



BUSINESS PERSPECTIVES



LLC "CPC "Business Perspectives"
Hryhorii Skovoroda lane, 10, Sumy,
40022, Ukraine

www.businessperspectives.org

Received on: 7th of June, 2017

Accepted on: 13th of February, 2018

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Louis P. Krüger, BSc (QS), MBA,
DBA, University of Pretoria
(UP) South Africa; Professor in
Operations, Project and Quality
Management in the Department of
Operations Management, University
of South Africa (Unisa), South Africa.



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Louis P. Krüger (South Africa)

THE IMPACT OF BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT (BEE) ON THE MACRO-ENVIRONMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA: TIME TO STOP THE ROT, DETERIORATION, DISTRUST AND DYSFUNCTIONALITY

Abstract

Since the introduction of black economic empowerment (BEE) in South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC) in 2003, the impact of the legislation and its accompanying policies on the six major "PESTIS" (political, economic, social, technological, institutional and structural-physical) macro-environments in which businesses in the private sector and government in the public sector operate, has largely gone unnoticed or has been ignored. In an exploratory study using the "5 Star" research methodology, and with the aid of specially developed qualitative research adjudication matrix (QRAM), the impact of the ANC's BEE policies on these macro-environments was investigated. Unfortunately, it appears that these policies have negatively affected South Africa's political, economic, social/cultural and institutional macro-environments. Allegations of state capture and nefarious influences on government and ministerial appointments, poor economic performance and possible further credit downgrade to "junk" status by the international ratings agencies, increased prevalence of racism, hate speech and discrimination, and violation of the Constitution of South Africa and international treaties by the ANC government, paint a dismal picture. In addition, the country is facing unseen high levels of corruption, graft, fraud, looting, bribery, nepotism and self-enrichment in government, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and businesses. BEE can be regarded as the ANC's "Achilles heel" in South Africa, and the political party should rather abandon this policy in order to stop the rot, and further deterioration, distrust and decay in the country's most important macro-environments.

Keywords

black economic empowerment (BEE), African National Congress (ANC), macro-environment, "PESTIS"

JEL Classification

M14, M21

INTRODUCTION

Black economic empowerment (BEE) which was introduced by the ruling African National Congress (ANC) in 2003, has affected every sphere of government and the management of businesses in the last 14 years. BEE is basically a race-based formula which prescribes preferential economic treatment for so-called "black people" (who include South African Indians, Coloreds, Chinese and others), but explicitly excludes white people.

The impact of such BEE legislation should be evident or manifest itself in one or more of the country's macro-environments if the policy is to be considered effective at all. The most common macro-environments include the political, economic, social-cultural, technological, institutional, structural-physical environments – acronym used "PESTIS". While the study which investigated the impact of BEE on these environments only covered the first six months of 2016, this year could be

viewed as a rather eventful year on account of the plethora of cataclysmic events or happenings that occurred. The relevance of the research looking forward to the realization that enforced BEE compliance by government will continue to affect many of the macro-environments in South Africa – all negatively.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

“Like many, I feel that the dream of South Africa sometimes feels more like a nightmare, a prolonged Passiontide, so to speak. Personal interests, corruption, private gain, entitlement, a vicious contempt for the poor and the common good, a culture of blatant lies and cronyism — and possibly worse – dominate our public landscape”.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Thabo Makgoba (April 16, 2017)

The ANC, which is one of the oldest black political movements in South Africa, was founded in 1912 (ANC, 2017) and became the ruling party of after the historic first democratic election under the iconic former and late President Nelson Mandela in April 1994 (SA History, 2013). He served a five-year term in office as president of the country until 1999, and was succeeded by President Thabo Mbeki. The latter led the country for his first five-year term from 1999 to 2004, but only served part of his second five-year term after the ANC’s National Executive Committee (NEC) asked him to step down in 2008. This was after somewhat controversial circumstances following his defeat by Jacob Zuma at the ANC’s Polokwane Conference, and Judge Chris Nicholson’s High Court ruling that corruption charges against Zuma were illegal because of evidence of high-level meddling in the case (Reuters, Sapa, 2008). President Mbeki was then replaced by President Kgalema Motlanthe who finished that term in 2009. It was under President Thabo Mbeki’s first term of office that BEE was first legislated in 2003. The current president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, served his first term from 2009 to 2013, and he is currently in his a second five-year term, which is due to end in 2019 (Prominent People, 2013).

BEE or its extended version, broad-based black economic empowerment (B-BBEE), in South Africa, is legislated under Act 53 of 2003. The B-BBEE Act provides the legislative framework for the promotion of B-BBEE and empowers the Minister (of

Trade and Industry) and the Department of Trade and Industry to administer all the provisions of the Act in order to advance economic transformation and enhance the economic participation of black people in the South African economy (DTI, 2016).

Officially, according to the B-BBEE Amendment Act 46 of 2013, “black people” is a generic term which means Africans, Coloreds and Indians – (a) who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent; (b) who became citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalization; (i) before April 27, 1994; or (ii) on or after April 27, 1994 and who would have been entitled to acquire citizenship by naturalization prior to that date; and ‘broad-based black economic empowerment’ means the viable economic empowerment of all black people [including], in particular women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas through diverse but integrated socio-economic strategies that include but [are] not limited to:

- a. increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control enterprises and productive assets;
- b. facilitating ownership and management of enterprises and productive assets by communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises;
- c. human resource and skills development;
- d. achieving equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce;
- e. preferential procurement from enterprises that are owned or managed by black people; and
- f. investment in enterprises that are owned or managed by black people”.

The objectives of B-BBEE, according to the Act, are to “... promote the achievement of the constitutional right to equality, increase broad-based and

effective participation of black people in the economy and promote a higher growth rate, increased employment and more equitable income distribution; and establish a national policy on broad-based black economic empowerment so as to promote the economic unity of the nation, protect the common market, and promote equal opportunity and equal access to government services ...”.

According to the mid-year population estimates in 2016 (Statistics, South Africa, 2016), the South African population is estimated to be 55.9 million people of which 80.7% are Africans (black), 8.8% Colored [sic], 8.1% white and 2.5% Indian/Asian (up from the last official 2011 census count from 51.7 million) (Brand South Africa, 2012).

Government, institutions, businesses and individual households function, interact and operate with one another at three identifiable levels – namely, the macro-environment (which includes national and global forces), the meso- or market (transactional) level and the micro- (individual business or organizational) level (Erasmus, Strydom, & Rudansky-Kloppers, 2016, p. 114). The macro-environment (which was the focus of the research) comprises a number of different areas or factors, namely the economic, technological, institutional, social, political, physical and international environments (Marx, Rademeyer, & Reynders, 1991, p. 66).

The above basic composition of the variables included in the macro-environment is still largely used, although different acronyms and combinations are found in the literature. The following are examples: “PESTLE” – PEST for political, economic, social, technological, L for legal and E for environment (Oxlearn, 2017); “PESTEL” – which is similar to the previous one, with the L and E switched around (Wikipedia, 2017); “DEPEST” – D for demographic, E for economic, P for political, E for ecological, S for social-cultural and T for technological (Marketing-insider, 2017); and possibly even the most elaborate, “SPECTACLES” – S for social, P for political, E for economic, C for cultural, T for technological, A for aesthetic, C for customer, L for legal, E for environmental and S for sectoral (Slideshare, 2017).

