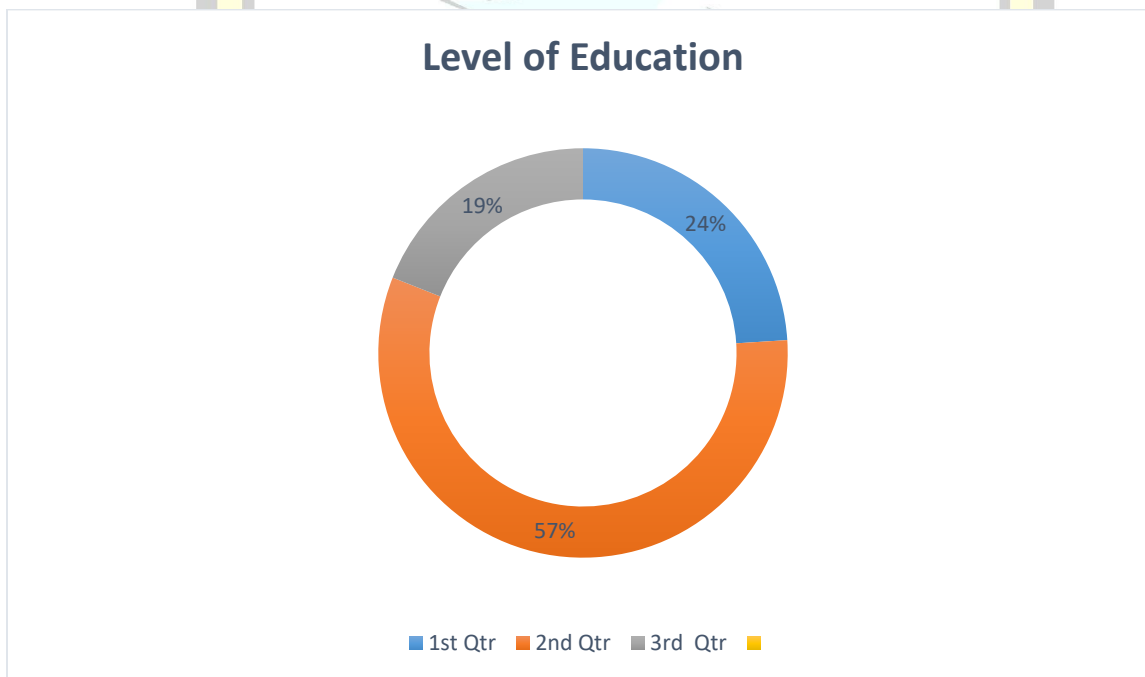
Gender	Frequency Distribution	Percentage
Males	23	33
Females	47	67
Total	70	100

The table above highlights that females were the majority participants in answering the questionnaires as they constituted 67% whilst the males rallied behind with 33%. This is so because females were better to talk to as compared to their male counterparts who at times felt

ambushed during the whole process of the study. This therefore speaks to how then the data is clearly saying females were more frequent than males

4.1.2 Level of Education

Level of education	Frequency Distribution	Percentage
Matric level	40	57
Tertiary level	17	24
Grade 7	<u>13</u>	19
Total	<u>70</u>	100



The above pie chart explains the level of education of the respondent as it is crucial for a researcher to know this aspect so as to help understand and examine data. The pie chart shows that 57% of the respondents only schooled up to Matric level whilst the remaining 24% went up to tertiary level. The remaining 19% only schooled up to grade 7. It was crucial that the level of respondents be examined as it could compromise the data which would be collected as some of

the information given would be wrong or irrelevant or fuelled by emotions and anger due to the intensity of the study so people's rationality was taken into perspective using their educational background.

4.1.3 Questionnaire Response Rate

Group targeted	Questionnaires	Questionnaires	Response Rate %
	Administered	Returned	
Community leaders	15	12	80
Residents	55	40	72
Total	70	52	74

Table 1 above indicated 70 questionnaires were administered by the researcher. 52 of the questionnaires were fully answered thus representing a total response rate of about 74%. The community leaders had the highest response rate of 80% and residents of in and around Johannesburg had a response rate of 72% since only 40 of them managed to answer the questionnaires given because the questionnaires were administered at different times and places this particularly speaks to how other respondents were not forthcoming while at the same time language became a barrier particularly to the Xhosa speaking demography

The overall representation of the whole targeted respondents constituted 74% whilst 26% of the targeted population did not manage to return questionnaires. The overall response rate was satisfying as Moorhed (1995) pointed that even 35% response rate of a questionnaire is good for carrying out a research. Saunders (2003:23) is of the view that a response rate of 60% is generally a representation of the population and any population lower than that should be well thought-out as biased and not fully-representative of the whole population. The researcher of this study considered her 74 % total response rate as entirely rational and justifiable on the basis of creating conclusion and recommendations on this research.

4.2 Meaning of independence to South African citizens

This section seeks to answer objective one of the research objectives which is

- To examine whether the independence from apartheid brought with it the economic independence to the black people / citizens

The researcher sought to find out from respondents what Independence meant to them and whether they really felt independent. Most of the views expressed by respondents showed that they were not independent. They were of the view that the government hasn't done anything to better their lives or better still improve their standards of living as whites were still dominating all sectors of South Africa. Other however had mixed feelings as they expressed their joys on how they can be able to vote for people they want to be in power and this to them was their version of independence. This particularly speaks to the old generation that feels satisfied by state of affairs as the previously couldn't vote. This generally doesn't speak for the grater majority that felt otherwise as they had views of political freedom but economic freedom was still a problem. The young adults and youth particularly blame the government and their version of independence entails that there are bread and butter issues tackled first and housing issues. One of the respondents even went on further to note that the continuation of squatter settlement in and around Johannesburg was evidence enough that independence hasn't yielded much particularly when it comes to the negritude movement. The mixed feelings expressed by respondent's shows the mystery South Africa's independence and one is left wondering what really the meaning of the rainbow nation is

It is my impression that far too few whites really understand hoe centuries of colonial rule and decades of apartheid fundamentally disrupted the natural development and progression of black communities. They have no comprehension of the price that black South Africans paid for many generations worth of exclusion from the economy and from tertiary education. Too many whites can't acknowledge their won privilege. There is a recognised phenomenon in world history that the second of third generation of an oppressed group is angrier than those who had experienced oppression themselves. That is true with Afrikaners after the Anglo- Boer War and Jews after the Holocaust for example. This is now also true with young Black South Africans.