The objective of this research was to investigate the impact of the ANC’s BEE policy on the six selected so-called “PESTIS” variables, with an inter-

national dimension in each variable where applicable. The six areas in the South African context are further described as follows:

Political environment: This includes the activities of all the 29 political parties in the country that contested the last 2014 national and provincial elections, with the five largest parties being the ANC with 62.15%, the Democratic Alliance (DA) with 22.23%, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) with 6.35%, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) with 2.40% and National Freedom Party (NFP) with 1.57% of the total vote of 18,402 million people (Electoral Commission of South Africa, 2017).

Economic environment: This includes the economic activities conducted by government, institutions, SOEs, businesses and enterprises in the country, whereby the available resources are used in an attempt to meet the needs and demands of the participants. The following concepts and terms are associated with this environment: economic growth rate, gross national product (GNP), GDP per capita, inflation, monetary and fiscal policies, interest rates, taxation, employment, exchange rates, balance of payment, foreign direct investment (FDI), etc.

Social-cultural environment: This includes the social conduct of people as members of multicultural communities and the use of their language, their practice of religion or non-religious beliefs and values, as reflected in the demographic composition and geographic location of people of the country. The following concepts and terms are associated with this environment: demographic changes, age composition, male/female ratios, infant mortality rates, urbanization, reducing poverty, inequality, unemployment, consumerism, business ethics, social responsibility, vulnerability in terms of HIV/AIDS, social grants, old age and frailty care, women emancipation, youth development, level of schooling, education, literacy and numeracy rates, social cohesion, racism, xenophobia, etc.

Technological environment: This includes the presence, sophistication, availability of existing, and the development and innovation of new technological know-how, skills and advances, in terms of products, services, processes and procedures, instruments, methods, machine, and materials

in a country. Some technological innovations are present in water sustainability, mineral processing, medical advances, transport networks and electricity generation. The following concepts and terms are also associated with this environment: product innovation, process automation, robotics, artificial intelligence, synthetic and composite materials, IT, digital migration, etc.

Institutional environment: In many of the above-mentioned macro-environmental compositions, this environment or parts of it may sometimes be included in the political environment. However, in the case of this research, the institutional participants included the state (a sovereign permanent abstract concept), the government (the temporary concrete agent of the state's machinery which comprises the executive (President, Deputy-President and Cabinet Ministers), legislative (Members of Parliament) and judicial (Constitutional Court, Supreme Court of Appeal, High Courts, Magistrates' Courts and other specialized Courts), national governmental departments, provincial governments and local municipalities, organized labor unions, professional councils, institutes and associations of the country.

Structural-physical environment: This environment comprises the provision and availability of infrastructure, its maintenance and improvement of dams, roads and highways, bridges, electrical networks, railways and stations, harbors, airports, nuclear energy, etc. It also includes the natural resources of the country both above and underground, which include water, minerals such as platinum, gold, copper, manganese, iron ore, coal, uranium, diamonds and others, solar power, wind, hydro, earth gas, agricultural and arable farming land. The protection of the physical earth environment comprises land, water, air, rivers and forests. Issues that are likely to feature are the ecology, environmentalism, smoke, noise, light, chemical and waste pollution, greenhouse gases and carbon emissions, global warming, fracking, etc.

2. AIMS

The aim of this article is to report the findings of an exploratory qualitative research study that used a "5 Star" research methodology to investi-

gate the impact of the ANC's BEE policy on the six selected macro-environments in South Africa. Unfortunately, it appears that these BEE policies have negatively affected at least four of these macro-environments, namely the political, the economic, the social/cultural and the institutional macro-environments, in a profound manner.

3. METHODS

3.1. Research paradigm

The research on which this article was based falls within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm (or theoretical framework). Such an approach in research attempts "... to understand the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2005, p. 22). Acknowledging the particular paradigm as the first step, it subsequently "... sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research", as well as the basis for the selection of the whole research design, including the research methodology and method(s) of research (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 2).

3.2. Research design

From an epistemological (knowledge) perspective, the research methodology employed in the research needed to provide propositional knowledge expressed in declarative sentences or indicative propositions on the issue or topic under investigation. A "5 Star" research methodology, initially introduced by Krüger (2014), was once again utilized, and is depicted in Figure 1. To recap: It involves five definite sequential steps which may also be cyclical, and entail the following: step 1 – putting forward a proposition; step 2 – listing the assumptions; step 3 – gathering evidence both in support of or against the proposition; step 4 – reviewing the evidence; and lastly, step 5 – justifying the conclusion. Within this paradigm, the outcome (knowledge) of the qualitative research is considered to be inductive theory characterized by subjective reality, as contextual, exploratory, expressed in words rather than numbers, with issues being complex and broad, and lastly, rather about understanding than control (Visagie, 2013, p. 19). The primary research method associated with the particular paradigm of the research was thus qual-

THE "5 STAR" RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

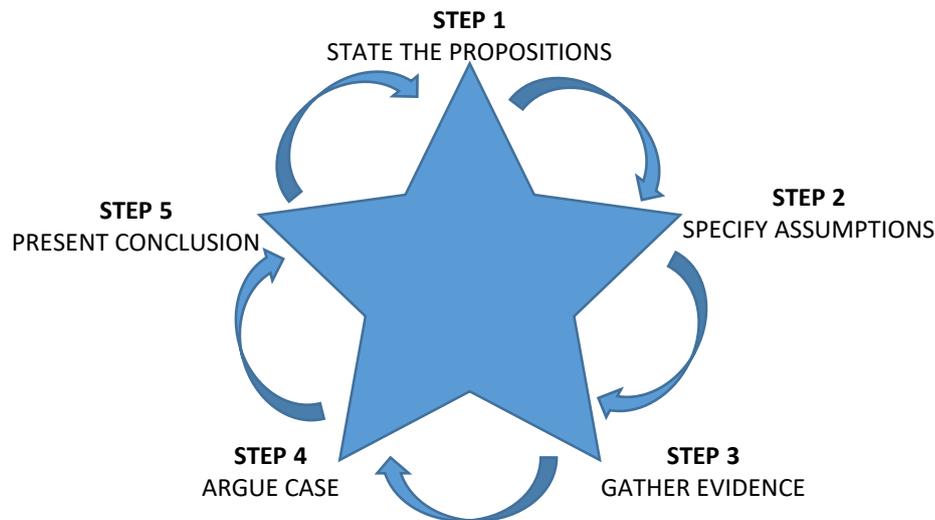


Figure 1. "5 Star" research methodology

itative, in which secondary data and document analysis were utilized (Mackenzie et al., 2006, p. 5), and this was guided by the research control measures of trustworthiness, which include credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity (Visagie, 2012, pp. 8-9).

3.3. Research proposition and assumptions

The basic proposition for the research (research problem) was as follows: The African National Congress's (ANC) and its black economic empowerment (BEE) policy have a direct and indirect positive impact on South Africa's political, economic, social, technological, international and structural ("PESTIS") macro-environments.