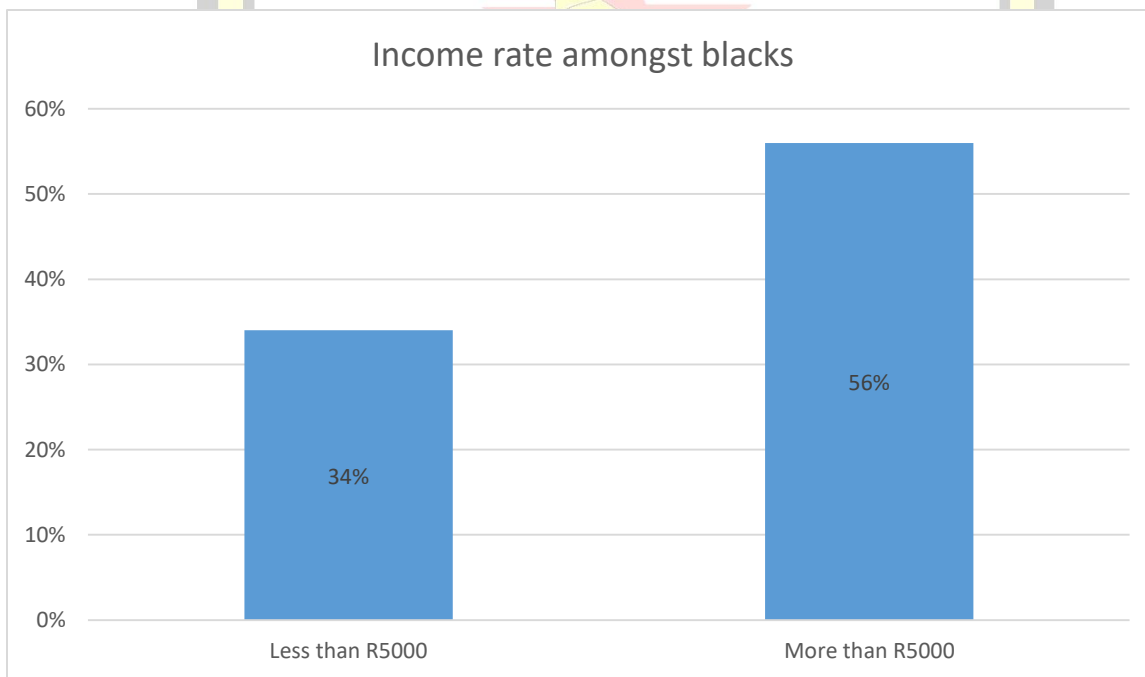
When ANC came to power they fully comprehended the legacies of colonialism and apartheid when they took power in 1994. Its task was exactly to build a new vibrant nation on the ruins of apartheid where everybody would have equal opportunities and inequality would be reduced as a matter of great urgency. The disastrous education system offered to most black youngsters over the last two decades is the most obvious example that the ANC has failed this task in dramatic

fashion. The wide spread corruption state capture enrichment and abuse of resources that we read about everyday are the pointers to the governing's party failure

4.3 Income inequality

This section answers the second objective from the research objectives

- To determine who benefited the most after the fall of apartheid and the 1994 peoples first government.