The assumptions underlying this research were as follows:

1. Black economic empowerment (BEE) refers to the implementation of the provisions and regulations as contained in the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act 53 of 2003, as amended by Act 46 of 2013.
2. The focus of the research was on the direct and indirect impact of the ANC and its BEE policy through major events and occurrences in South Africa from January to June 2016, and provide evidence (both positive and negative cases or manifestations) of such impact on one (or more) of the six "PESTIS" macro-environments.
3. The adjudication whether a specific event or happening was deemed to have a positive or negative impact on a particular "PESTIS" macro-environment was done with the aid of a decision matrix referred to as QRAM – Qualitative Research Adjudication Matrix (see Figure 2), which was developed for the research. Basically, it considers four possible scenarios of whether a particular event or happening is viewed as either positive or negative, and whether the response to the event is considered good or poor, in order to determine the outcome or impact on the particular macro-environment. Q1: negative event and poor response lead to a negative impact; Q2: positive event but a poor response also lead to a negative impact; Q3: negative event but a good response lead to a positive impact; and Q4: positive event and good response lead to a positive impact.
4. The implementation and application of BEE policies as provided for by the B-BBEE Act, specifically targets and benefits so-called "black people" who, according to the definition in the Act, include all population groups

RESPONSE	GOOD	Q3 NEGATIVE EVENT GOOD RESPONSE (NG) ✓ INFLUENCE "learn from your mistakes"	Q4 POSITIVE EVENT GOOD RESPONSE (PG) ✓ INFLUENCE "bulls eye"
	POOR	Q1 NEGATIVE EVENT POOR RESPONSE (NP) ✗ INFLUENCE "stop and abort"	Q2 POSITIVE EVENT POOR RESPONSE (PP) ✗ INFLUENCE "consult all stakeholders"
		NEGATIVE	POSITIVE

Figure 2. Qualitative Research Adjudication Matrix (GRAM)

of South Africa (the majority African, as well as minority Colored and Indian/Asian populations) except the so-called "white South Africans" minority.

- The meaning of the words "transform" or "transformation" in the South African context refers to the implementation and application of BEE, whether the change is to ownership, shareholding, company, business, firm, corporation, enterprise, partnership, enterprise, proprietorship, tile, rights, tenure, possession, control, management, supervision, jurisdiction, rule, domination, hegemony, appointment, employment, nomination, promotion, selection, choice, office, assignment, post, opening, representation, position, opinion, view, stance, standpoint, etc., whereby so-called "black people" must represent the majority.
- Qualitative research through the collection of secondary data sources was used and there was no empirical data generation either through questionnaires or interviews.
- The guiding control measures included credibility (equivalent of validity in quantitative research) and trustworthiness (equivalent of reliability in quantitative research).

4. RESULTS

The researcher identified, on a daily basis, a total of 290 e-newspaper articles relating to the direct and indirect impact of the ANC and its BEE policy on the six "PESTIS" macro-environments which occurred during the first six months of 2016. Of these, 119 were logged for the purposes of this article. The remainder were discarded because of the sheer volume and taking the selection criteria into account, namely that the event/happening had to relate to the ANC and be associated with BEE.

For the political macro-environment, 26 e-newspaper articles were captured as recorded in Tables 1A and 1B (see Appendix). Fifteen events were deemed to have a negative impact and 11 events a positive impact – of these last 11, eight, however, involved negative events, but the response to them was positive or NG (see Figure 2 for explanation). This means the majority (23) (88%) of events occurring in this macro-environment during this time were deemed NEGATIVE.

For the economic macro-environment, 22 e-newspaper articles were recorded in Tables 2A and 2B (see Appendix). Fifteen events were deemed to have a negative impact and seven a positive impact – of the last seven, one involved a negative event, but the

response to it was positive or NG (see Figure 2 for explanation). This means the majority (16) (73%) of events occurring in this macro-environment during this period were deemed NEGATIVE.

For the social-cultural macro-environment, 23 e-newspaper articles were recorded in Tables 3A and 3B (see Appendix). Nine events were deemed to have a negative impact and 14 events a positive impact – of these last 14, eight, however, involved negative events, but the response to them was positive or NG (see Figure 2 for explanation). This means the majority (17) (74%) of events occurring in this macro-environment during this period were deemed NEGATIVE.

For the technological macro-environment, only one e-newspaper article was recorded in Tables 4A and 4B (see Appendix). The one event was considered to have a positive impact. This means the majority (1) (100%) event occurring in this macro-environment during this period was deemed POSITIVE.

For the institutional macro-environment, 41 (the most of all the macro-environments) e-newspaper articles were recorded in Tables 5A and 5B (see Appendix). Sixteen events were deemed to have having a negative impact and 25 events a positive impact. Of the last 25, 17, however, involved negative events, but the response to them was positive or NG (see Figure 2 for explanation). This means the majority (33) (80%) of events occurring in this macro-environment during this time were deemed NEGATIVE.

For the last “PESTIS”, the structural-physical macro-environment, six e-newspaper articles were recorded in Tables 6A and 6B (see Appendix). Three events were deemed to have a negative impact and three events a positive impact. Of the last three, one, however, involved a negative event, but the response to it was positive or NG (see Figure 2 for explanation). This means the majority (4) (67%) of events occurring in this macro-environment during this period were deemed NEGATIVE.

5. DISCUSSION

BEE, which is policy legislated by the ANC, is purely based on race. “Black people” are clearly defined in the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, B-BBEE Act 53 of 2003 (and

its amendment Act 46 of 2013), and this includes all population groups of the country except so-called “white people”.

From the outset, the implementation of BEE has been controversial. Several political commentators, authors, business leaders, etc., have criticized various aspects of BEE, but generally, many have commented that in practice, only a relatively small percentage of black people have benefited from the policy, and those who have, are usually part of the well-aligned political elite of the ruling ANC party. For instance, Anthea Jeffery, a well-respected political analyst, in what was probably the most comprehensive review of BEE to date, confirms this assertion in her observation that “... the fact that BEE is based on racial identity makes the system still more difficult to criticise for fear of being labelled a racist or apartheid apologist”. She further argues that “... the racial foundation of BEE has had other consequences too ... it has breathed new life into the [concept of the] Population Registration Act of 1950 [appealed by the statute of 1991 by the former National Party government, which was the government in South Africa between 1948 and 1994, when it was replaced by the ANC], under which all South Africans were previously classified as African, Colored, Indian and white” (Jeffery, 2014, p. 25).

Fourteen years after the first appearance of the BEE Act, the question can rightly be asked: What have the benefits of this ANC policy been for South Africa? Again Anthea Jeffery offers the following perspective on the matter: “This helps explain how a supposedly a limited form of affirmative action has quietly morphed into a complex set of employment equity, BEE, and land reform rules that are cumulatively eroding business autonomy, undermining property rights, crippling public service efficiency, choking off direct investment, retarding economic growth and adding to a crisis of unemployment within the country”. She further argues that these outcomes fly in the face of what BEE is intended to achieve: “... instead their benefits have gone mainly to a relatively small black elite – many of them well paid but often ineffective public servants”. However, alarmingly “... it [BEE] has also fostered a toxic mix of inefficiency, waste and corruption that frequently causes great harm to the 19 million poor South Africans ...”, of which “... the

vast majority of these truly disadvantaged individuals have little or no prospect of ever gaining management posts, ownership deals, preferential contracts, or new small business ...”, and critically, “... most of them poor and unskilled, while more than 8 million of them are also unemployed.” (Jeffery, 2014, pp. 22-23).

This last assertion of Anthea Jeffery concerning what the benefits may have been of the ANC’s policy of BEE, can partly be answered by looking at what this investigation found the impacts were on South Africa’s “PESTIS” macro-environments. Considering the evidence presented in Tables 1A and 1B to 6A and 6B, it would appear that overall the policy has mainly had a negative impact on four of South Africa’s macro-environments, namely the political, economic, social and institutional environments. The following considerations pertain to the political environment: (1) the opposition party’s condemnation of the loss of integrity within the ANC and designating President Jacob Zuma as a “cancerous lump”; (2) the opposition parties and the ANC’s own alliance partner’s (the SACP’s) assertion of state capture; (3) the ANC’s apparent new emphasis on creating racial division in the country; (4) the ANC’s support for President Zuma, despite the Public Protector’s findings on the misuse of state funds, and the opposition parties outrage over the improvements at his private Nkandla homestead; and (5) the ANC youth league’s emotive threats and utterances of “civil war”.

The following consideration relates to the economic environment: (1) the turmoil created by the firing of the Minister of Finance, also known as “Nenegate”, and the record slump in the value of the South African rand; (2) the anxiety over the possibility of a looming credit downgrade to “junk” status by ratings agencies such as S&P, Finch and Moody’s; (3) the continuation of the BEE narrative, a black economy, the disproportionate white ownership and control of the economy, the practice of employment equity; (4) the non-investor-friendly environment that was created by a bill to ban foreign land ownership and extortions made of radical economic transformation; and (5) the poor growth and weak economic performance that demoted the country to third largest in Africa.

The following considerations relate to the social/cultural environment: (1) prevalence of racism, racial policies, racial polarization, the practice of BEE, accusations of hate speech and the proliferation of racial incidence before the Equality Court and serious claims of discrimination by government; (2) allegations of state capture, maladministration and corruption; (3) concerns over the decline in moral standing, the call for failed leaders to step down, the conflation of loyalty at the expense of integrity, and the louder voices of non-political, community and religious leaders, calling for activism against the ruling party; and (4) social unrest, chaos, civil disobedience, protest actions, warnings of anarchy, arson, looting, vandalism and the waning spirit of Ubuntu (togetherness).

The following considerations apply in the institutional environment: (1) purported state capture, infiltration into and meddling in government affairs, allegations of corruption and exerting undue influence on government and ministerial appointments by the Gupta family with close links to President Zuma; (2) judicial resilience and respect for the judgments handed down by the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) and High Court against President Zuma and the ANC government; (3) ANC domination of Parliament against proper governance, claims of favoritism against the National Assembly Speaker, increased security in Parliament to maintain order in order to avoid assaults on and regular scuffles between Members of Parliament (MPs); (4) corruption in the supply chain and procurements processes of government departments and SOEs, including the misuse of public funds by officials; and (5) national broadcaster’s (SABC’s) censorship of violent protest actions destroying public property in communities supported by the ANC, while concerns against such restrictions are belittled as being disingenuous.

However, there was scant evidence in this research of the impact of the ANC’s BEE policy on South Africa’s technological macro-environment (other than Eskom’s – the country’s major electrical utility – efforts at developing renewable energy projects). This was also the case regarding South Africa’s structural-physical macro-environment, where positive impacts occurred in replacing multinational industrial and mining conglomerates with local black empowerment companies,

improvements in access to sanitation and the reduction of carbon emissions. On the negative side, concerted efforts were made to extend the nuclear program, which is deemed unaffordable, and the poor management of piped water and water-related infrastructure projects amidst a state of disaster being declared in most of the country's provinces because of drought conditions.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to investigate the direct and indirect impact of the ANC's BEE policy on South Africa's "PESTIS" macro-environments.

The "5 Star" research methodology that had previously been used in a successful research project guided the research in the utilization of an exploratory qualitative research method, in which only secondary data were consulted. In continuing the research, e-newspaper articles with statements, quotations or opinions were collected and documented over a six-month period as evidence to judge whether the proposition could be accepted or rejected. A Qualitative Research Adjudication Matrix (QRAM) was especially developed to help judge whether an event/happening had a positive or negative impact; and whether the response was deemed good or poor, and thus in combination, determining the impact on a particular macro-environment. The researcher acknowledges that the judgment was mainly his, but with evidence provided in the form of precise extracts (see the motivation column in Tables 1A, 2A, 3A, 4A, 5A and 6A in the Appendix) of the particular e-newspaper article.

The ANC and the continuation of its BEE policy seem to have negatively impacted on the political, economic, social and institutional macro-environments of South Africa. However, this does not apply to the technological environment, and also on a limited scale, to the structural-physical environments. The stated proposition in this research that the environments would be positively impacted should therefore be rejected. Importantly, the first four macro-environments above could be viewed as critical for the future harmonious development of South Africa, especially for the youth whose hopes, dreams and aspirations seem to be seriously compromised by the negative narratives surrounding these areas. On the political side, the extremely serious assertions of state capture by the united opposition parties and the "blind" support of the ANC and parliament involving a number of scandals engulfing President Jacob Zuma are of concern. On the economic side, the poor economic performance of the country (the country demoted to third largest in Africa), and the increasing anxiety over a possible looming credit downgrade by most of the ratings agencies, are worrisome. Socially, racism has alarmingly become rife, and social tensions have increased between the different population groups in South African, not to mention fears of xenophobic attacks against foreigners, which are real. Institutionally, the undue influence exerted by the Gupta family (with their close ties to President Zuma) on various institutions of government, including the appointment of ministers, is profoundly distressing. However, the resilience of the judiciary in upholding the Constitution of South Africa of 1996, despite relentless efforts by the ANC to discredit institutions such as that of the Public Protector, is most commendable. Internationally, South Africa is no longer considered the "darling" of the world, but rather seen as the "bad boy", and the ANC, as the ruling party since 1994, must shoulder the full blame for the shameful state of the country. Finally, the failure to execute an International Criminal Court (ICC) warrant for the arrest of Sudanese President Al Bashir for crimes relating to genocide, says it all, as far as the first six months of South Africa in 2016 is concerned.

In view of the findings of this research, the ANC would do well to reconsider and abandon its racially inspired BEE policy. This policy has done little to effect the much needed high economic growth rate, reduce the record unemployment, eradicate the high levels of poverty and narrow the large gap in inequality experienced in the country (these three objectives are frequently cited as the government's top-priority drivers).