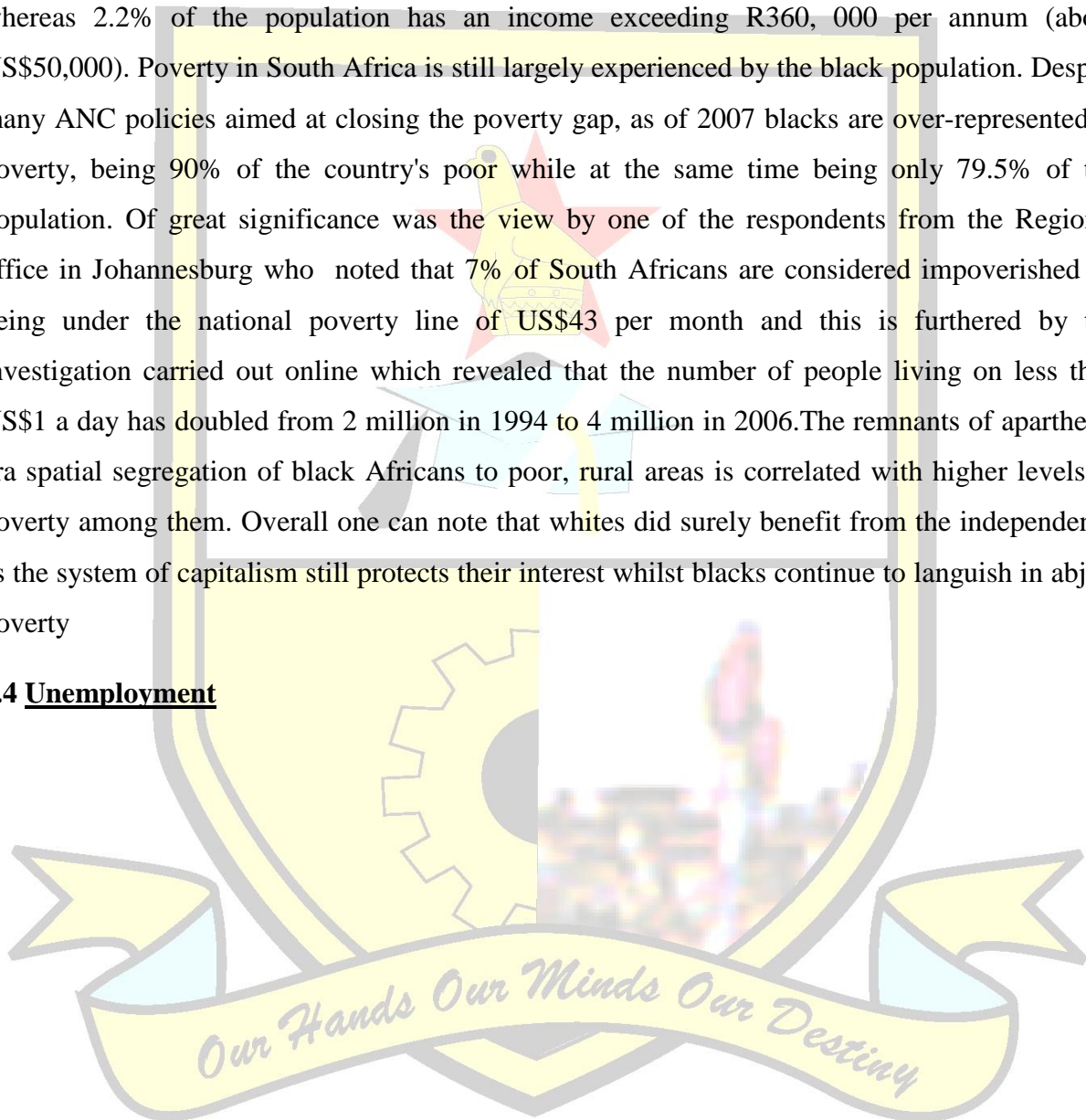


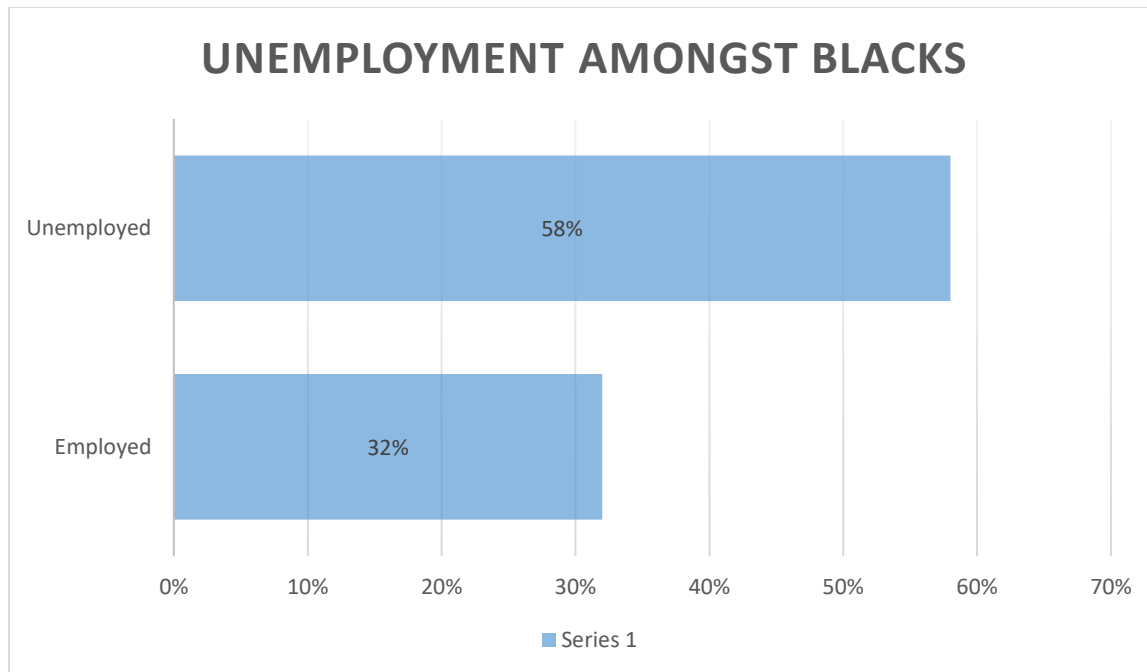
Out of the 52 questionnaires that were returned 23 of those respondents noted that they get a monthly salary of less than R5 000 which directly speaks to how they then fail to even sustain their monthly expenses not to talk about bills and payments. This shows that 44% of the 56% is still facing challenges in terms of income inequality. This doesn't necessarily mean that the remaining 56 % is safe as well as they still noted that they face challenges of sustaining their monthly expenses because on an abstract scale this R5 000 would entail that it has cater for a family of about 6 to seven people and also ensure that bills school fees and feeding are all

catered for in that amount. On a comparative whites can get a monthly salary of about R20 000 which has to cater for a family of 3 or 5 at most.

South Africa has one of the most unequal income distribution patterns in the world: approximately 60% of the population earns less than R42, 000 per annum (about US\$7,000), whereas 2.2% of the population has an income exceeding R360, 000 per annum (about US\$50,000). Poverty in South Africa is still largely experienced by the black population. Despite many ANC policies aimed at closing the poverty gap, as of 2007 blacks are over-represented in poverty, being 90% of the country's poor while at the same time being only 79.5% of the population. Of great significance was the view by one of the respondents from the Regional office in Johannesburg who noted that 7% of South Africans are considered impoverished by being under the national poverty line of US\$43 per month and this is furthered by the investigation carried out online which revealed that the number of people living on less than US\$1 a day has doubled from 2 million in 1994 to 4 million in 2006. The remnants of apartheid-era spatial segregation of black Africans to poor, rural areas is correlated with higher levels of poverty among them. Overall one can note that whites did surely benefit from the independence as the system of capitalism still protects their interest whilst blacks continue to languish in abject poverty

4.4 Unemployment





Out of the 56 questionnaires that had been administered full and returned it was noted that 18 families have people that are formally employed and the rest have menial jobs. This shows that of the 56 questionnaires 32% of the families do have a steady income at the end of the end of the month, however this doesn't show to whether this money is able to afford them the life that they want. The remaining 58 % have menial jobs and the kind of so survival skills that they have are one that is really not up to standard. One of the respondents is noted to have said that the main reason why there is high crime rate is because of the lack of employment while others attested the lack of employment to the high influx of foreigners and how they come to take their jobs.

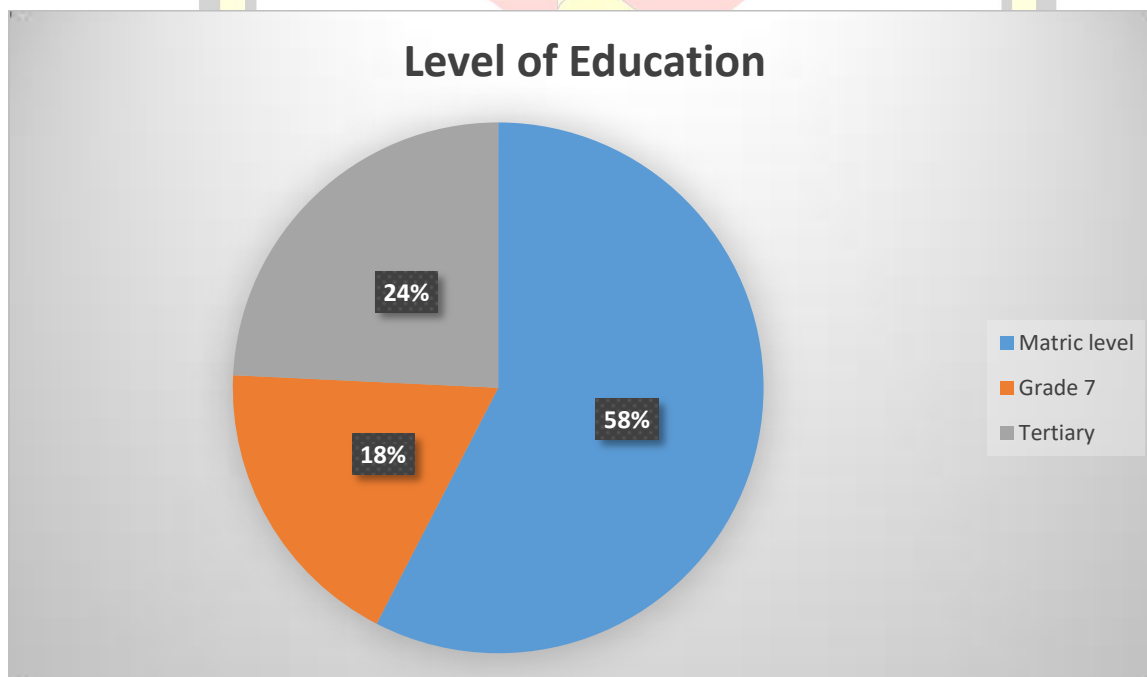
South Africa has extremely high unemployment rates. The overall unemployment rate was 26% in 2004, with Unemployment being mainly concentrated among unskilled blacks, who comprise 90% of the unemployed. The ANC government had pledged to cut overall unemployment to 14% by 2014, but of May 2009, there had not been any dramatic drops in unemployment. Much of the high unemployment rate is due to the declining manufacturing industry. The unemployment rate for black South Africans has increased from 23% in 1991 to 48% in 2002. Unemployment continues to rise, despite robust economic growth, suggesting structural factors that may be constraining the labour market. Much of the unemployment crisis then contributes to a whole lot of issues like how blacks then have to survive on government grants, which is literally hand to mouth because there is no savings done since the money can only

afford them basics needed for a person to survive. This directly reflects on how then it is difficult for the majority of blacks to then realise economic emancipation as the levels of unemployment are ridiculously high.

4.4 Lack of Quality Education.

This section answers the third objective from the research objectives

- To identify the failures of government policies in trying to emancipate the blacks economically



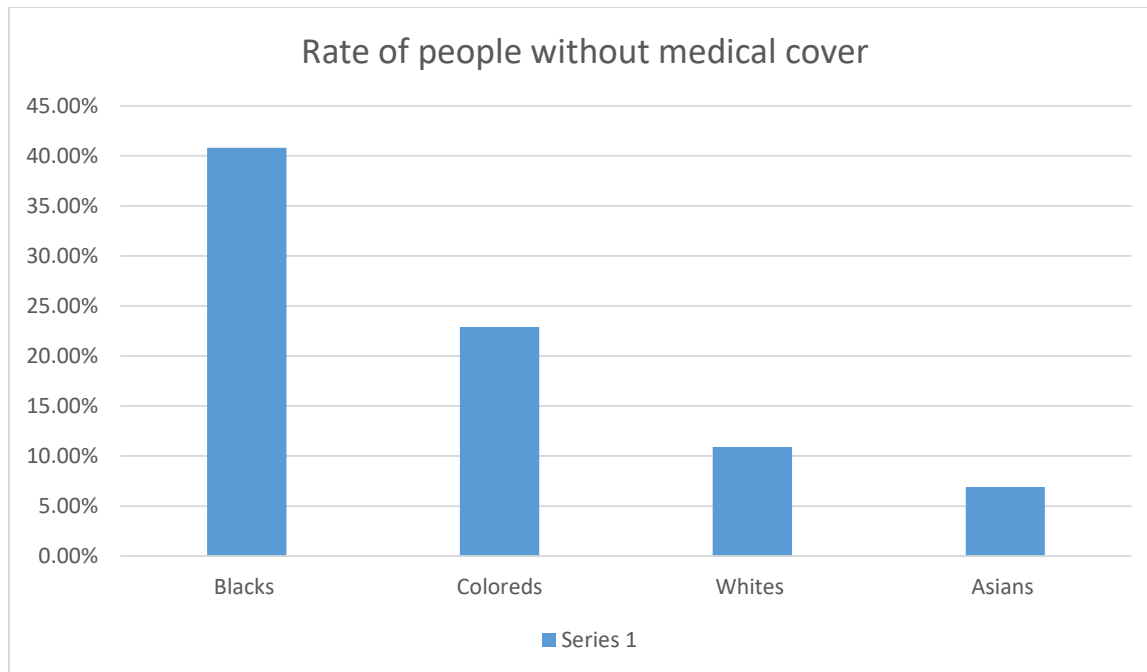
Out of the 70 questionnaires that were administered 40 respondents did get to matric level but later faced challenges of going through to tertiary institutions this was so because of lack of financial backing and others went on to say they never saw the need for themselves to go to university. However on the other hand 13 respondents noted that they only got up to grade 7 and most of these respondents were the elderly that blamed their lack of education on the apartheid system and how it was restrictive particularly towards the black folks. Of all the respondents 17 did however get to tertiary or college of some sort. They did acknowledge challenges that fellow black cadres go through in order to attain high levels of education. These respondents even went on further to blame the government on their 2012 scheme of revamping the educational system

whereby they tried to maximise on getting people to matric level and were not worried about the level of education. Maximised on quantity not quality

The challenge facing the post-apartheid government has been to create an educational system that provides quality education to all citizens of South Africa. The educational legacy left by the apartheid government has not been easy to dismantle. Literacy rates among blacks remain low, and educational facilities in the townships and rural areas need to be upgraded. During the apartheid government, education for whites was free and compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16 while attendance was not generally compulsory for blacks. Adult literacy was close to 100% for whites and about 50% for blacks in the mid-1980s. This therefore speaks to the issue highlighted above of unemployment and how it is then difficult for blacks generally to then find a decent paying job or at least earn a reasonable salary. This is so because the levels of education compared to that of whites is very different. One of the respondents had this to say in regard to this issue of education, we have to rely on government funds (bursary) for us to be able to send our kids to tertiary institutions but even though we try by all means there still is a barrier in terms of blacks accessing basic education. This then highlights on the fact that the cycle of having uneducated blacks does not occur organically but it is now being compelled by a white monopolist capital that has created better schools that can't be accessible to all blacks. This then doesn't address the whole issue of remuneration because the older generation didn't have the privilege of going to good schools because of apartheid which meant after apartheid they still got low paying jobs and now the new generation while suffer the same fate of not attaining good education, thus the poverty cycle will recur. Education system inherently was a bottle neck type of mechanisation which necessarily meant that people will be disenfranchised.

4.5 Health care

Of all the respondents that were interviewed 65% showed that they couldn't afford private health care facilities they rely upon government funded hospitals that do not have medication most of the time. This was evidence enough that showed due to the existence of such government structures that necessarily inhibit blacks from getting better service delivery not because of anything but only because they are born into a consumerist society that sanitizes white monopoly capital and there is nothing they can do 20 years into their independence



The poor keep getting poorer. They have nothing to begin with and nobody is making the initial investment to build them a hospital where they can afford real health care. This is called an ‘infrastructure-inequality trap. One of the respondents from the regional office of Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa) noted that a total of 40.8% of Blacks and 22.9% of Coloreds are reportedly going without medical care at some point in the past year, compared with 10.9% of Whites and 6.9% of Asians. These disparities are found not only in health but in education, income, and basic public health infrastructures. Socio-demographic characteristics and perceptions regarding democracy, markets, and civil society are similar for Blacks and Coloreds and for Whites and Asians. Fourteen years after the end of apartheid, Blacks in South Africa are still underserved and disadvantaged compared with their White and Asian counterparts, especially regarding health care.