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APPENDIX

Table 1A. Political macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ x	Motivation
1	ANC using race to loot the country – Mashaba	✓	NG: "... Democratic Alliance's Johannesburg mayoral candidate Mashaba ... can't address inequality in our country by dividing people along racial lines".
2	ANC's election strategy "reckless"	x	NP: "... the present ANC policy to cynically abuse race and racism as an election strategy is reckless".
3	If ANC loses power, the country will burn – Mulder	x	NP: "If the ANC lost power, the country would burn, FF Plus parliamentary Chief Whip Cornū Mulder ... the new generation of the ANC would make the country ungovernable should they lose power".
4	Political parties reject Zuma's Nkandla offer	✓	NG: "President Jacob Zuma needs to have his day in court and his offer to repay some of the money spent on his Nkandla home should be rejected, the IFP and UDM".
5	If ANC loses power, the country will burn – Mulder	x	NP: "If the ANC lost power, the country would burn, FF Plus parliamentary Chief Whip Cornū Mulder ... the new generation of the ANC would make the country ungovernable should they lose power".
6	We support Zuma's Nkandla decision – ANC	x	PP: "ANC welcomed President Jacob Zuma's decision to pay back the money for upgrades ... but it didn't mean it thought he was responsible for them, the party said".
7	Maine's "monkey" comments offensive: ANC	x	NP: "ANCYL president Collen Maine's calling EFF members monkeys was unacceptable, the ANC said".
8	ANCYL leader's "civil war" threats out of order – Mbetse	✓	NP: "ANC Youth League leader's threat of a civil war ... is totally out of order ... issues between the EFF and the ANCYL currently happening outside the space of Parliament and was political".
9	It's not your money, Mbhele tells ANC	x	PP: "DA MP Zak Mbhele has told the ANC that it was not the party's money they had spent when they boasted of their achievements but that of South Africa's taxpayers".
10	Zuma cancer has spread to whole ANC	x	NP: "... the ANC is facing its most frustrating conundrum since it was formed ... it sits with a powerful president who is like a cancerous lump that has metastasised over time ... the whole body has itself become the cancer".
11	Dividing SA on race is all ANC has left – Zille	x	NP: "... the ANC had performed so poorly that all it had left ahead of elections was to divide people along racial lines ... the former leader of the DA".
12	Don't defend Zuma, defend the ANC – Mantashe	x	NP: "ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe ... said those wanting to defend the ANC should defend the party first, not its president".
13	ANC doesn't own copyright to struggle icons – EFF	✓	NG: "These are icons of our struggle and can't be monopolised by anyone, including the ANC and the family".
14	ANC has concrete plan in place – Zuma	✓	PG: "The ANC has not diverted from its plan of providing service delivery to all South Africans".
15	ANC, DA in tit-for-tat spat over diplomatic postings	x	NP: "The DA accused the ANC of using South Africa's foreign diplomatic missions as a 'dumping ground for reject MPs' ... in the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (Dirco)".
16	The ANC is anti-black – Qwabe	x	NP: "Rhodes scholar and student activist Ntokozo Qwabe has accused the ANC of being anti-black ... 'this is not a government that is pro black'".
17	Zuma willing to step down, ANC sources say	✓	NG: "President Jacob Zuma is willing to step down in order to recover the ANC's 'integrity' ... top ANC members ... secretly working on an 'exit strategy' for Zuma, who has been under fire in recent months over scandals".
18	ANC won't be blackmailed into removing Zuma – chief whip	✓	NG: "ANC would not be blackmailed into removing President Jacob Zuma from office ... EFF has vowed not to let Zuma speak in Parliament until action is taken against him ... termed political blackmail".
19	ANC distances itself from Youth League's "war-mongering" talk	✓	NG: "The ANC has distanced itself from its youth league leader ... comments that the Economic Freedom Fighters 'must be given war' ... is talk [that] is an antithesis to the type of society we envisage to build ...".
20	ANC only got one written complaint on state capture – Mantashe	x	NP: "Out of eight people who approached ANC secretary general ... with alleged reports of corporate capture of the state, only one handed in a written submission ... allegations made were serious".
21	ANC calls SACP's faction talk "irresponsible"	✓	NG: "ANC ... called the party's communist alliance partner 'irresponsible' for claiming that the ANC has handed over power to a 'faction' ... SACP was tired of the rot in the ANC".
22	ANC "misguided" to end probe into "state capture" – SACP	✓	NG: "The SA Communist Party has criticised the ANC for not further pursuing investigations into allegations of state capture".
23	Herbst: It was worse under apartheid ... ANC soft on corruption	x	NP: "Internal Institute of Auditors calculated that South Africa lost around R700 billion to corruption since 1994 ... examples pre-1994 are numerous but when looking at post 1994 convictions ... only find two ... soft on corruption".
24	"Chiefs and madams" in government must remember ANC resolutions – ANCYL president	x	NP: "When ANC cadres get into government positions where they get called chief and madam, they forget the resolutions of the party, ANC Youth League".
25	You can't engage with the ANC through violence – Zuma	✓	PG: "President Jacob Zuma on Saturday said that if people wanted to engage with the party they couldn't do it through violence ... your methods of engaging with the ANC cannot involve violence, burning of property and looting".
26	ANC worried about Zuma effect on elections – MMC	x	PP: "The ANC is worried about the effect President Jacob Zuma will have on the party's performance in this year's elections ... president needs to consider the impact he has on our country".

Table 1B. Political macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
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2	Max du Preez	http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/ancs-election-strategy-reckless-20160126
3	Thulani Gqirana	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/if-anc-loses-power-the-country-will-burn-mulder-20160203
4	Thulani Gqirana	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/udm-ifp-reject-zumas-nkandla-offer-20160203
5	Ahmed Areff	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/we-support-zumas-nkandla-decision-anc-20160203
6	Thulani Gqirana	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ancyl-leaders-civil-war-threats-out-of-order-mbete-20160209
7	Naledi Shange	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/state-of-sa-politics-is-distressing-mbete-20160214
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12	Naledi Shange	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-has-concrete-plan-in-place-zuma-20160416
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17	Genevieve Quintal	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-distances-itself-from-youth-leagues-war-mongering-talk-20160519
18	Mpho Raborife	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/anc-only-got-1-written-complaint-on-state-capture-mantashe-20160531
19	Carien du Plessis	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-calls-sacps-faction-talk-irresponsible-20160602
20	Carien du Plessis	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/you-risk-your-life-if-you-speak-out-against-state-capture-sacps-mapaila-20160603
21	Amanda Khoza	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-dont-know-how-bad-things-are-party-founders-relative-20160603
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24	Amanda Khoza	http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/the-youth-need-to-prove-they-are-ready-to-lead-zuma-20160625
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Table 2A. Economic macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓/x	Motivation
1	More banana peels waiting for the rand – expert	x	NP: "... final nail in the coffin when President Jacob Zuma stated that the turmoil regarding Nenegate was not all that serious, and that markets did not understand what he was trying to do".
2	Finance minister fiasco fallout continues	x	NP: "... a really strong negative signal to us of how the political leadership is conducting its policy.... Zuma fired Nene and replaced him with David van Rooyen sparking a record rand slump".
3	Could a black economy be the answer to racist white capital?	x	NP: "Black people ... utilize their majority status ... to establish their own (black) economy ... white controlled economy to reflect their minority status ... make up 10% of the population should ... own only 10% of the economy".
4	Gordhan meets business leaders as SA junk rating looms	✓	PP: "Gordhan is seeking to restore confidence in an economy hit by sliding commodity prices, weak demand from China and policy mistakes by President Jacob Zuma ... the end of last year that pushed the rand to record lows".
5	Mining minister wants BEE tussle settled	x	NP: "The government wants the black economic empowerment legal battle settled outside the courts to end uncertainty over the policy meant to spread economic wealth to the black majority".
6	"Business is the backbone of our economy" – President Jacob Zuma to business leaders	✓	PG: "President Jacob Zuma lauded the success of a meeting between government and top business leaders ... it was important to touch base with CEOs and hear their views, in light of current economic conditions".
7	Zuma errors push SA to fix policy, says Standard Bank	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma's policy missteps at the end of last year may be the catalyst that pushes the government to implement reforms needed to avert a credit rating downgrade to junk".
8	Zuma fails to appease investors, rating agencies – economist	x	NP: "... the ban on foreign land ownership and a bill to this effect ... will be 'deeply non-investor-friendly' ... the need for 'radical economic transformation' ... is not a ratings-friendly phrase".
9	State capture a euphemism for blatant corruption – Coovadia	✓	NG: "The Banking Association of South Africa, which includes all major banks in the country ... must be clear that 'state and corporate capture' is a euphemism for blatant corruption MD Cas Coovadia".
10	Whites have owned economy for too long – Ramaphosa	x	NP: "Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa has promised black business that government will spend billions on Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) in the coming years ... we are going to intensify B-BBEE".
11	African Bank must pay for "mess" – BEE partner	x	NP: "Someone has to pay for the mess at African Bank, one of the beleaguered bank's black economic empowerment partners ... can't create a precedent in South Africa that it's okay to go about recklessly with shareholders' money".
12	Economy must not be skewed on racial lines – Zuma	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma says the economy of the country cannot be skewed in favour of one racial group and should be shared by all ... the economy of our country must not be skewed along racial lines".
13	Anthea Jeffery: Punitive EE fines are another Oliphant job-killing disaster	x	NP: "Labour minister ... companies fined R1.5m or 2% of turnover ... for failing to meet their racial quotas under the amended Employment Equity Act ... ordinary black South Africans, only 7% of whom endorse the EE Act".
14	Collaboration between govt, labor, business paying off – Zuma	✓	PG: "The collaboration between government, labour and the business sector to rescue the country from possible downgrade and to stabilize the economy is starting to bear fruit".
15	Black business left out for generations, says Zulu	✓	PG: Small businesses are beginning to take their place as the engine of the economy but are catching up from generations of being left out in the cold, Minister".
16	SA no longer 2nd largest economy in Africa on weak rand	x	NP: "The latest World Economic Outlook (WEO) by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggests that South Africa is now only the third-largest economy on the African continent – behind Nigeria in first place, followed by Egypt".
17	White people do not control SA economy – analyst	✓	PG: "White people do not control the economy of South Africa, that is a myth, analyst Moeletsi Mbeki ... this notion that there has been no change ... or it is superficial ... was a narrative that was being perpetuated by the ruling party".
18	Zuma "a danger to SA's economic stability"	x	NP: "The single most serious clear and present danger to South Africa's short-term economic and political stability has a name: Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma".
19	"Is there an ANC group that wants SA in junk territory?"	x	NP: "Could it be possible that there is an interest group inside the ANC and government that actually wants the rating agencies to push us into junk territory?"
20	Motsepe says he backs meaningful BEE in SA	x	NP: "There should be more focus on entrepreneurship and business competitiveness in South Africa ... ultimately supported black economic empowerment (BEE) ... we have no future in South Africa if we don't create opportunities ... otherwise there will be social and political instability".
21	S&P less critical than expected but SA not out the woods yet. Next stop Fitch	✓	PG: "S&P to leave South Africa's sovereign credit rating unchanged ... country to ensure key developments: reliable source of energy, labour market reform, clarity on mining code, cohesion within executive branch of government".
22	How investors see SA: lots of potential, not worth the hassle	x	PP: "South Africa ... narrowly survived a downgrade of the rating of its government bonds ... reprieve, however, is temporary ... government has been warned by Fitch, Moody's and Standard & Poor's – to pull up its socks".

Table 2B. Economic macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
1	Carin Smith	http://www.fin24.com/Markets/Currencies/more-banana-peels-waiting-for-the-rand-expert-20160111
2	Xola Potelwa	http://www.fin24.com/Markets/Currencies/finance-minister-fiasco-fallout-continues-20160120
3	Matome Letsoalo	http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2016/01/could-a-black-economy-be-the-answer-to-racist-white-capital/
4	Rene Vollgraaff Renee Bonorchis Loni Prinsloo	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/gordhan-meets-business-leaders-as-sa-junk-rating-looms-20160202
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8	Matthew le Cordeur	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/zuma-fails-to-appease-investors-rating-agencies-economist-20160212
9	Franz Wild	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/state-capture-a-euphemism-for-blatant-corruption-coovadia-20160324
10	Lizeka Tandwa	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/white-control-of-business-will-end-ramaphosa-20160324
11	Liesl Peyper	http://www.fin24.com/Companies/Financial-Services/african-bank-must-pay-for-mess-bee-partner-20160408
12	Karabo Ngoepe	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/economy-must-not-be-skewed-on-racial-lines-zuma-20160427
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14	Karabo Ngoepe	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/collaboration-between-govt-labour-business-paying-off-zuma-20160509
15	Jenni Evans	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/black-business-left-out-for-generations-says-zulu-20160511
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18	Max du Preez	http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/zuma-a-danger-to-sas-economic-stability-20160517
19	Max du Preez	http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/is-there-an-anc-group-that-wants-sa-in-junk-territory-20160531
20	Matthew le Cordeur	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Motsepe-says-he-backs-meaningful-BEE-in-SA-20150605
21	Kevin Lings	http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/sp-less-critical-than-expected-but-sa-not-out-the-woods-yet-next-stop-fitch-20160606
22	Desnй Masie	http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/how-investors-see-south-africa-lots-of-potential-not-worth-the-hassle-20160617

Table 3A. Social-cultural macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ x	Motivation
1	Do away with policies based on race – Mashaba	✓	PG: "... would do away with policies and laws based on race. This included Black Economic Empowerment".
2	THE "RACIST" SHIELD: FREE SPEECH ON TRIAL	x	NP: "Merit is less important than political favour ... that represents institutionalised racism ... ANC incompetence, maladministration, corruption, misguided ideologies and marginalisation of high productivity non-black citizens".
3	ANC wants Kohler Barnard to pay R500 000, face criminal charges	✓	NG: "... see them prosecuted in the Equality Court and criminal courts on charges, including hate speech and unfair discrimination".
4	Racism can't be cured or debated – Mantashe	x	NP: "Racism cannot be cured or be debated." "All programs must ensure that black people benefit from the economy of the country."
5	Desmond Tutu's warning shot: Zuma and ANC worse than Apartheid Govt	✓	NG: "Mr. Zuma, you and your Government don't represent me. You represent your own interest and I am warning you." "One day, we will start praying for the defeat of the ANC Government. You are disgraceful".
6	Good luck, comrade president	x	PP: "... national focus is back where it belongs: president Jacob Zuma, corruption, state capturing, nepotism and weak governance".
7	SA can't afford racial polarisation – De Klerk	✓	PG: "White South Africans should ... try and understand and acknowledge the pain and humiliation that apartheid caused black, coloured and Indian people ... black South Africans must show greater sensitivity to our history".
8	SA leaders must shape up – Phosa	✓	NG: "Leaders in South Africa should shape up ... negative defining moments ... the shootings at Marikana, President Jacob Zuma's home in Nkandla, the case of Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir, and Eskom's load shedding".
9	Super rich ditching SA – report	x	NP: "... estimates that SA lost over 950 millionaires to emigration in 2015 ... top reasons are financial concerns; changing social dynamics in SA; concerns for their children's future, education; crime; BEE requirements ...".
10	Motlanthe: "Failed leaders must step down"	✓	NG: "ANC leaders need to acknowledge when they are wrong and must have the conscience to step down to avoid further discrediting the party, says the party's former deputy president, Kgalema Motlanthe".
11	SA not reconciled yet – Mbeki	x	NP: "South Africa has not achieved its goal of a non-racial society, 22 years after the birth of its democracy, former president Thabo Mbeki said".
12	Children of ANC exiles call on party to take action	✓	PG: "We are particularly perturbed ... within our movement which appear[s] to demonstrate a conflation of loyalty ... to individuals – at the expense of the integrity and moral standing of our movement".
13	ANC Gauteng leagues take swipe at stalwarts, religious leaders	x	NP: "The youth league, women's league and veteran's league within the ANC in Gauteng have criticised its stalwarts as well as some religious leaders who have joined the call for President Jacob Zuma to step down".
14	More citizens are losing their faith in SA's future	x	NP: "Afrobarometer ... South Africans feel about socio-economic issues ... 54% rate the country's economic situation as 'fairly bad' or 'very bad' ... respondents feel discriminated against by the government".
15	ANC legacy of corruption is SA's true danger	✓	NG: "ZUMA must fall", is the slogan voiced by many who are concerned about the situation the country finds itself in ... he [JZ] is merely a symptom of a much deeper malaise that afflicts the governing party".
16	Beware the anarchists – Zuma warns	✓	PG: "Political opportunists who promote anarchy and thuggery must be shunned ... some desperate elements seem hell-bent to promote anarchy and chaos isolate political parties that advocate the use of violence".
17	Papenfus: To Labour Minister Oliphant, what must we do about these Whites?	✓	NG: "... transformation policies [are] that every facet of the South African society (people in employment, ownership of business, participation in sports teams, shares on the JSE, education, the list goes on and on), must reflect the demographical composition of the South African society".
18	Direct anger at ANC, not schools, Shivambu tells Vuwani residents	✓	NG: "... direct their anger at the ANC ... has seen schools burned down and vandalised ... the correct platform to do so is ... during the local government elections ... they must go out in their numbers and vote out the ANC".
19	ANC conducted a "ruthless people's war" – SAIIR head	x	NP: "Dr Anthea Jeffery ... the ANC's struggle – in its last decade from 1984 to 1994 – took the form of a ruthless people's war ... aimed at giving the ANC hegemony over the new South Africa, rather than at liberation".
20	Pray for the return of the spirit of Ubuntu – Zuma	✓	PG: "South Africans to pray for Ubuntu, love and respect for one another. Respect is the fundamental trait of any human being ... is the fibre that holds families, organisations and communities together".
21	Most black South Africans oppose sport quotas – survey	✓	PG: "More than 70% of black South Africans do not believe that sport teams should be picked based on transformation goals, but rather purely on merit ... according to a 2016 national survey by the SA Institute of Race Relations".
22	Corruption has become "the new normal"	x	NP: "South Africans suffer from serious corruption – and scandal fatigue. We don't even read the almost daily reports of billions of rand's corruption, enrichment and abuse of power any more ... have become the new normal".
23	Strong action for those who want to derail SA through racism – Hanekom	✓	NG: "The Department of Tourism has referred allegations of racism by the owner of Sodwana Bay Guest House to the South African Human Rights Commission for investigation ... to take immediate action".