There are 2 health care systems in South Africa: one that is largely publicly funded that serves most South Africans and a privately funded health care system that serves the small percentage of people who are able to afford it, mainly Whites and Asians. During apartheid, most of the national health expenditure was allocated to building a medical infrastructure that would be used by urban inhabitants and the privately insured. Even today, privately insured patients pay a highly subsidized fee for medical care and receive tax benefits for their contributions to the private health sector. From 1992 to 1993, 59% of doctors, 93% of dentists, and 89% of

pharmacists worked in the private sector. The competition between the private and public sectors still exists as medical professionals often choose to work in the more profitable private sector. This in essence shows how then blacks are not only economically disadvantaged but they are living in oppression because of the existence of a white monopolist capital system that already secludes them from getting better health care services

4.6 Housing and Sanitation

This section answers the last objective from the research objectives

- *To investigate the problems that blacks are facing in the modern day discourse in terms of economic affairs in South Africa.*

Fast forward some 20 odd years, South Africa is facing a massive housing crisis with politicians still promising free housing for votes, yet reality will tell us that it's practically impossible to continue making such promises as it's become too expensive to build (material costs), too saturated or dense where people want to live and the housing waiting lists (coupled with urban immigration) have become "too long" to meet the demand

A series of observations during fieldwork of poor white community in Krugersdorp also revealed how there is a group of white people that are also facing the same challenges as blacks of attaining economic independence. This however doesn't really highlight on the state of affairs for the blacks as they are the most vulnerable victims in this discourse. One of the respondents from the questionnaire had this to say only 42,000 out of 4.5 million white South Africans, roughly 0.9 per cent, are believed to live in poverty. That compares to some 27 million black people deemed as living in poverty in the country, or 63 per cent of the 43 million population. These were rather vague figures but the intuition behind was to ensure that a message is heard of how disparaging the situation on the ground is.

4.8 Social grants and their effect

The number of respondents that benefited from social grants also showed that there is quite a disparity between blacks and whites when it comes to issue of economic emancipation. During the survey / research 47% of the respondents have or are still benefiting from government grants and this is evidence to show that there is a lot that needs to be done in terms of economic emancipation of the black people. One of the councillors in Soweto was of the opinion that there is also clear discrepancies along racial lines, with more than one-third (34%) of black

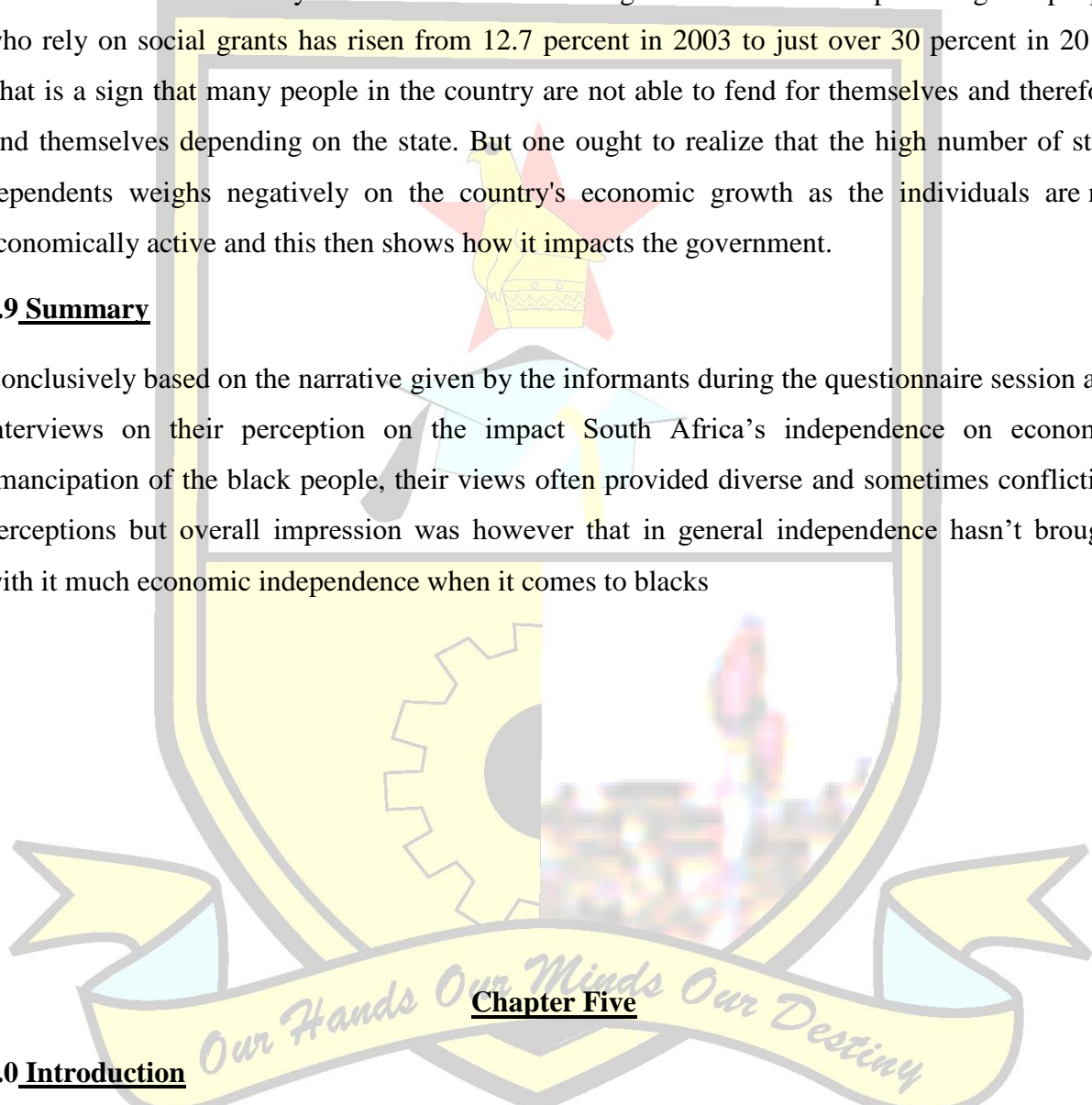
African individuals in the country receiving grants and 24% of coloured individuals, while half of that amount (12%) in the Asian populace received grants, and only 5% of the white population. He further goes on to note that even though social grant recipients increased significantly over the 10-year period, the percentage of the population enrolled in education remained at almost exactly the same level. Interesting to note is that the percentage of people who rely on social grants has risen from 12.7 percent in 2003 to just over 30 percent in 2015. That is a sign that many people in the country are not able to fend for themselves and therefore find themselves depending on the state. But one ought to realize that the high number of state dependents weighs negatively on the country's economic growth as the individuals are not economically active and this then shows how it impacts the government.