Table 3B. Social-cultural macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
1	Genevieve Quintal	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/do-away-with-policies-based-on-race-mashaba-20160116
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12	Genevieve Quintal	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/children-of-anc-exiles-call-on-party-to-take-action-20160407
13	Mpho Raborife	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-gauteng-leagues-take-swipe-at-stalwarts-religious-leaders-20160413
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20	Amanda Khoza	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/pray-for-the-return-of-the-spirit-of-ubuntu-zuma-20160522
21	Wim Pretorius	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/most-black-south-africans-oppose-sport-quotas-survey-20160531
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23		http://traveller24.news24.com/News/strong-action-for-those-who-want-to-derail-sa-through-racism-hanekom-20160624

Table 4A. Technological macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ X	Motivation
1	Eskom gets R2.6bn green energy boost	✓	PG: "... that Eskom will receive \$180m (R2.6bn) in assistance for renewable energy projects, part of a package of \$811m (R11.85bn) in green energy loans it approved ..."

Table 4B. Technological macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
1	Reuters Fin24	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Eskom/eskom-gets-r26bn-green-energy-boost-20160418

Table 5A. Institutional macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ x	Motivation
1	Redistribution is a moral imperative – Zuma	✓	PG: "We will continue to manage public funds responsibly. We will continue to direct public resources towards the poor and in pursuit of productive economic activity".
2	SAPS employment equity plan unlawful – Labor Court	✓	NG: "... judgment by the labor court is a huge victory for Solidarity, and the knowledge that the courts are not tolerating the unfair implementation of affirmative action".
3	Tread carefully, Zuma and co	✓	NG: "... does not excuse the budding acts of impunity of our state officials, particularly when it comes to the misuse of public funds ... South Africa is at the apex of a defining period in its history".
4	Once-powerful SA unions take knocks	x	NP: "... once most powerful political forces, the labour movement is floundering as infighting and job losses deplete its ranks ... following the expulsion of its largest affiliate for withdrawing electoral support from the ANC".
5	Zuma violated oath of office and Constitution – Trengove	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma violated the Constitution and oath of office over his treatment of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela's recommendations ... flagrant violation of his duty as president ... said Wim Trengove".
6	SONA: Lekota poses key question – is ConCourt dead?	✓	PP: "The key contribution came from Mosiuoa Lekota leader of COPE ... Zuma has admitted to the highest court in the land that he has broken his oath of office ... Zuma may legally no longer serve as the President".
7	SA under obligation to arrest Al Bashir – SCA	x	NP: "The Supreme Court of Appeal said on Tuesday that the South African government was under an obligation to co-operate with the ICC in arresting Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir".
8	ANC must deal with "arrogance" of the Guptas – Jackson Mthembu	✓	NG: "ANC MP Jackson Mthembu on Twitter expressed outrage at the Gupta family after Deputy Minister of Finance Mcebisi Jonas's explosive announcement that he was offered the ministry".
9	ANC officials to support Zuma as Gupta revelations shake SA	x	NP: "Some ANC sources around the country told ... the party will show a united front for Zuma, and that he will emerge even stronger from the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting this weekend".
10	ANC has to clear out "rot" – Barbara Hogan	✓	NG: "South Africa's ruling party needs to deal with the allegations of corruption and undue influence by the Gupta family and clear out the 'rot', said Barbara Hogan, a former minister of both health and public enterprises".
11	Black Business Council urges ANC to navigate country through "Gupta crisis"	✓	NG: Black Business Council has urged the democratically elected national executive ... to navigate the country through the crisis of allegations that the Gupta family was influencing the appointments of certain cabinet ministers".
12	End "state capture" – FW de Klerk	✓	PG: "... call on the many decent members and leaders of the ANC ... to stand up on the principles on which their movement was founded and [put] an end to state capture and restoring a system of constitutional government".
13	Guptas arrogant, disrespectful – Mantashe	✓	NG: "ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe ... said the Guptas were being arrogant by claiming that Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas's admission that he was offered a job by the family was mere "political point scoring".
14	No ministers appointed by Guptas – Zuma	✓	NG: "The Gupta family has not appointed any minister to the Cabinet, President Jacob Zuma told Parliament on Thursday. 'I appoint ministers here', a confident Zuma said in the National Assembly".
15	Further claims of "Guptacracy" to emerge – report	x	NP: "More ministers and prominent businessmen to come forward with allegations of the Guptas meddling in government and state-owned enterprises ... former Eskom chairperson Zola Tsotsi ... was kicked out".
16	Guptas aren't the only ones – Ramaphosa	x	NP: "The Guptas aren't the only ones trying to exert their control over the state", Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa said. "It is not only [the Gupta family]. It is others as well".
17	ANC in Parliament says it will abide by ConCourt judgment	✓	NG: "The ANC in Parliament would abide by the Constitutional Court's judgment ... a proper dissection and comprehension on its far-reaching implications on how Parliament conducts its constitutional function in future".
18	Judicial history made as Zuma loses ConCourt battle	✓	NG: "Judicial history was made in South Africa when the Constitutional Court announced that President Jacob Zuma had defied the Constitution when he and the National Assembly set aside remedial actions by Public Protector".
19	Zuma must do honourable thing and step down – Methodist Church	✓	NG: "The Methodist Church of SA said on Thursday that if President Jacob Zuma did not resign, they would put pressure on the ruling party and the government to get him to do so".
20	Zuma must pay back the money – ConCourt	✓	NG: "The Constitutional Court has given President Jacob Zuma just over three months to pay back the money for some of the upgrades to his Nkandla homestead".