4.9 Summary

Conclusively based on the narrative given by the informants during the questionnaire session and interviews on their perception on the impact South Africa's independence on economic emancipation of the black people, their views often provided diverse and sometimes conflicting perceptions but overall impression was however that in general independence hasn't brought with it much economic independence when it comes to blacks

5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to summarise the previous chapters and will offer a hem to the study as well as leave behind reflection on the research subject through recommendations. It is also the aim of this chapter to link and juxtaposing the research findings to the theory and literature reviewed by several scholars in chapter two. This chapter particularly aims to establishing answers to the



research questions and answers to study objectives presented in chapter one. Particularly, the chapter will also elaborate on the challenges which are faced by blacks in realising economic emancipation.

5.1 Summary.

There is only one solution to all of these problems, as everyone knows though not everyone admits: South Africa needs to continue its revolution, neutralize the security state, change its economic policies, and above all deepen its democracy. Before South Africa's justly admired transition can be considered complete, South Africans must vote for a peaceful transfer of power. This could happen at the next general election, in 2019, or the one that follows. After two decades, the ANC, the undisputed winners of South Africa's transition, have achieved nothing in terms of furthering the dreams of the late Steve Biko when it comes to black consciousness and black empowerment or Tata Madiba vision of a South Africa that embodies blackness and freedom. What the government of the day has done is to spite in the faces of their fore fathers and thwart their dreams of a real rainbow nation. These great legends must surely be turning in their graves when they look at how present South Africa is, a country full of hope but still marred by a host of chronic problems such as crime, corruption high levels of poverty and illiteracy and above all the dominance of white monopoly capital

Over the past years the government of South Africa has tried by all means to ensure that there is prosperity for all races and people of all creeds, but in all this they have failed in one aspect and that is lack economic empowerment. Like the research has already depicted the state of affairs when it comes to the negritude movement is a bit alarming and this is a cause of concern for the government. From its selective empowerment programs to its stubborn land questions all these facets need to be enquired upon so as to ensure that blacks are fully empowered because under the context the political independence is meaningless especially if it's not accompanied by economic emancipation.

ANC as the government fully comprehends the legacies of colonialism and apartheid when they took over in 1994. Its task was exactly to build a new , vibrant nation on ruins of apartheid where everybody would have equal opportunities and inequality would be reduced as a matter if great urgency. The disastrous education system offered to most black youngsters over the last two decades is the most obvious example that the ANC has failed this task in dramatic fashion. The

widespread corruption, state capture, enrichment and abuse of resources that we read about everyday are the pointers to the governing party's failure. The time for fake powerlessness in the face of the tiny minority is well over. Its high time people start to honestly contemplate on what went wrong the last two decades and then fix it

5.2 Conclusion

South Africa inherited an apartheid system when it gained independence, the existence of a white capitalist system is reason why blacks still haven't recognised economic emancipation in a democratic rainbow nation. The findings from the study demonstrate that the linkage between politics and economics is blurred as most blacks did receive political freedom but in as much as economic freedom is concerned there isn't much they gained. The struggle for independence was heartfelt by most blacks because they wanted to change the state of affairs and better their lives. In as much as the fall of apartheid was hailed by the blacks the output of the independence isn't much to write home about

It has to be noted from the research how the transition from 1994 has been marred by events that undermine blacks. In a democratic South Africa that boost to be the melting pot of Africa, it's sad and disheartening to note that the system hasn't changed as it is old wine in new bottles where the whites are still controlling the means of production and blacks still face challenges in as far as them realising economic emancipation. Of utmost importance is to note how from the study evidence shows that there is still a large populace of the blacks that are still dwindling in financial doldrums.

The persistence of chronically high unemployment is arguably the single most important impediment to poverty reduction in South Africa. The acute unemployment problem is the result of a variety of factors, most notably serious skill deficiencies resulting largely from poor infrastructure and standards in education during apartheid, and institutional rigidities that have weakened the ability of the labor market to create new jobs

Of great significance is to realise how the politics of the day is run, fellow black folks are just politicians that have been put to scape goat the white monopoly capital while on that note it's also crucial to realise how corruption has been rampant in the government and this has made a few select black people prosper while others still face challenges. As if that's not enough

realising corruption is rife also revealed how government policies are thus selective in nature and thus benefiting a select minority instead of the majority i.e. the BBEE.

South Africa inherited acute income and wealth disparities from the apartheid era. These disparities are a potential source of social strain. Since 1994 the government has embarked on two major initiatives—land reform and the Black Economic Empowerment program—that have sought to address the issue. The IMF has expressed support for these initiatives since they have the potential to achieve greater social cohesion, contribute to poverty reduction, and help sustain the process of macroeconomic stabilization and structural reform but nothing of that sort has really been evidenced on the ground and as the research has shown its quite problematic

The stubborn land question also still mirrors the order of the day in South Africa as fellow black man are of the view that in a bid for them to be fully empowered they need to take back what's rightfully theirs which is the white owned farms. The research thus really unravelled a lot of issues that inhibit blacks from being fully independent as evidenced from the study they are still traits of white supremacy where there is a select few that prosper while the rest of the general populace is either in poverty or they are struggling to make ends meet.

5.3 Recommendations

- ❖ South Africa's land reform program is motivated by both social and economic considerations. By encouraging the subdivision of large-scale farms, the program represents a viable means of raising agricultural productivity and tackling rural unemployment and poverty. The government has to be careful to emphasize the voluntary nature of the land reform program and to distance itself from the approach to land redistribution adopted in neighbouring Zimbabwe.
- ❖ Empowerment policies that the government is enacting for example the BBEE shouldn't be selective but should be universal and benefit everyone because what then happens is there is a particular group of blacks that then prospers at the expense of the other.
- ❖ Perhaps the most productive action government can take is to reach the people who are losing out the poor (black mean) and empower them with information—about teacher and doctor absence rates, the incidence of energy and water subsidies, the costs of labor regulations and protective import tariffs—so that they can bring pressure to bear on politicians. Politicians can ignore technical advisers and external actors, but they can't

afford to ignore the citizens of their country. To be sure, empowering poor people with information is not easy. First, many work 15-hour days just to make ends meet. Expecting them to attend village meetings or read the newspaper or listen to the radio is not straightforward. Secondly, information by itself may not be enough to empower poor people. They need mechanisms to hold politicians accountable. And third, governments may not welcome these efforts at making evidence available to the public; some will consider it incendiary, and attempt to block it.

- ❖ Under the educational system the government ought to re address the structures because already under status quo there is segregation, blacks can't afford the high end better schools (tertiary) and even if they receive government funding there is still the issue of fees that will always be a deterrence measure for the black people. Government needs to reduce fees such that there is equality on all spectrums of the society in terms of education.
- ❖ Achieving equitable universal health coverage requires the provision of accessible, necessary services for the entire population without imposing an unaffordable burden on individuals or households. This particularly speaks to how blacks have been disenfranchised from accessing better health care because of lack of capital. Government needs to ensure that there is better service delivery towards all public health institutions just as there is in private hospitals.
- ❖ The government's ability to deliver on housing has declined. Protesters point out that they have been on housing waiting lists for many years. Extreme frustration has given rise to violent protests which have been growing in intensity. Danger is that government runs the risk of deviating from designing innovative, lasting solutions for people. What needs to happen is that government should engage independent constructors to build lasting and strong structures and not to build the same old structures and the rise in urban demand for housing has been rampant while government is failing to keep up with such. This then speaks to how there should be a need to match up this from the side of the government.
- ❖ There seems to be overdependence on government grants by most blacks which has cultivated laziness and docility amongst the people to not find jobs or seek any other avenues of trying to better their lives. Governments needs to either educate people or

empower them besides its enduring expenditures because of people that do not dream of bettering themselves.

- ❖ Equity is an issue that must be further explored in South Africa to ensure that resources and services are equally distributed throughout the population. Current efforts to bring the health sector into compliance with constitutional decrees have not been successful. Little has been done to reallocate subsidies from the private to the public health sector. Despite a strong political commitment to redressing historical inequities, recent government policy actions in these two areas appear to fall short of desirable goals when viewed through a vertical equity lens

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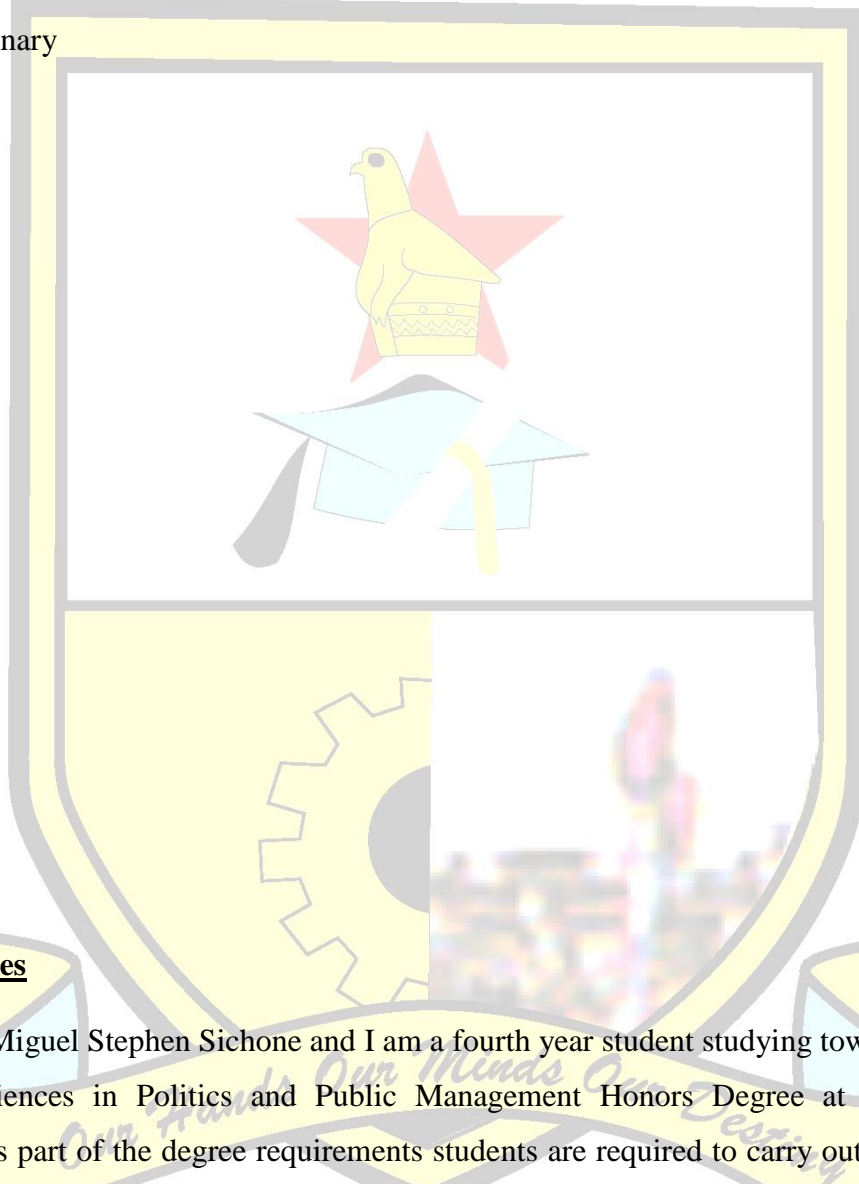
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Oxford Dictionary



Questionnaires

My name is Miguel Stephen Sichone and I am a fourth year student studying towards a Bachelor of Social Sciences in Politics and Public Management Honors Degree at Midlands State University. As part of the degree requirements students are required to carry out an independent research study. Hence I am carrying out a research study titled: ***Assessing the Impact of South Africa's independence on the economic emancipation of the black people from 1994-2017.*** The findings shall not compromise your repute and shall be treated confidential. You can however decline to answer some questions if you feel they are inappropriate. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

1. Where do you live and how old are you (tick where applicable)

18-23	24-29	35-36	36-45	45 and above
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.....

2. Educational background

.....

3. How many people in your family are above 18 and have a steadily paying job

.....

4. How was life like when you were growing up (during and after apartheid)

.....
.....

5. What has the government done in order to try and better the lives of black people in your community

.....
.....

6. How is service delivery in your community and is it readily available

.....
.....