Table 5A (cont.). Institutional macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ x	Motivation
21	Nkandla: 11 ConCourt orders handed down	✓	NG: "The Constitutional Court on Thursday handed down a precedent-setting judgment that both President Jacob Zuma and the National Assembly were in breach of their constitutional obligations in the Nkandla matter".
22	ANC caucus will look at quality of Parliament's advisors – Mthembu	✓	NG: "Parliament has not been advised correctly, and the ANC caucus would now look at the quality of the advisors ... we gave an impression that what we did was correct, the court has set aside that resolution of Parliament".
23	ANC Women's League attacks Public Protector	x	NP: "In its continued defence of President Jacob Zuma, the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) took aim at his detractors in an open letter on Wednesday; specifically Public Protector Thuli Madonsela".
24	Decision to drop Zuma corruption charges "irrational", set aside	✓	NG: "The High Court in Pretoria has said the decision taken by former NPA head Mokotedi Mpshe to drop corruption charges against President Jacob Zuma in 2009 was irrational".
25	Zuma slams opportunists, "desperate elements" promoting anarchy and chaos	✓	NG: "President Jacob Zuma on Sunday criticised 'political opportunists' who would wreak havoc on the country ... some desperate elements seem hell-bent to promote anarchy and chaos".
26	Opposition parties boycott Zuma in Parliament	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma will be addressing empty benches in Parliament ... he will be addressing mostly ANC MPs, as Cope, the UDM, FF+, NFP and DA have decided to stay away".
27	Govt should have approached Sarb over Guptas – ANC	x	NP: "Government should have approached the banking regulator instead of the individual banks over the closing of the Gupta family's accounts ... government should have approached the SA Reserve Bank instead".
28	ICC: SA not off the hook	x	NP: "South Africa would not be absolved from dealing with the consequences following its decision not to arrest Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir, even if it was to act on its threat to withdraw from the International Criminal Court (ICC)".
29	I know nothing about Gupta business dealings – Zuma	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma on Tuesday insisted in Parliament that he knew nothing about the business dealings of the Gupta family ... Why should I have a view about if it must be investigated or not?"
30	I never lied about Nkandla – Zuma	x	NP: "President Jacob Zuma told Parliament on Tuesday that he had never lied about the upgrades to his home in Nkandla ... the government came to build ... the amphitheatre, cattle kraal, chicken run, and the swimming pool".
31	Mbetse rejects claims of ANC favouritism in Parliament	✓	NG: "National Assembly Speaker ... rejected claims that her decisions in Parliament were personal because of her close links to the ANC ... the Speaker or any presiding officer to maintain order and make sure there are orderly proceedings".
32	We don't want blood in this house – ANC	✓	NG: "The ANC does not want to see anyone dying in Parliament, or blood to be spilled, the party said ... has called for more stringent security in Parliament".
33	Malema's Marikana statement not unparliamentary – SCA	✓	PG: "The Supreme Court of Appeal said on Friday that Economic Freedom Fighters leader Julius Malema's statement that the ANC government had massacred Marikana miners was not unparliamentary".
34	SABC decision is not censorship – ANC	x	NP: "The SABC's decision not to broadcast footage of people destroying public property during protests should not be seen as censorship, the ANC".
35	Zuma blames "anarchists, agent provocateurs" for violent protests	✓	NG: "There is no justification for the burning of schools and property, ANC President ... placing the blame squarely on relatively small bands of anarchists and agent provocateurs".
36	Madonsela wants more resources to probe "state capture"	✓	PG: "Public Protector Thuli Madonsela has approached government for additional resources ... investigation of President Jacob Zuma's links with the Gupta family ... in order to investigate complaints about alleged state capture".
37	SA's handling of Al-Bashir "not a high point" in Africa	x	NP: The debacle involving Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir showed South Africa was unsure of what it stood for anymore ... allowing an alleged human rights violator and war criminal into the country without arresting him".
38	Public Protector, Hawks reveal latest in Gupta state capture probe	x	NP: "Guptas have received no indication that they are being investigated for state capture ... followed the ANC inquiry that found the Guptas had not captured state resources through their friendship with President Jacob Zuma".
39	BREAKING: Zuma's spy tapes appeal dismissed	✓	PG: "The High Court in Pretoria has dismissed President Jacob Zuma's leave to appeal its decision that he should face corruption charges".
40	Now Zuma can have his day in court – DA	✓	PG: "Zuma and the National Prosecuting Authority's application for leave to appeal ... he should face corruption charges was dismissed by the Pretoria High Court ... must have his day in court as he has always claimed he wanted".
41	Ex-SABC CEO Matthews disingenuous and a coward – ANC spokesperson	x	NP: "ANC spokesperson ... called SABC acting CEO Jimi Matthews's sudden resignation disingenuous and [cowardly]... Matthews's resignation was a ploy to create instability at the public broadcaster ahead of this year's local election".

Table 5B. Institutional macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
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2	Mpho Raborife	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/saps-employment-equity-plan-unlawful-labour-court-20160126
3	Dumile Sibindana	http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/tread-carefully-zuma-and-co-20160122
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11	Ivan Pijoo	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/black-business-council-urges-anc-to-navigate-country-through-gupta-crisis-20160317
12	Jenna Etheridge	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/end-state-capture-fw-de-klerk-20160317
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16	Lizeka Tandwa	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/guptas-arent-the-only-ones-ramaphosa-20160324
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37	Carien du Plessis	http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/sas-handling-of-al-bashir-not-a-high-point-in-africa-20160610
38	Matthew le Cordeur	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/public-protector-hawks-reveal-latest-in-gupta-state-capture-probe-20160621
39		http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/breaking-zumas-spy-tapes-appeal-dismissed-20160624
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Table 6A. Structural-physical macro-environment (January-June 2016)

No.	Title	P/N ✓ x	Motivation
1	Wanted: A "black champion" to fill Anglo's void	✓	NG: "Anglo American scales back its operations, the government is coaxing black investors to fill the void in mining left ... Mines Minister to encourage the emergence of 'new black economic empowerment champions'".
2	Nuclear will plunge SA into "junk status" – economist	x	NP: "Taking on the nuclear build programme contingent liabilities under the Department of Energy (Doe) and the ANC's preferred vendor financing model would confirm South Africa in junk for all the agencies".
3	Over half of SA households have no water at home	x	PP: "Although 89.4% of households in South Africa have access to piped water, less than half of them enjoy water in the comfort of their own home ... number of households are not satisfied with the quality or provision of water".
4	Access to sanitation has increased significantly – StatsSA	✓	PG: "Access to standard sanitation – flush toilets connected to a public sewerage system or a septic tank, and a pit toilet with a ventilation pipe – has increased significantly, from 62.3% in 2002 to 80% in 2015 ... according Stats SA".
5	Poor water infrastructure led to state of drought disaster in eight provinces – Dept	x	NP: "Poor water-related infrastructure in the country has resulted in a state of disaster being declared in eight provinces as drought reaches critical levels".
6	Carbon offsets will make SA economy greener – Treasury	✓	PG: "Government's proposed carbon offset system is in line with efforts to help South Africa make the transition to a low carbon, greener economy ... reduce their carbon tax bill".

Table 6B. Structural-physical macro-environment (continued)

No.	Author	Reference
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2	Matthew le Cordeur	http://www.fin24.com/Economy/why-nuclear-will-plunge-sa-into-junk-status-20160317
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