7. What, according to you should be done to empower more blacks in South Africa?

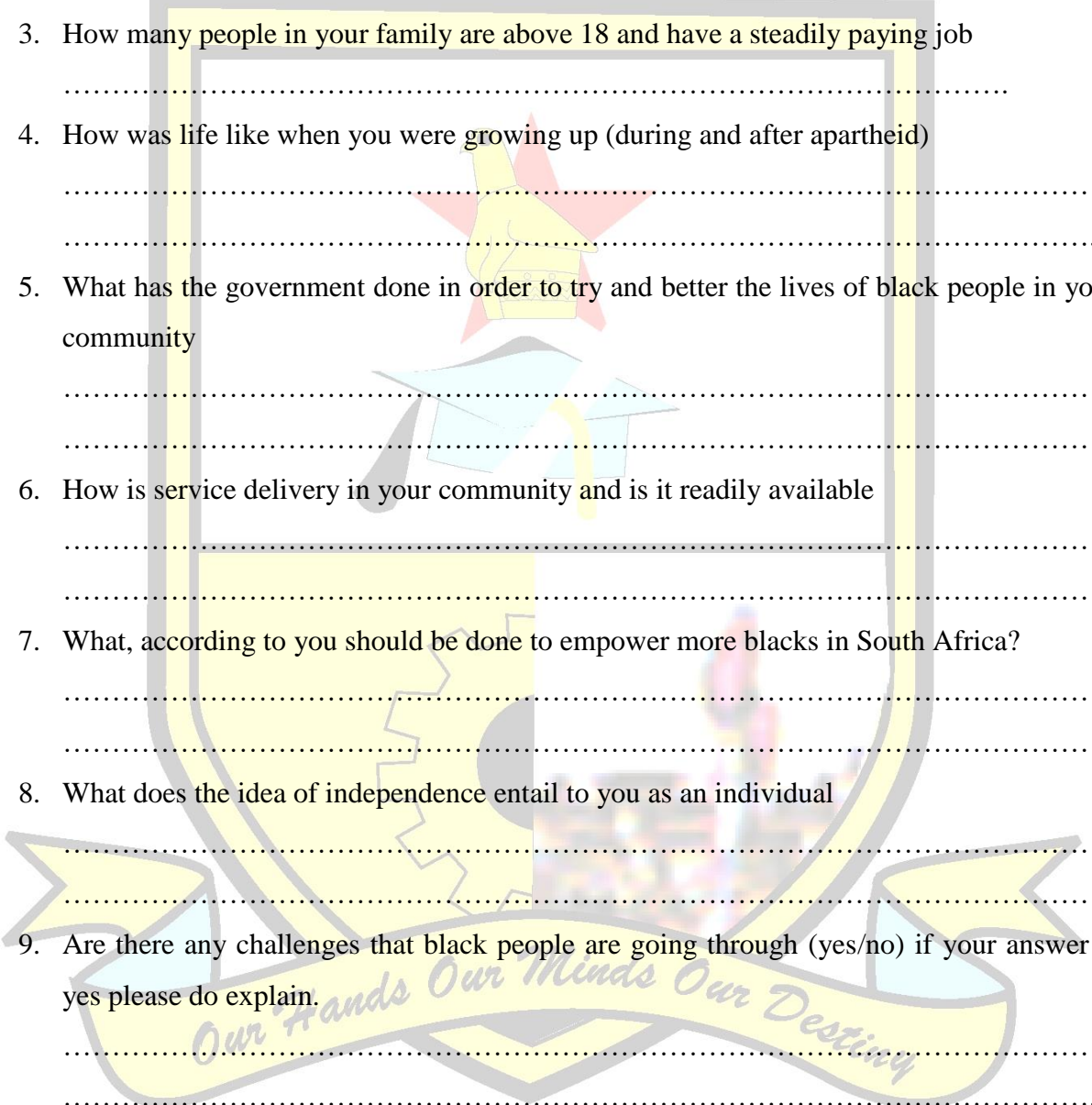
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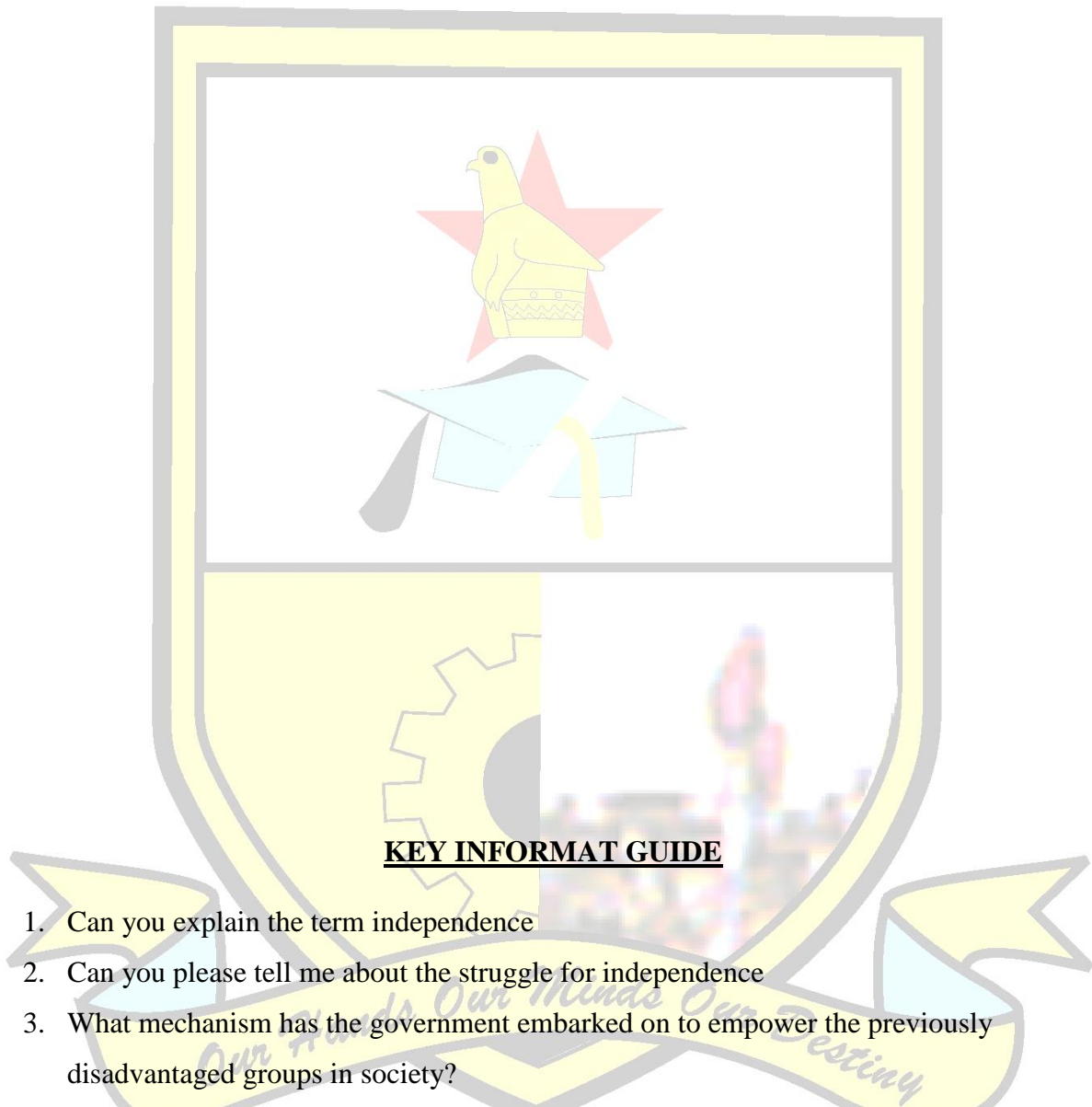
8. What does the idea of independence entail to you as an individual

.....
.....

9. Are there any challenges that black people are going through (yes/no) if your answer is yes please do explain.

.....
.....





KEY INFORMAT GUIDE

1. Can you explain the term independence
2. Can you please tell me about the struggle for independence
3. What mechanism has the government embarked on to empower the previously disadvantaged groups in society?
4. Have these mechanism improved the lives of those people particularly the blacks.
5. What changes have you seen if any from post-apartheid South Africa juxtaposing with pre apartheid South Africa.
6. What do you consider to be the major challenges faced by blacks in attaining economic empowerment?

